# Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the abuses in England in Shakspere's youth, A.D. 1583 / edited by Frederick J. Furnivall.

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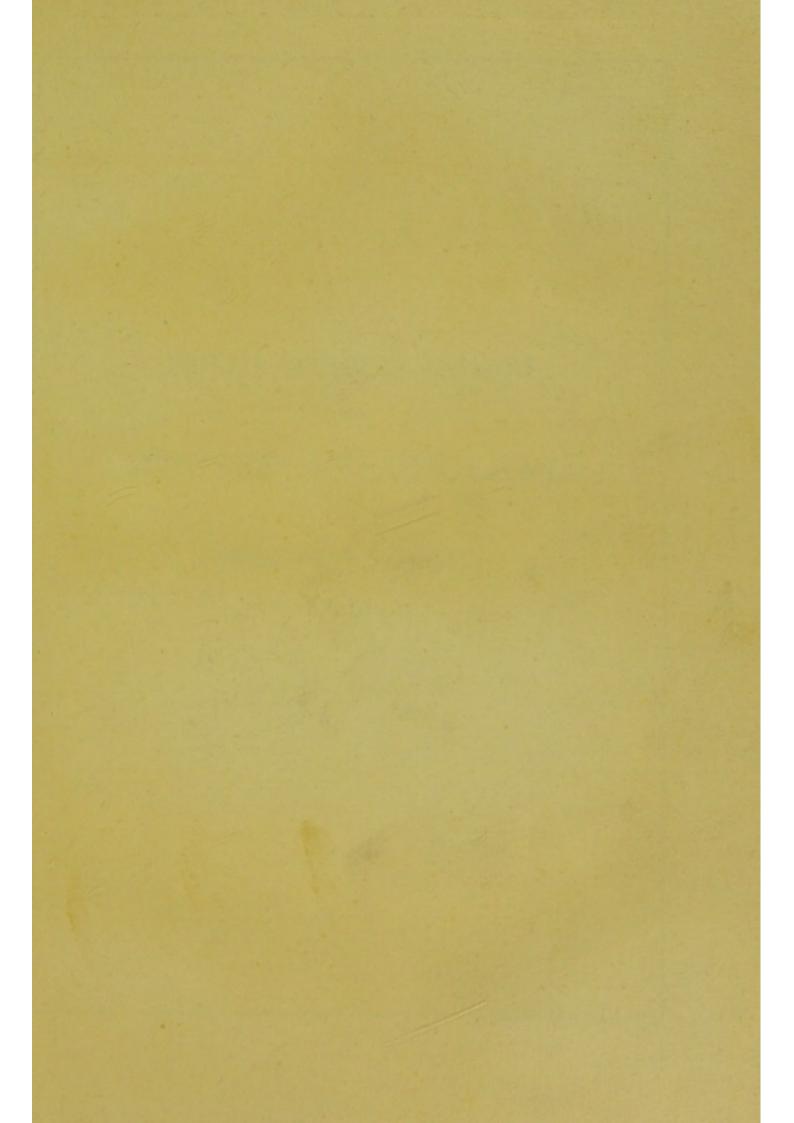
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## PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

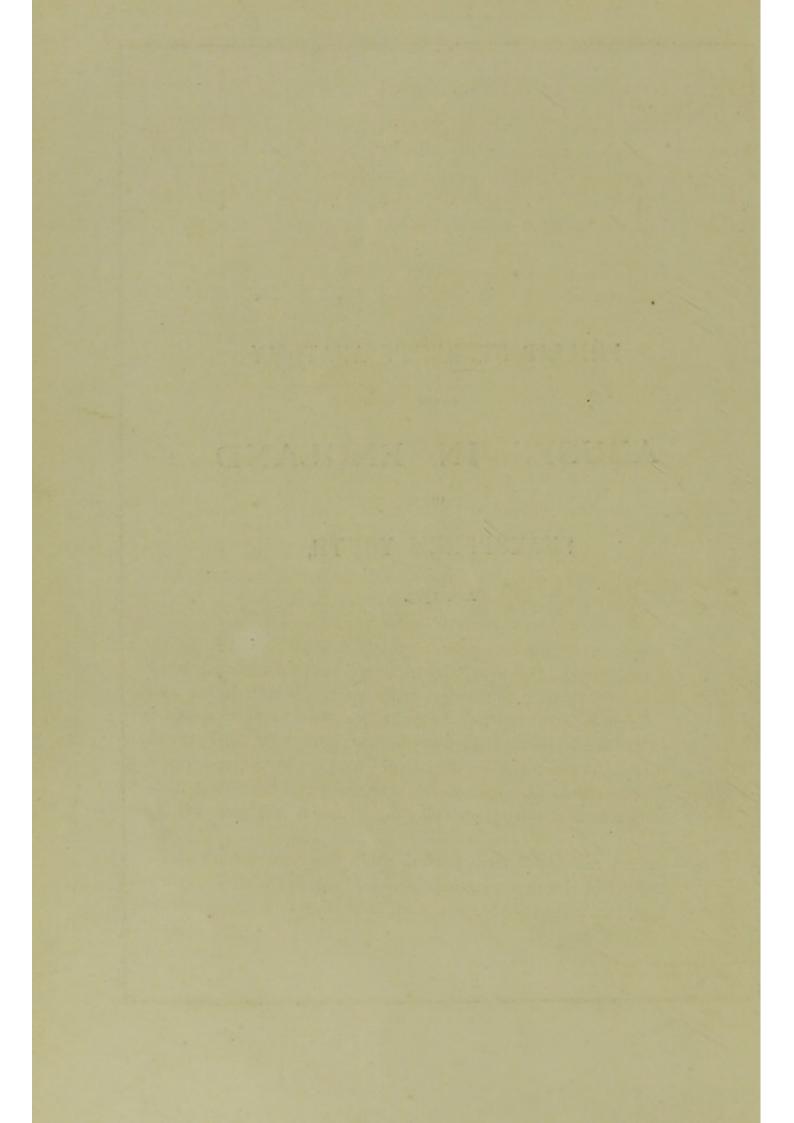
OF THE

# ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.



## PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

OF THE

## ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

## SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

#### PART I.

(COLLATED WITH OTHER EDITIONS IN 1583, 1585, AND 1595.)

WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S LIFE OF HIS WIFE, 1591, AND HIS PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE, 1592 (1610), AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, 1588; ALSO

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)

REGNUM PAPISMI, OF POPISH KINGDOME, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570,)

ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspere Society

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LONDON, E.C., 1877-9.

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Series VI. Nos. 4 & 6.

CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, BUNGAY.

# Professor Kobalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT,

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

GENEROUS NATION WHO GAVE THEIR BLOOD AND TREASURE TO FREE BULGARIA,

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOPMEN STOPT THEM,

#### THIS BOOK

OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO BELIEVD IN GOD, AND CAR'D FOR CHRISTIANS MORE THAN TURKS,

Es Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



Cut at the back of the Colophon of the 2nd (Aug. 1, 1583) and 3rd (1584) editions of the Anatomie. See p. 60\*, note 2.

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" "Since leathern Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. Edward III, II. ii. 120.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.

<sup>2</sup> See the Exeter Regulations about Alehouses in Mr. A. S. Hamilton's Quarter Sessions.

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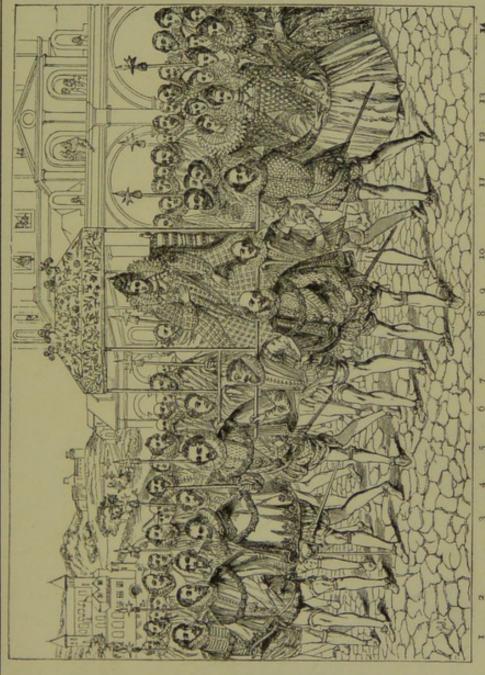
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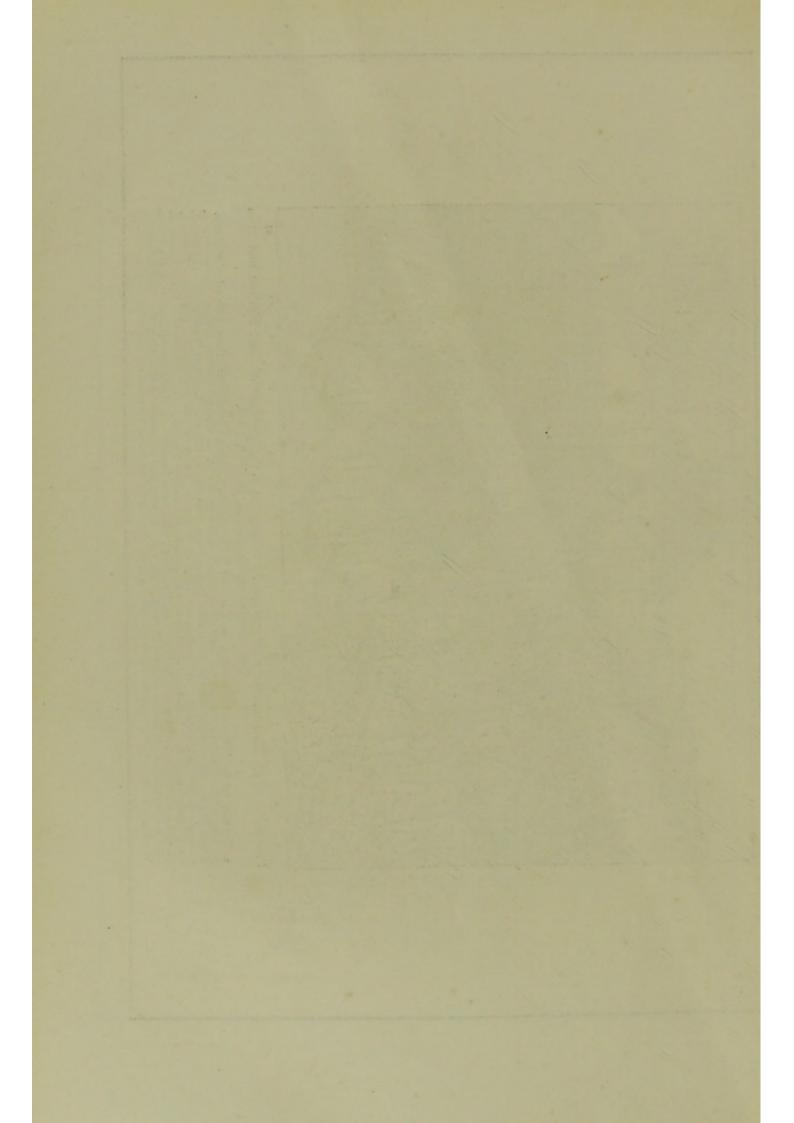
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Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden.
 The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scull cap.
 George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand.
 George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.
 Lord Herbert of Cardiffe.
 Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridgeroom.
 Queen Elizabeth.
 Edward, 2nd Herbert of Cardiffe.
 Edward, 2nd Herbert of the Bridgeroom's brother Thomas.
 Lord Herbert, the Bridgeroom.
 Part Jack Harrington, Countess of Bedford: 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell.
 Lady Harrington, Countess of Bedford.
 The Bride, Miss Anne Russell.
 Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
 Wirtue's print, and G. Scharf, in Arrivaol. Yournal, 131. The original painting (2 by Marc Gerard) is Lord Hebster's.
 Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, puts the Queen's right hand under her dress, and hides the bride's feet.)





Spinster's Ruff and bare neck; Farthingale (or Crinoline). Miss Anne Russell [formerly supposed to be Lady Hunsdon]; from Virtue's print. See the Heliogravure, above. Planché, i. 187.



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. Planché, i. 246, 435. SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.





Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). Planché, ii. 230.

Later fashion of marrid women baring the neck.



Mask, from a print by P. de Jode; time of James I. Planché, i. 366.



Q. Elizabeth: early Portrait, with 'Mary-Queen of-Scots'-cap.' Planché, i. 79.





Ruff 'underpropped with Supportasse. Stubbes, p. 70, foot. Planché, i. 443.



Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. Planché, i. 187.

Later Fashion of marrid Women baring the Neck.





Cap. Earl of Oxford, 1578. Planché, i. 77.



Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. Planché, i. 436.

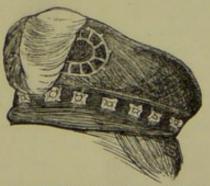


Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstockes (Stubbes, p. 57); time of Elizabeth, from portrait of Sir William Russell.

Planché, i. 172.



Hat, with Lady's glove in it (gauntlet shown). George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Planché, i. 256.



Cap. Sir Christopher Hatton; time of Elizabeth, Planché, i. 77.



### Memorandum:

ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

THE history of the woodcuts illustrating the common street-ballads has never yet been systematically undertaken. Mr. William Chappell, our very highest authority on all matters connected with old songs and ballads, their words, music, and publication, has avowedly left the subject of their woodcuts to other students and specialists. It is of sufficient importance to be assigned to one volunteer, who has already made considerable progress in tracing the source from which many of the woodcuts had descended to the hawkers; and his future gift to the Ballad-Society members may prove the interest attached to the search, and the value of several discoveries. Meanwhile here are some Ballad-Society woodcuts chiefly from the Roxburghe and the Bagford Collections, as reproduced under the editorship of Messrs. Wm. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth. A few words from the latter may accompany the present selection of woodcuts, without borrowing from the Planché descriptions.

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. I. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. In general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantry, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

### 18\* Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

belonged to Robert Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," published in 1592. (B) is a mutilated and spoilt illustration from the title-page of Will Kemp's "Nine-Days Wonder," 1600; the figures separated and absurdly misplaced (after each had been elsewhere used singly, and the original intention forgotten): with the bells on Kemp's legs shorn away to disguise their morris-dancer significance. These bells are better seen in the terribly-reduced copy (C) of the morris-dancer receiving his prizecup and a "modest quencher," that "cheers," if it does no more. The gambling Bordello-scene (D) is an Elizabethan picture of fast-life, that had originally belonged to a small pamphlet. (E) is a very slovenly and inaccurate copy (Planché's) from the wood-cut adorning the title-page of "A Faire Quarrell: written by Thomas Midleton and William Rowley," 1622. This edition is in the present writer's possession, but there was an earlier edition issued in 1617. The cut may have been used before that date, as evidently the two shields on the ground, with armorial-bearings emblazoned, mark some special duel.

The single figure (F) represents Gabriel Harvey, as caricatured offensively by Thomas Nash (as though Harvey had anticipated Alderman Atkins of Civil-War date, in forgetting his manners; even as Hogarth misrepresented Felix when he "trembled"). It is from "Haue with you to Saffron Waldon," 1596, and become a favourite adornment among ballad-prints. There is clever satire embodied in (G), showing how drink develops the latent animalism of human beings. The original cut, before it descended to the ballad printer Rich. Harper, was on the title-page of Thomas Heywood's "Philocothonista; or, the Drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomised," 1635. At the Bodleian Library, when engaged on the Bagford-Ballad editing, the present writer found the Maypole-dance (H); with its primitive perspective of street-architecture resembling our modern workmen's cottages, and the clear indication of a prize-wreath for the Queen of the May, with the protecting stumps around the May-pole, and the Tabourer with his pipe, calling the flat-capped 'Prentice-boys and the blithe damsels to a dancing-bout. It is apparently of Charles the First's time, and, to the best of our belief, was never copied before, being used as an extra-illustration of the Ballad-Society's Bagford-Ballads.

The Tavern scene (I), with the "Drawer" waiting, was a favourite illustration of Martin Parker's convivial ballads, three of which it adorns. John Wade's publisher often selected (K), with its cavaliers regaling themselves over the Virginian weed:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce, And makes a man a Swine; But hee's a temperate-man indeed, That with a leafe can dine.

### Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19\*

He needes no napkin for his hande His fingers for to wipe; He hath his kitchin in a box, His Roast-meate in a pipe. (1641.)

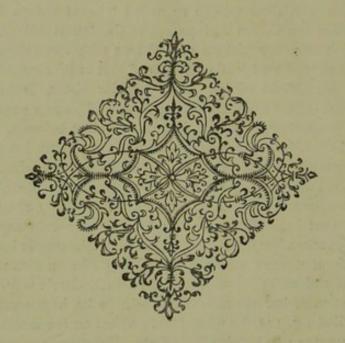
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from her head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., Purgatorio, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in Musarum Deliciæ, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First: perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X1 to X4) of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

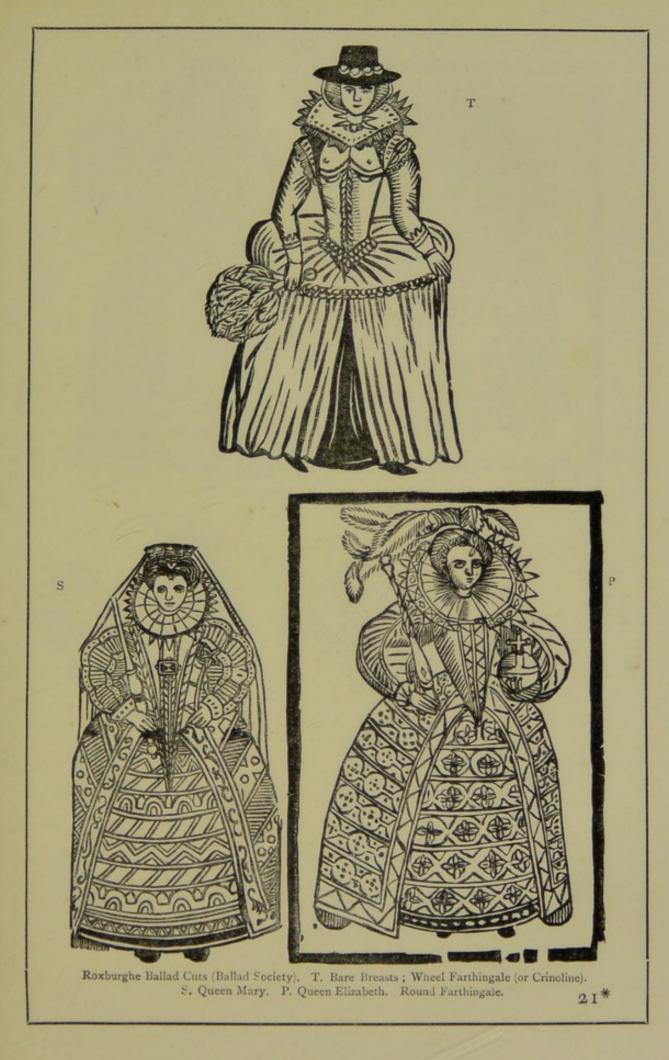
### 20\*Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

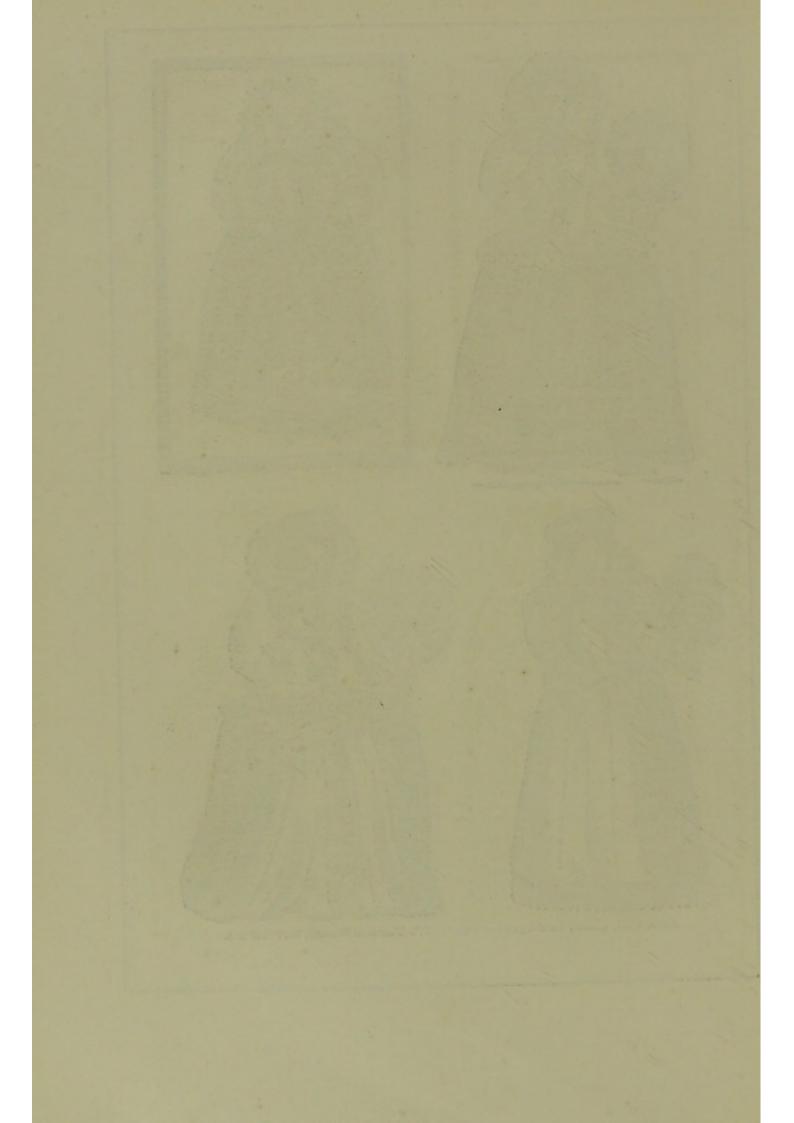
ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y²) being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman:

"I could not love thee, dear, so much Loved I not honour more."

J. W. EBSWORTH.











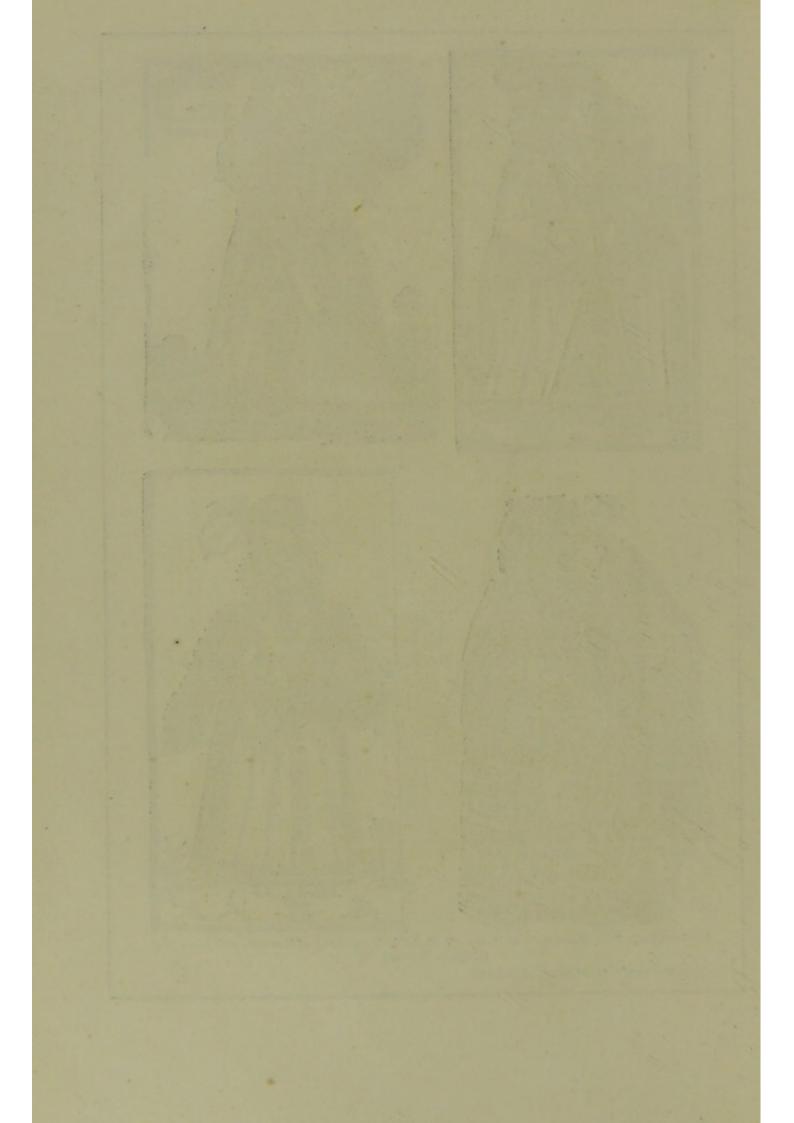




Feathers, Ruffs, Fans, Farthingales or Hoops. V. Probably Queen Anne, of Denmark, with wired Ruff.

Q. Queen Elizabeth. 23\*

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.







Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches, Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. t. Elizabeth or James I.

24\*

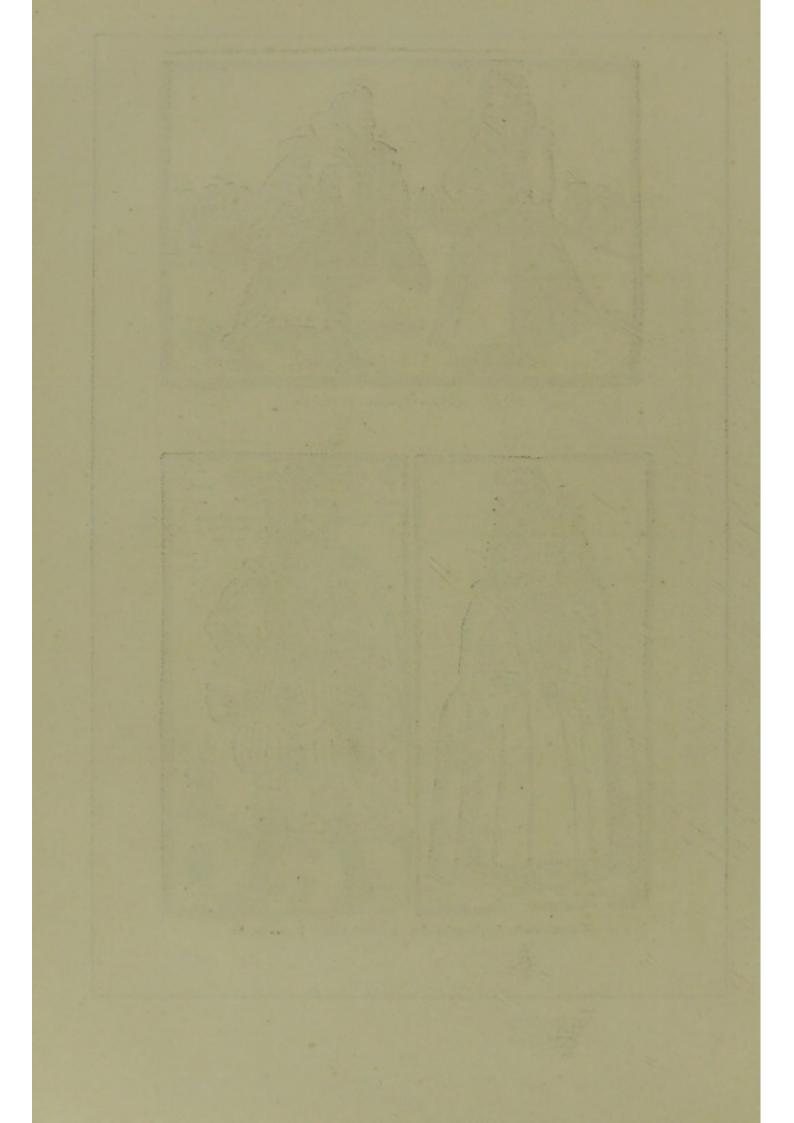




(? Time of James I.)



Women's Ruffs, Farthingales, &c. 4. Men's fringed Boot-tops, &c











? time of Charles I.

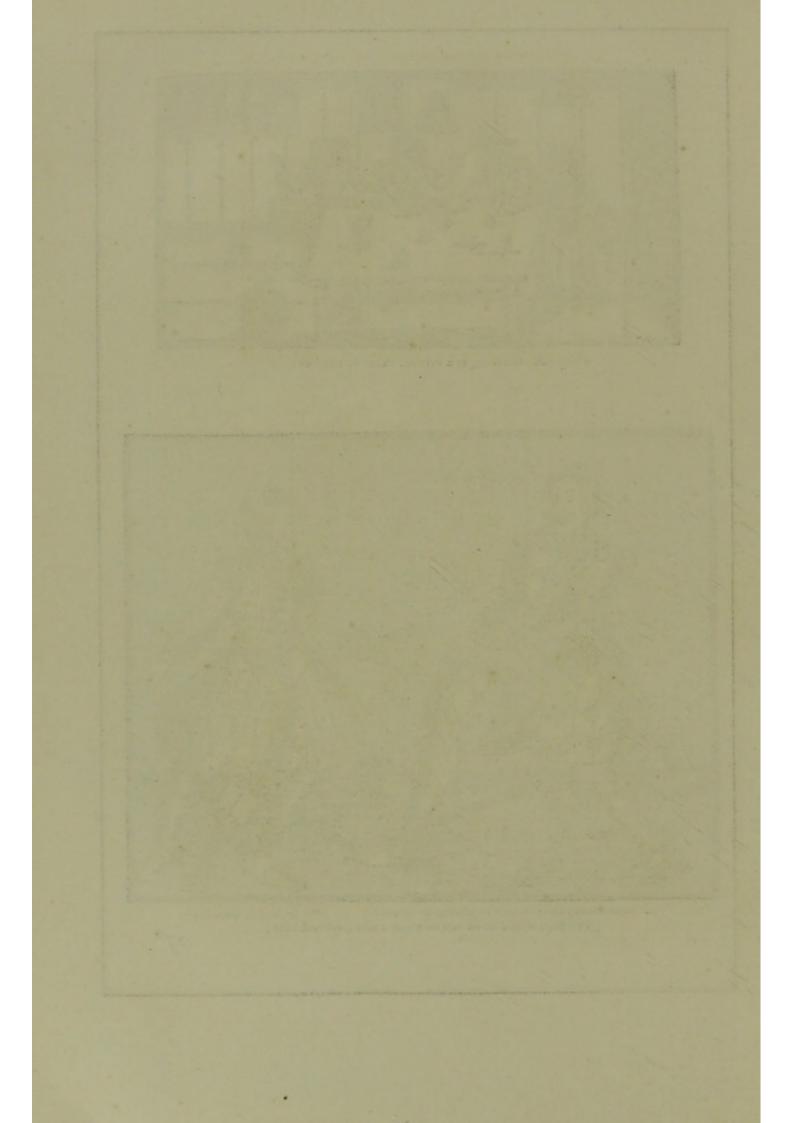




D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



E. Bombasted Breeches, time of Elizabeth. Planché, i. 57. (Slovenly copy from the title-page of Middleton and Rowley's Faire Quarrell, 1617.)









Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. A: from R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier, 1592.

B is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, alterd from the title-page of his Nine-Days' Wonder: the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.

C. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.







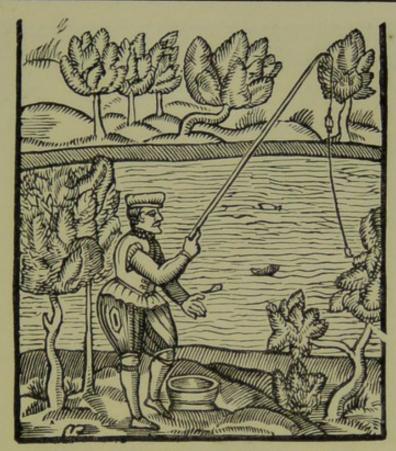




F. Gabriel Harvey, from T. Nashe's Hane with you to Saffron Walden, 1596. The rest probably of the time of James I.

29\*

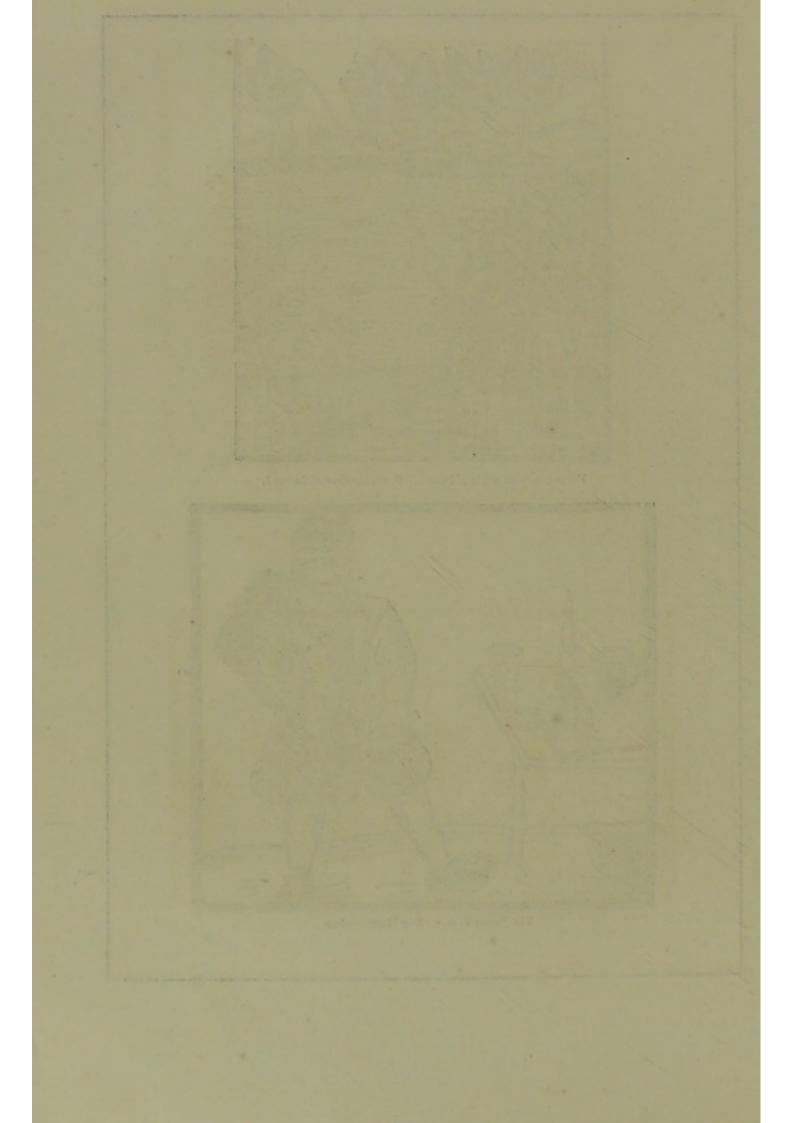


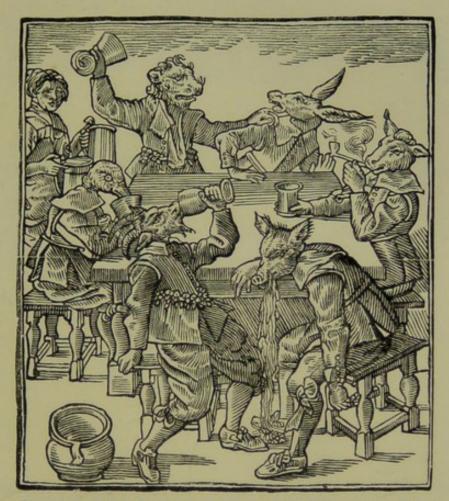


Fishing with an angle (? Dutch). Probably time of James I.



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.



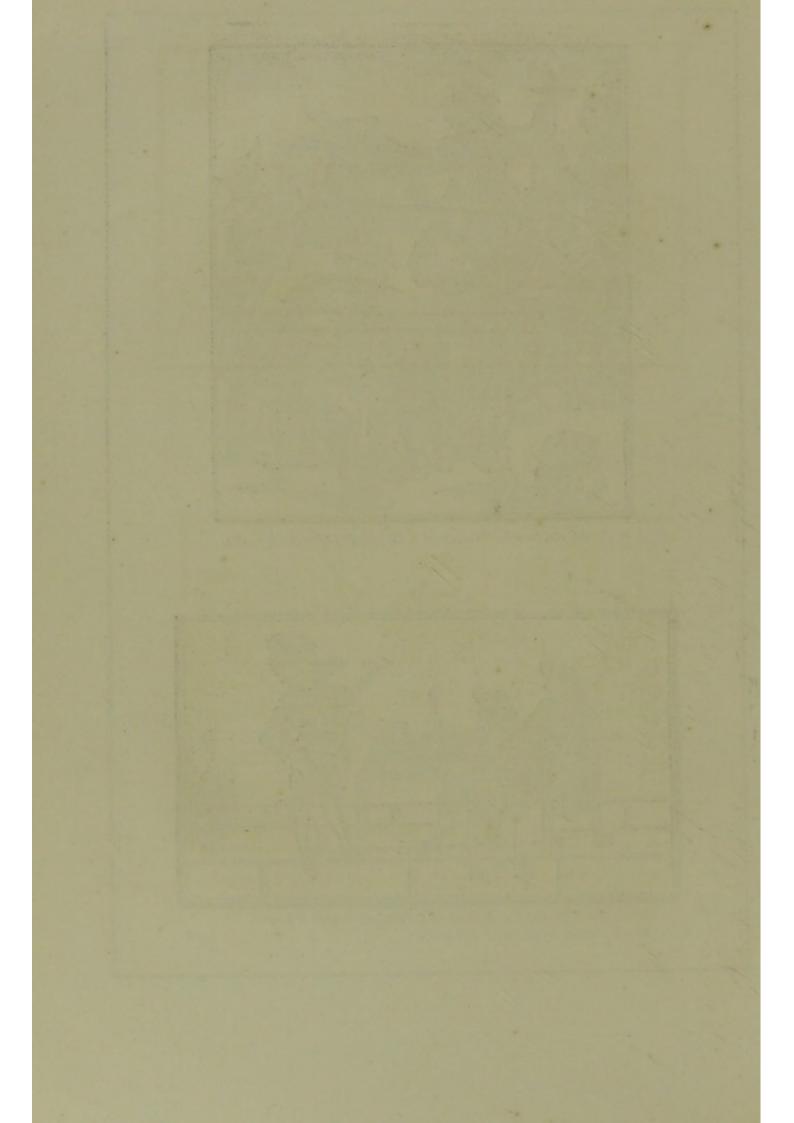


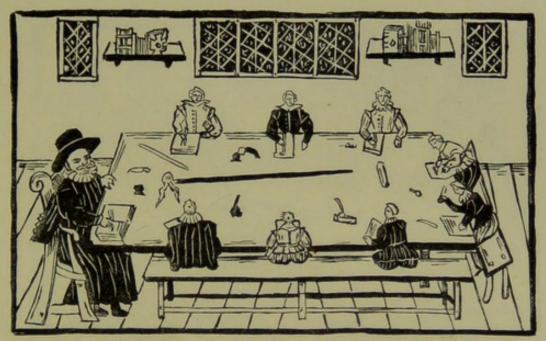
G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's Philocothonista, 1635.



K. Pipes and Ale: final time of Q. Elizabeth or early of James I. SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.
d

31\*

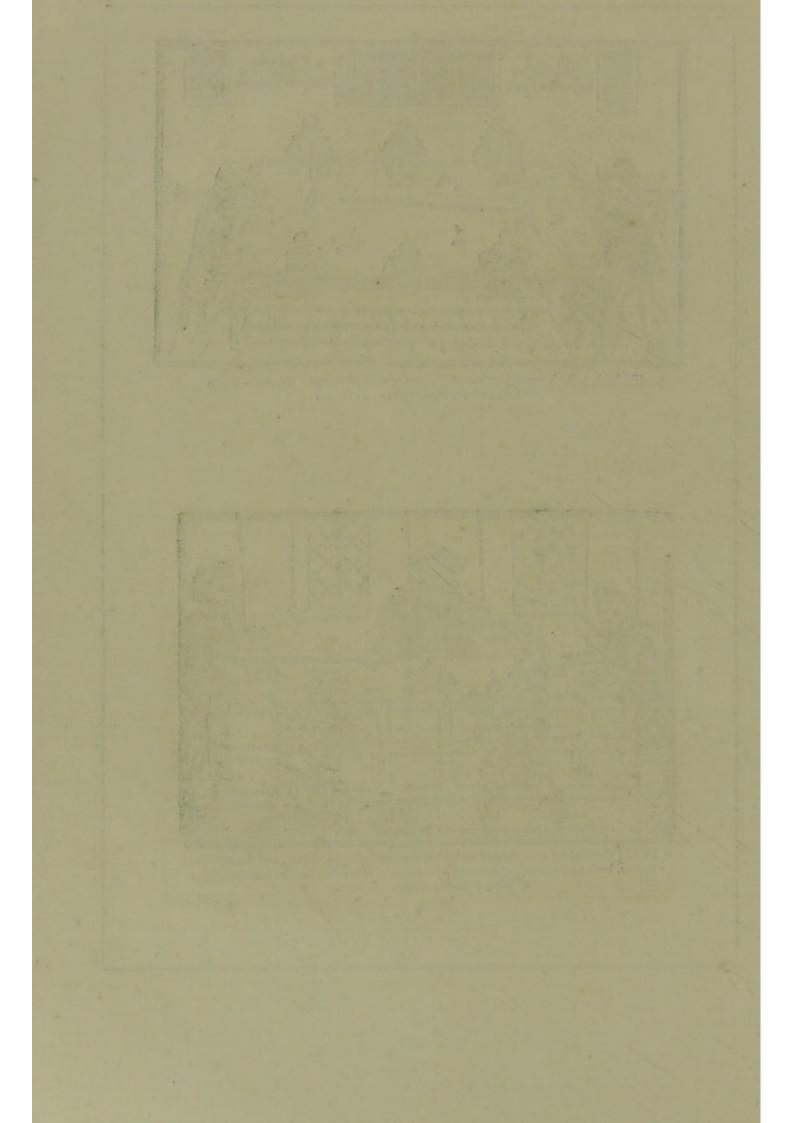


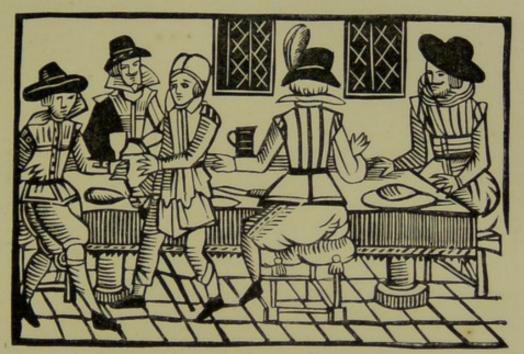


[Probably a Professor or Lecturer at College, with his Students. Note the Dress, Benches, Chair, Bookshelves. J. W. E.]



A Judicial Complaint: with plaintiff on his knees supplicating for redress, and the defendant standing, but losing courage while being admonished. Their inferior size is an indication of being of lowlier station. J. W. E.





I. Tavern-scene. Drawer attending at a revel.



H. May-pole Dance: time of Charles I. See Memorandum.



#### FOREWORDS.1

2nd Parts, p. 35\*

§ 2. T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes, p. 36\* § 3. Did Stubbes write against real

Sins or fancid ones? p. 44\*

§ 4. Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an earnest Heart? p. 49\*

§ 5. Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family, p. 50\*

§ 1. The Anatomie: its 1st and | § 6. His 11 known, and 8 extant Works, p. 55\*

§ 7. His Character, p. 69\* § 8. Miscellaneous: p. 71\* Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirchmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &c.

APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes, p. 75\*

§ 1. As Harrison's Description of England is the best work on the general condition of our country during Shakspere's early time, so is Stubbes's Anatomie the worthfullest for the special departments of Dress-and its extravagances in men and women, -of Amusements and the excesses they ran into, of the Follies and Naughtinesses of the day. No one can pretend to know Shakspere's England without Stubbes's help, and therefore the Anatomie has taken an early place in our Society's Sixth Series, whose purpose is to put before our Members the best pictures attainable of our great poet's time. The First Part only of the book is generally known. The reputation which its slash and life have won for it, has (I have long thought) unfairly darkend the merits of the Second Part, in which Stubbes shows up briefly the Abuses and Corruptions in all classes of Society, Temporalty and Spiritualty, and describes, one after the other, the

1 Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow, calls this good word a barbarism! How happy for us, that a little cherub sits up aloft in the Northern wilds to look after the civilization of us Southerners!

## 36\* § 1. Contents of the Anatomie, Part II. § 2. T. Nashe.

Country
Queen
Her Council
Shires
Judges (delays in law)
Prisoners, their hard case
Laws
Universities
Schoolmasters
Merchants

Drapers Clothiers Goldsmiths Vintners

Butchers Grasiers Parks

Sheepmasters

Landlords
Tailors
Starchers
Tanners
Shoemakers

Brokers (F. 4, bk.)

Hospitality, or relief for the poor.

Beggars Husbandmen

Ingraters or Forestallers

Chandlers Barbers

Surgeons and Physicians Astronomers and Astrologers Prognosticators and Almanac-

Makers.

The list of subjects will show those who have had a taste of Stubbes in this First Part of his Anatomie how valuable the Second Part must be; and tho' the spice of it is not equal to that of the First Part, I mean to print it, as well for its own worth as to complete the work. But as the First Part was evidently written as a complete book, the Second Part being only calld out by the unwonted success of the First, I have put separate Forewords, Notes, and Index to the First Part, so as to keep it distinct from the Second; and I have not quoted in the Notes, any of the many illustrative passages that are in Part II., where, as the reader has seen, some of the Part-I-subjects are dealt with again.

§ 2. The general view of Stubbes is, that he was a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything,—evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspere's art. In his own time this opinion prevaild. He was held up to contempt as one of the Mar-Prelate zealots and hypocrites by the sharp-tongued Thomas Nashe, who in 1590 plagiarized Stubbes's title, and helpt his own Anatomie of Absurditie into sale by following in Stubbes's wake, and yet had in 1589 cut him (and his fellows) up in the style following:—

#### § 2. T. Nashe on Stubbes's Dice-playing and Widow. 37\*

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his Almond for a Parrat, 1 1589.

"If they will needes ouerthrowe mee, let them goe in hand with the exploite, &c.

[on sign. C. 4.

T Olla, holla, brother Martin, you are to hasty: what, Winter is no time to make warres in; you were best stay til summer, & then both our braines wilbe in a better temperature, but I thinke ere that time your witte wilbe welny worn thredbare, and your banquerout inuention, cleane out at the elbowes; then are we well holpen vp with a witnesse, if the aged champion of Warwicke, doe not lay in his shoulders, and support discipline ready to lie in the dust, with some or other demonstration. I can tell you, Phil. Stu. is a tall man also for that purpose. What, his Anatomy of Abuses for all that, will serue very fitly for an Antipast, before one of Egertons 2 Sermons: I would see the best of your Trauerses 3 write such a treatise as he hath done, against short heeld pantoffles. But one thing it is great pitty of him, that being such a good fellow as hee is, hee shoulde speake against dice, so as he doth: neuerthelesse ther is some hope of him, for as I heard not long since, a brother of his, meting him by chance (as theeues meete at the gallowes) after many Christian questions of the well-fare of his persecuted brethren, and sistern, askt him when they should have a game at tables together, "by the grace of God, the next Sabbaoth," quoth Phil., "and then if it shal so seeme good to his prouidence, haue at you for ames ase and the dise." I forgette to tell you what a stirre he keepes against dumbe ministers, and neuer writes nor talkes of them, but he calleth them minstrels, when his mastershippe in his minority, plaide the Reader in Chesshire, for fiue marke a yeare and a canuas dublet, couenanted besides, that in consideration of that stipend, he make cleane the patrones bootes every time he came to towne. What neede more words to proue him a protestant? did not he behaue himselfe like a true Christian, when he went a wooing for his friend Clarke? I warrant you, he saide not 'God saue you, or God speed you,' with 'good euen, or good morrow,' as our prophane woers are wont, but stept close to her, with 'peace bee with you,' very demurely, and then told her a long tale, that in-so-much as widowhoode was an vncleane lyfe, and subject to many temptations, shee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This tract has been attributed also to John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*; but it's surely more like Nashe, and ought to be his.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The 'zealous Puritan and Preacher at the Black Fryers in London,' Stephen Egerton, author of a *Lecture* on *Gen.* xii, &c. Lon. 1589, 8vo. *Catechizing*, 1594, 8vo, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (1691), i. 754.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The famous Puritan, Walter Travers, author of 'An Answere to a supplicatorie Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques,' 1583, &c. Wood, Ath. Oxon. (i. 1691), 741; Cooper, Ath. Camb.

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose; but I wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vtterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engraft her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargaine. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee; Phil. Stu. was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all; and so, O griefe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it Mar-martin *Iunior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them; tickle me my Phil. a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain private Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes 2 Printing-house, when as you would needes have clari the infinitive moode of a verbe passiue; which determined, you went forwards after this order: Sunt there are, oculos eies, qui the which, cernis thou doest see, clari to be cleare, tanquem sydera as the Stars: Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke?3 Learning is a iewel, my maisters; make much of it; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, Martin makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulted out) amongst the number of those priny Martinists which he threatens to place in <sup>4</sup> euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitye pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

<sup>2</sup> Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of Holinshed's Chronicle.

See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65\* n. below.

<sup>1</sup> Sign. D. I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This phrase I take to be the ground of Antony Wood's (or his correspondent's) paragraph below, p. 53\* n. Stubbes didn't take a degree; therefore he was at a University. No trace existed of him at Oxford; therefore he was at Cambridge, and left before he took his degree. Then, because there was a Justinian Stubs, M.A., at Glo'ster Hall, Oxford, in 1589 (? enterd there in 1583), therefore Phillip Stubbes, after his 7 years' ramble about England, 1576-83, settled at Oxford for a time, at Glo'ster Hall.

<sup>4</sup> Sign. D. I, back.

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our graue fathers infirmities, so all their outrageous endeuors haue

their offspring from affected vainglory.

("An Almond for a Parrat / Or Cutbert Curry-knaues / Almes. / Fit for the knaue Martin, and the / rest of the impudent Beggers, that / can not be content to stay their stomackes / with a Benefice, but they will needes / breake their fastes with / our Bishops. / Rimarum sum plenus. / Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you / catch not the hicket with laughing. / [Ornament.] Imprinted at a Place, not farre from / a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and / are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue / Street, at the signe of the / Standish. /" [1589].)

# (2) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his Anatomie of Absurditie, 1590 (sign. B. ii.).

"I leave these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending for sooth to anatomize abuses, and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes: of gluttonie, as though their living did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr 1 cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting foorth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont; euen so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much wyth inueighing against vice; to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon that which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heere to fore by the censures of the learned hath not beene sharply condemned, but teare that, peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing saue the excrementes of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who have continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who have wine to sell. At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; euen so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbial checke, Ne sutor vltra cre-1 pidam, or that oratoricall taunt, Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exerceat: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuer, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinitie consists in twopennie Catichismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curiouslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by their medling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small ship in a shallow Riuer, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessell; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subject, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaies, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile, a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie,

#### § 2. T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and the Puritans. 41\*

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publiquelie make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caucat of Christ in the Gospell, Caucte ab 1 hipocritis. It is not the writhing of the face, the heaving vppe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men from having their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they have the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharisies the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church infease them in the kingdome of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles. and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleeue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them: and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publiquely pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their private Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse.<sup>2</sup> It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstaunce of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

(The Anatomie of / Absurditie: / Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender / imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short / description of the seuerall practises of youth, and / sundry follies of our licentious / times. / No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred / especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-/ted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie. / Compiled by T. Nashe. / Ita diligendi sunt homines, vt eorum non / diligamus errores. / At London, / Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-/mas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop / in Lumberd Street, vnder the signe of / the Popes heade. / Anno. Dom. 1590. /)

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, against Thomas Nashe, thus (pp. 183-4) answers the latter's attack on Stubbes:—

"It is the destiny of our language, to be pestered with a rable-

1 Sign. B. iii, back.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A supposed rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my Captain Cox, Ballad Soc., p. xlix-l.

### 42\* § 2. Gabriel Harvey's Defence and Praise of Stubbes.

ment of botchers in Print: but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danters presse 1), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grosest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone,2 Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfullest Chroniclers tooe; bicause they stand in his way, hinder his scribling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; bicause he is so much vayner, so little learneder, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Art is incomparable, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnisufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . . '

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praisd Stubbes<sup>3</sup> for his filed and workman-like style:—

"Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge<sup>4</sup>; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide<sup>5</sup>; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

<sup>1</sup> From which came in 1597 the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet. J. Danter also enterd a Titus Andronicus in 1593.

<sup>2</sup> See the long list of Deloney's ballads, tracts, and books, in Hazlitt. Tho' Deloney might have been calld a pamphleteer, Robert Armin, the actor and play-writer, couldn't.

<sup>3</sup> I assume that he means Phillip Stubbes, and not John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579 (p. 53\* and 54\* below). The Chroniclers who are coupled with Stubbes above, are praised here by name, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe; and certainly Harvey would admire all the hard inkhorn words in the early editions of the Anatomie.

4 See a bit of Googe's work in the Naogeorgus Appendix, p. 323 below.

<sup>5</sup> Lodowick Lloyd, of The Filgrimage of Princes, &c., was so calld, says Mr. Hazlitt. See the list of his works in Lowndes.

and Watson; in Kiffin¹, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers: and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, Stubbes, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinment of the daintiest censure.²"

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarian, a brabling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (ib. p. 61); or to say that his books are all like his Strange Newes (1592, against Harvey): "Railing, railing, railing: bragging, bragging, bragging: and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and vayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grosely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (ib. p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it3 (Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs, p. 35), - and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Maurice Kyffin, of the *Blessedness of Brytaine*, 1587, &c.: see Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 322-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See the praises of other authors, &c., before and after, p. 190-2: Southwell, Scot (*Discovery of Witchcraft*), Whitgift, Drant, Dr. Still, &c. On p. 60-1, he calls Nashe "a May-Lord of Primerose-hill, that hath all humours in his liuerie, & can put conscience in a Vices coate." I don't take up space by quoting the chief works of the authors nam'd in the text above, as they are either well known or can be easily found in bibliographical lists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See too in *Dodsley*, ix. 61-2, the jest about the Puritan lass who yielded only to prevent her lover breaking his oath, as he'd sworn to succeed. The point of the Apocrypha joke was that the Puritans calld the Apocrypha a lot of Popish fables, and refusd to acknowledge it as part of the Bible.

## 44\* § 3. Was Elizabethan Dress outrageously absurd?

widow tale. Nashe, however, is more to be regarded, and is nearer hitting the nail on the head, when he complains of Stubbes extending his "inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the thing remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse."

§ 3. But the question is, t. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denounct were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

On the first point he deals with, Men's and Women's Dress, I ask whether one single writer of the time can be produc'd, who treats the matter, and is satisfied with his contemporaries' practice? I've never seen or heard of one. But on the contrary, every man whose book you open,—from the catholic Shakspere, who surely liked his cakes and ale, to the sensible cheery Harrison, the odd, and liker of oddities, Tom Coryat,—every single writer condemns the foolery, extravagance and evil of the outrageous garments around him. The Queen and her Council did so (see the fine volume of her Proclamations in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., an. 1, 4, 8 (p. 94-6), 16 (p. 155-7), 19 (p. 171-3), 30 (p. 253-7), 39 (p. 343-6, A.D. 1597). And we, by our practice, do it too.

Why also did Stubbes condemn these follies? Not only because he saw with Shakspere that men bore manors on their backs, and sacrifict their inheritances to gratify their stupid pride; not only because he knew, with Harrison, that for this, England's oaks were felld, her country hospitality stopt; but because the follies led to the neglect of the poor—the humble folk that ben Christ's friends, as Chaucer says—who were left to die in the streets like dogs, the dung that rotted, to grow the flowers that adornd the Court

Take the next vices with which Stubbes deals, Whoredom and Adultery, Gluttony and Drunkenness; and on the first pair, contrast Shakspere's Spring Song on the Cuckoo at the end of Love's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See An. 42, for suppression of Ale-houses, and due observance of Fish-days; and an. 43 for prohibiting the carrying of dags (big pistols: Harrison, i. 283).

### § 3. Did Stubbes condemn Whoredom too strongly? 45\*

Labours Lost with Wordsworth's, and judge whether Stubbes had cause to write as he did, or not, and whether we haven't cause to be grateful that he and his fellows did write thus, and set their faces as a flint against the idle wits that treated the soiling of women's purity as a joke, and the debauching of girls as an honourable token of manliness. Thank God, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn from our own state of society—faultful tho' it be—and conceive one in which the so welcome note of the herald of spring, the recaller of youth's 'golden time,' could suggest the idea of cuckoldry to any husband. No longer is it true in England, that

"When Daisies pied, and Violets blew,
And Cuckow-buds of yellow hew,
And Ladie-smockes all siluer white,
Do paint the Medowes with delight,
The Cuckow then on euerie tree
Mockes married men; for thus sings he,
Cuckow!
Cuckow! O worde of feare,
Vnpleasing to a married eare."

L. L. Lost, V. 904-12, Folio I. p. 144, col. 2.

And we have to thank mainly the Puritan party that this old evil is not ours still.

As to the Drunkenness, that is still the great curse of our land. And ask any one who's been among working men, and seen what a drinker's home and wife and children are like, seen the blessed change that teetotalism makes in all; ask any one who knows what went on in the upper and middle classes as late as my own father's day, my own youth,—the daily debasing of men to worse than brutes;—ask any one who knows but a little of Elizabethan books; ask Shakspere, thro' Hamlet or Cassio, whether Stubbes has said one word too stern against that "devil drunkenness" (Oth. II. iii. 297), which was in his day, as it is in ours, the blight of our native land.

As to the evils next complaind of, the enclosure of Commons without due regard to the rights of the poor, the cheating dealers, &c.—what is our Commons-Preservation Society, what are our Co-operative Societies and Stores, but declarations that Stubbes was in the right; that landlords' greed needs check by law, the weakness

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES,

of the poor needs help; and that the Dealer, standing between the workman and the buyer, to make out of both the most he can for himself, without regard to the welfare of either, is a being who has to be turnd into the agent of worker or buyer, or if possible both, bound to act honestly, and put down all adulteration, extravagant profit, and tricks of trade. As to the evil of letting usurers get the ownership of mortgagees' lands because the money was not paid on the day fixt for its return, our Courts of Equity and our Laws have long since settled that Stubbes was right, and have secured the mortgagee his equity of redemption, and prevented the mortgagor from taking more than his principal and interest. So also our laws have, by later Insolvency and Bankruptcy Acts, declard Stubbes right in his denouncing of the old iniquitous power of creditors to keep moneyless debtors in prison just as long as they lik'd, let their heels rot from their buttocks, as Stubbes says, in the foul prisons of the day, and then make dice of their bones.

Swearing has so long ceast to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiest in by all, tho' they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to Stubbes's wholesale abuse of the Amusements of his time; and it is for this that many folk condemn him, that I allow he was "sumwhat too sour," and went beyond the bounds which he had laid down for himself in his Preface. But let the reader recognize how very much there was in the pastimes of the day that deservd the strongest blame, and in how many cases posterity has justified Stubbes's censures. Note first, that the main reason for Stubbes's fierceness was, that all the games and devilry that he complains of so bitterly, were carried on more vigourously on Sunday than any other day. This is the point the whole matter

¹ Years ago I chanced to ask a regular contributor to the Saturday—a very high wrangler of my time at Cambridge—what had made the S. Review such a success. He said, "Mainly Cook's (the editor's) power of swearing. He swears at everybody so fiercely, from the printer's devil to his best leader-writer or sub-editor, that he makes us all do exactly as he tells us. I never heard such oaths." The like procedure seems to produce contrary effects at the Horse Guards.

turns on.1 Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent "in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil; in receiuing the sacraments, rightly administred; in vsing publique and private prayer; in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations; in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man" (p. 140); and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil's delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who-even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat-now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open 2, on Sundays; fairs held then, and markets; the cancan danced,3 or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there were abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes's and Shakspere's day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. "Yes," he answerd, "I suppose one oughtn't to grudge the people their gathering; but our annual crop of bastards 'll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before; and many of the girls get ruind for life." The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

<sup>2</sup> With *Pink Dominoes* (as describd to me) playd, or even the innocent *Venus and Adonis* acted, with next Sunday's *Referee* notice that Miss Phæbe Don's legs were "monuments of managerial perspicacity and plumpness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So in his denouncing of the Church-Ales, p. 150—2, one great grievance is that the Churches lie "like swyn-coates (pig-styes), their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the roof all bare . . . the booke of God rent, ragged and all betorn, couered in dust," p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See p. 146. Note too Chaucer on the dangers of Dances, &c., Cant. T., C. 65-6.

our races on Runnymede, at Egham, and saying that I'd seen no harm going on to justify the outcry against them by some folk, he answerd: "Ah, your people just drive down to the course, and go away when the races are over. But if you want to know when the harm's done, and what it is, come with me to the booths the nights before and after, and then take a turn about the grass, and see what's going on there. I'm not one of the strait-laced lot; but knowing what I do, I don't wonder at people trying to stop the whole affair." Folk who like races and fairs and fun in general, either shut their eyes to the evils attending them, or say it's human nature, and there's no such great harm in it after all; but other men and women exist in the world, who can't take sin and the causes of it like this; they're just forced by their souls to fight against it, and its sources, with word and deed, with all their might; and if they do speak a little too sharply, or hit a little too hard, the self-indulgent do-nothings had at least better keep from abusing or sneering at them.

The justness of Stubbes's argument against hunting, on p. 182, is acknowledged by our modern hunts paying for the damage they do to farmers' fences and crops; and his plea that 'For pleasure sake only, no man ought to abuse any of the cretures of God,' cannot be answerd, as every one 'll confess who's seen, at the end of his first day's hunt, the tears and distresst look of the stag he's followd, or the last tries of the fox to save his life.<sup>1</sup>

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker 2, dancer, and honourer of Shakspere, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

¹ The only defence is a shirk, and 'You're another:' "You can do without meat if you like; at any rate, you'd be better with little of it, and that of the simplest kind. But, solely for your pleasure, to tickle your palate, you have lots of animals needlessly killed; while we hunting men, for our health and refreshment, as well as our pleasure, only give a stag a good sweating, and kill a stinking fox now and then. Who are you to find fault with us?" (Mr. E. A. Freeman's articles on hunting and Mr. A. Trollope's answer, a few years back, I haven't seen.)

<sup>2</sup> And a backslider from the faith of Stubbes, for one Sunday, after a Sabbatarian parson's sermon, my father's Sunday newspaper, the *Windsor Express*, to his great disgust disappeard till Monday morning.

Abuses he denounct were real and not fancid ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong, We pass then to

§ 4. Was Stubbes a mere railer? In my early days in London, when one of a body of workers full of Christian-Socialist plans of social reform, helping in district-visiting, ragged schools, workingmen's associations, &c., came out some Latter-Day-Pamphlets, by a certain prophet of the time, which seemd to me to do nothing but swear generally all round. Everything was wrong, everybodyexcept the writer-was a fool, niggers should eternally be slaves, and there was no hope for the world except in the coming of some beneficent hog-herd with a tremendous whip to drive the universal swine along the road they ought to go.1 One night a well-known naval novelist, a disciple of this faith, was at a friend's house, holding forth with his usual fervour, and I ventured to suggest that he should do something to try and cure some of the evils he seemd to feel so keenly. I askt him to teach in our ragged school in Little Ormond Yard. On which he took his pipe out of his mouth, took a sip at his -th glass of toddy, and said, 'My dear Sir, I'll see you and your ragged school damnd first! The world 's going to the devil its own way. Let it go!'

Now Phillip Stubbes wouldn't have given a like answer—if I judge him aright—had John Stubbe, or any such man, askt him to lend a hand to any good work near Lincoln's Inn in his day. He'd have gone and done his best at it, tho' he'd no doubt have insisted on dosing the workees with texts and sermons. On his Sundays, he didn't want only to sing psalms and pray; he'd also collect money for the poor, and do good works (p. 140). He wasn't angry with the rich for their gay clothes and vain show only, but because these led to 'cold charitie to the poore':

"Do they think that it is lawfull for them to have millions of sundry sortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If I do injustice to this book, which was a cruel blow to me after the noble Life of Cromwell, the Sartor, &c., I am sorry. I never opend it after the Parts were bound. But, had that whip then come to my hands, the prophetic back would have been the first laid open by it.

—p. 59. "And so [the poore diseased] being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streats, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had beene vsed in all the World."—p. 60.

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God's dumb creatures too¹ (pp. 178, 182). And tho' we can't class him with Orlando, who "wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault" (As You Like It, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to "raile against our mistris the worlde," and "must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please" (ib. II. vii. 47-9).

§ 5. Stubbes and his Family. Where he came from, when he was born,2 where he was taught, and when he died, we don't

<sup>1</sup> He would, were he living now, certainly join the *Fellowship of Animals'* Friends that our Vice-Presidents Mr. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple have just founded. And he'd have curst the putting back Christians under Turkish rule in 1878 as heartily as I did; 'English interests' doing the Devil's work.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose he was born about 1555,—the year that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford (Oct. 16) in bloody Mary's reign. If Stubbes's 7-years' travel about England by or before 1583, is to be taken literally, he probably did not start till he was his own master, and 21. I suppose that he didn't die till in or after 1610, when an enlargd edition of his *Pathway* was publisht, with 15 new prayers added, perhaps for the first time. That he was a well-read and learned man is plain from his books.

Here's a suggestion from *The Saturday Review* (Sept. 25, 1869, p. 421, col. 2) as to Stubbes's Christian name: "Why were there so many Philips in those days?—Philip, Earl of Arundel, to whom this book (Stubbes's *Anatomie*) is dedicated; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare folio is inscribed; Philip Sidney and Philip Massinger, who could write books for themselves. Why but because Philip was the name of the 'father of our Kings to be,' and was the favourite godpapa with the rank-worshipping mammas of the period. And if the word Philip had been called out at a bearbaiting in the sixteenth century, there would have been as many responses to it as there are nowadays when H'albert is shouted for at a Foresters' Fête at the Crystal Palace."

Now, though I can't pretend to measure the infinite flunkeyism of the Victorian or Elizabethan English mother and man, yet I must observe that Philip Massinger was baptized on Nov. 23, 1583, only five years before the Armada, and Sir Philip Sidney born on Nov. 29, 1554, four years before Elizabeth came to the throne (1558); and if the 'mammas of the period' kept up their fancy for the Popish Philip of Spain during all the changes of feeling in this time, the fact will surprise any one who has studied the period with the least care. How Stubbes must have hated his name if he thought he got it from the pet son of the scarlet whore!

know.<sup>1</sup> His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years marrid life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68\*, 69\*, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London:

"1586, Sep. 6, *Philip Stubbes*, Gentleman, of St. Mary at Hill,<sup>2</sup> London, and Katherine Emmes, spinster, of the same parish, daughter of William Emmes, late of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Cordwainer,<sup>3</sup> deceased—To marry at any church or chapel in the diocese of London."

Mr. Henry Stubbs of Danby, Ballyshannon, sends me the following extracts from the Parish-Registers of Burton-on-Trent, as all that the latter yield:—

"1590. John Stubs 4 filius Philippi baptized the 17 November 1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December." 5

<sup>1</sup> I say this notwithstanding the passage from Nashe quoted above, p. 37\*, and the extract (evidently bas'd on it) from Ant. Wood that follows, p. 53\*, note. But Nash's bit about the Cheshire readership may have some ground.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Howard, who has searcht the Registers of St. Mary at Hill, reports that there are no Stubbes entries in them.—J. L. C.

<sup>3</sup> Of course you understand that Katherine Emmes's father was something more than a mere "shoemaker," as we now understand the term. His will styles him "Citizen and Cordwainer," i. e. a freeman of London, and member of the Cordwainers' Company. Stubbs in his tract intimates that William Emmes had held high office in his company, which elevates him to the level of the superior tradesmen of the old city.—J. L. C.

4 70 years after, a John Stubs, with George Fox and Benjamin Furly, publisht "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural: You to Many, and Thou to One: Singular, One, Thou; Plural, Many, You. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, &c. London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-mil in Martins le Grand, 1660. folio." Hazlitt. Collection and Notes, p. 166, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> This is the day of her death, according to Phillip Stubbes. Possibly her fever led to her quick burial, but it looks odd. It was the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, that extracted the above entries in the Burton Registers for Mr. Henry Stubbes, who says, "the Vicar in his letter to me remarked that there was a + against the entry of Baptism of John Stubs, which he did not observe against any other entry; 'and likewise that the entry of Burial had evidently been made at a later date than that of the Burial itself, as it is in different ink from the rest, and is obviously put between the lines, having been forgotten or otherwise omitted at the time."

All the facts, then, that we know about Philip Stubbes at present are, that he was a Gentleman - either by birth, profession, or both; -a writer, from 1581 to 1610 (?), of pamphlets and books strongly on the Puritan side, well-read in his Bible and holy books; that before 1583 he had spent "seuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently" (p. 21, below) about England; that he marrid in the autumn of 1586, a sweet, gentle, pious girl of from 14 to 15, with whom he led a happy peaceful life for nearly 4½ years, expounding texts to her to his heart's content-a blissful contrast to Milton's first experiment;-that he lost her on Dec. 14, 1590, from a 6-weeks' fever caught after she had thoroughly recoverd from bearing 'a goodly man childe'baptizd John, on Nov' 17; -that he was in 'lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593;' and that he probably livd till after the new edition of his Perfect Pathway to Felicitie was publisht, with 15 new Prayers, in 1610. Col. Chester writes: "I have again gone carefully over all the Stubbs' wills in Somerset House from 1550 to 1630, and can find nothing of his parentage. His own will is certainly not here, if he left one, and no letters of administration to his estate were ever taken out."

Stubbes's mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes, is described by him as "a Dutch woman, both discreete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie . . . both religious and verie zealous" (p. 197), and yet she must have been a very Wife of Bath in the matter of husbands, 'one down, t'other come on.' Probably after her third husband's death, she in 1586 "bestowed her [daughter Katherine by her second husband, William Emmes,] in marriage to one maister Stubbes"—our Phillip—p. 197, below, and Col. Chester kindly sends me the following account of her:—

"The mother of Catherine Stubbes (née Emmes) was also named Catherine, and she was first the wife of one Reginald Melchior (or Melcher), whose will, as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, dated 22 Sept. 1563, she proved 12 Nov. following. Melchior directed his body to be buried in St. Martin's Church-yard. He merely left small sums to his apprentice and his maid, and the residue of his possessions equally to his wife Catherine and his son Melchior.

"The widow did not grieve long, for on the 8th of November

## § 5. Stubbes's Mother-in-law. A. Wood's Life of him. 53\*

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subse-

quently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

"The will of William Emmes, Citizen and Cordwainer of London, is dated 26 Nov. 1583. He bequeathed considerable property in houses, &c. to his wife Catharine, and his children, William, John, *Catherine* [Stubbes's wife], Anne, Susan, and Alice, all under age. The widow Catharine Emmes proved the will 14 Jan. 1583/4.

"Four days later, viz. 18 Jan 1583/4, the Bishop of London granted another license for her to marry Richard Tompkins, of St Mary at Hill, London. She outlived her third husband, for, on the 24th of April, 1591, letters of administration to her estate, as a widow, were granted to her daughter Alice, who was then wife of

(blank) Dumper."

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to,1 to make

<sup>1</sup> By Antony Wood (or his informant)—whose account of Stubbes (not in his 1st ed.) is printed in inverted commas in Bliss's ed. of the Ath. Oxon. i. 645, and is as follows :- "Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, was born of genteel parents, but where, one of his descendants of both his names who is a vintner in London, [Philip Stubbs, a vintner, living in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in London (note)] knows not, nor can be positively affirm whether he received his education in either of the universities or not. Be it known therefore, that he was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and setled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Glocester-hall, where a brother or near kinsman called Justinian Stubbs, M[aister] of A[rts] and a civilian, studied, by which name and titles I find him there in the beginning of 1589. This Ph. Stubbs was a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time; and tho' not in sacred orders yet the books he wrote related to divinity and morality, as the titles of them following partly shew." He then gives the titles of (b) the Two Judgments, 1581; (c) View of Vanity 1582; (e) Rosary 1583; (d) Anatomy 1583,\* noting 'divers corrections in and additions to it; '(g) Theatre of the Pope's Monarchy 1584. oct.; (j) Perfect Path to Felicity 1592; (k) Motive to Good Works 1593; (?) "Praise and Commendation of Women. Printed in oct. This I have not seen, + and therefore I cannot give you a larger title," (i) "Christial glass for Christian Women. Lond. 1626." He then speaks of Stubbes's wife, and says, "Near of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip, was Joh. Stubs of Lincolns-inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of A Discovery of a gaping Gulph for England. Printed 1579, oct."

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Ded to Phil. E. of Arundel; black letter, double pages 125. Printed by Ric. Jones. At the back of the last page is a wooden cut of a man in a gown, round bonnet, stooping, and holding a pair of gloves in his left hand. The book penes Mr. Lort of Trin. coll. Cambr., who in May 1772, gave 7s. 6d. for it at Mr. Joseph Hart's auction of books." Cole.

† Nor has any one else that I can hear of.

# 54\* § 5. John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579.

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe<sup>1</sup>, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—" The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet<sup>2</sup> for his sensible

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting memoir of him in Cooper's Ath. Cant. ii. 111-12.

<sup>2</sup> See Camden's Annales englisht, 1625, Bk. III. p. 14-16. His account is the best: "Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inueighing sharply against the marriage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled 'A gaping gulfe to swallow vp England by a French marriage.' In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councillors which fauoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene, as not vnderstanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke d'Anjou and his country of France in contumelious tearmes shamefully reviled: the marriage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seem to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of Antichrist, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene Elizabeth bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subiects, and to open a gap to some prodigious innovation. . .

"Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then shee had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their priuitie: and within a few dayes after, Iohn Stubbes of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatiue Pamphlet (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the Arch-Puritan had married), William Page the disperser of the copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended; against whom sentence was given, that their right hands should be cut off, by a law in the time of Philip and Marie against the Authors of Seditious Writings, and those that disperse them. Some lawyers storming hereat, said the iudgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false observation of the time wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene Marie dying) it dyed with her. Of the which Lawyers, one Dalton, for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and Monson, a Iudge of the Common-pleas, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him. . . .

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579,\* not 1581, as Stowe says, Annales, 1605, p. 1168], vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, Stubbes and Page had

their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

<sup>\*</sup> See "His Wordes upon the Scaffolde when he lost his Haund on Tewsdaie, 3 November, 1579." In Nugæ Antiquæ.—Cooper.

## § 6. Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers. 55\*

and manly tract. But Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, has a copy of the wills of the righthandless John Stubbs and his father, John Stubbe of Buxton, Norfolk, and in neither of them is there any mention of Philip Stubbes.)

§ 6. Stubbes's Works. Of these, eleven have survived to our day in title, and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were entered on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas!) indexless Transcript of Mr. Arber. They are:—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXVto. primo die Martij

Richard Jones. Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. The Anatomye of abuses. by Phillipe stubbes. . . . . vjd

Transcript, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXVto. Tertio Die Augusti.

John Receaued of him for his licence to ymprint The Rosarie of christian Prayers . . . . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup> /
Transcript, ii. 426.

by Iohn Stubbes, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with his left, and cryed aloud, God saue the Queene. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kind of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this marriage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion." Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay have word-painted the scene.

The 8vo mentiond by Antony Wood, The Praise and Commendation of Women, is not reckond in the 11, as I doubt the author of The Anatomie, Part I., which scarified women so, ever having written a 'Praise' of Women in general, tho he did praise his own dead wife. Moreover, we've no record of the Praise book being seen by any one; and none of the long list of books on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's Handbook, and Collections and Notes suits Wood's title except 'to ye Prayse of Good women,' ye xiiij chapeter of ye Proverbis, licenst to John Alde in 1568 (Arber's Transcript, i. 378), which is too early for Stubbes. 'The Praise and Dispraise of Women' in 1579 won't of course do.

I don't think—as Mr. Reardon did, Old Sh. Soc. *Papers*, iii. 15; and Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.*, ii. 399—that Gabriel Harvey necessarily meant to include Stubbes in "the common Pamfletters of London" (p. 42\*, l. 9 above), or we might suppose that many of Stubbes's works have been lost. There is no "other" before Harvey's "common," as there ought to be if Mr. Reardon's and Mr. Collier's view were right; and against it, is also Harvey's after praise of Stubbes for his filed lines (p. 43\* above). Harvey meant to distinguish Stubbes from the "common Pamfletters," not confuse him with em.

56\* § 6. Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers. 1583. 25 Eliz. Septimo Die Nouembris/ Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes The William wright. second parte of Thanotomye of Abuses1. . . vjd Transcript, ii. 428. 1591. An. Eliz. 33°. xvto Junij Richard Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of Jones./ LONDON and the wardens / A Christall glasse for christian women | Conteyninge an excellent discourse of the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE STUBBES<sup>2</sup> &c Transcript, ii. 585. 1593. An. Eliz. 35to. xiiijto. die Octobris/ Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of the Bisshopp Thomas Man./ of London and Master warden Cawood. a booke entituled, A motive to good woorkes or rather to true christianitye &c . . . . . . . . . vjd Transcript, ii. 638. [Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies James Robertes whiche were John Charlewoodes | Saluo Jure Cuius-The Rosary of Christian Praiers Transcript, ii. 651. a. But Stubbes had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when (or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and 1 "9 Augusti [1596]. Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve Thomas Creede Copies whiche were assigned from William wright to Thomas Scarlet, and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Crede ijs vjd . . . Item the second parte of the Anatomye of abuses called the Displaye of Corruptions." Transcript, iii. 68. 2 iijo Julij [1596]. Entred for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. Catheryne master Whyte Stubes, vjd (with The scole of vertue, vjd; Twenty Orders of Calettes and Drabes, vjd . . . The ffyve and Twentye orders of Transcript, iii. 187. knaues, vjd) Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubes' was assignd to Master Pauier

and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (Trans. iv. 44), and Pavier's share was, after his death, assignd by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (Trans.

script, iv. 164-5).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Caueat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [Colophon] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrie." Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his "Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier," 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of "a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods bloud."

The story being given at p. 135 below, I quote only a few verses of the ballad from its second edition in the Lambeth Library (sign. B. i. and B. ii.), to show the doggrel it is written in:—

"There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to name, Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient fame.

(4)

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde,
Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denyed.
It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire.

(5)

Which sayd youngman inclyned was, vnto a thing not good, As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood. 18

(12)

He had no sooner spoke these wordes, which I have shewed to you, But that a-pace his heart blood did, foorth of his boody flowe; 46 For why, out of his fingers endes, his blood did streame full faste; So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste. 48

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, p. 410, col. I, from which, and Hazlitt's Handbook, most of the after titles, &c., are given.

Thus died he, commmitting his soule to the furies fell,
Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell.
Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,
For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56
(Old) Shakespeare Society's Papers, IV. 77-9, 1849.

b. Stubbes's second known publication contains his first ballad, with a second like one in 114 long lines, couplets—probably first issued as a broadside too—and prose forewords and hindwords, the latter calld "An admonition to the Christian Readers, inferred vpon the two straunge Stratagems before passed." The whole forms a 4to pamphlet of ten leaves (A & B in fours, C in 2), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library, and a reprint by Mr. James Purcell Reardon in the *Papers* of the Old Shakespeare Society, IV. 73-88. The title is:—

"Two wunderfull and / rare Examples. / Of the vndeferred and present / approching iudgement of the Lord our God: the / one vpon a wicked and pernitious blasphe-/mer of the name of God, and seruaunt / to one Maister Frauncis Pennell, / Gentleman, dwelling at Booth-/bie, in Lincolnshire, three / myles from Grantham./ The other vpon a vvoman, named / Ioane Bowser, dwelling at Donnington, in Lei-/cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie / straungely appeared, as in the dis-/course following, you may / reade. In Iune last. 1581. / VVritten by Phillip Stubbes. / Imprinted at London for / VVilliam VVright, and are to be solde at / his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle / shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to / Saint Mildreds Church./"

The story of the second ballad is told in the prose forewords, sign. A, iij, (p. 75-6, Sh. Soc.): how in Donnington, Leicestershire, there

"dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fiue shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgiue the sayde man before named, as he lay vpon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgiue the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to liue. Wherevpon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man . . . this euill spirit vttered unto her these speeches, and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money vnto her husband for his paines. Which she, with

as couetous a desire, receyued, saying, 'God thanke you.' She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed: wherwith the Deuill, giuing her a most fearefull and sore stroke,

vanished out of her sight.

"Wherewith her whole body, became as blacke as pitche, replenished all ouer with a most filthy scurffe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaueth to wright . . . her body was most straungely benummed, and her eyes closed vp from the benefite of the light. Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his iudgementes bestowed on her. Wherevpon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to reuoke his Iustice, and to restore her vnto her former health, where she remayned, praysing the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her."

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it. And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiij. back, and C. i.:—

"Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83

God hath thee warned now by this, and that in freendly sorte, To leaue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirthe and minstrelsie;
No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be,
90
Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile
[boil],

Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee defile.

(24)

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old; In filthy, scurrile, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold; 94 Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes, doo not thy selfe imbrew, (p. 86) For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuils crew 96

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John G. Bourn, the Vicar of Castle Donnington near Derby has kindly searcht his Registers for 1550—1600, and finds no Stubbes or Bowcer entry, but one of John Twell (who may have been Stubbes's man), marrid 5 May 1567; John Twell baptizd 18 June 1583; John Twell son of John Twell, baptizd 1589, died (?) 25 March.

# 60\* § 6. Stubbes's View of Vanitie; and Anatomie, Pt. 1.

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me
Who haue with paines contriued this same, for looue I beare to
thee.

(27)

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie, But see that thou accept hereof, as best beseemeth thee; And as a pledge of my good will, let this be vnto thee, Desiring God, that I thy state, in health and wealth may see."

- c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was "A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retrait from Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubs. London, by T. Purfoot. 1582. 8vo."
- d. His fourth was the famous Anatomie of Abuses, enterd in the Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo, here reprinted. The success of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at London, by Richard Iones. 16. August 1583. [Colophon] Perused, aucthorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter. (Collation: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon and device?). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone 526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition of the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].
- <sup>1</sup> There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions described by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.
- <sup>2</sup> The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.
- <sup>3</sup> Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

and Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter1"; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still calld the third2: "now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585." (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (calld the fourth) was publisht, "Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by the same Author. . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595." 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the Anatomie, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his Bibliographical Catalogue, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revised his Anatomie for the edition of 1595, and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his Perfect Pathway of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the Anatomie after its first publication were mainly these:—

1. he left out of the 2nd and all after editions, his *Preface to the Reader*, in which he had said that he didn't want to put down all amusements, but only the abuses in them, and had allowd that some kind of Plays, dancing in private, and gaming that wasn't

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "A perfect copy in the original vellum wrapper has been recently discovered," Mr. Hazlitt tells me (Aug. 8, 1879), and is in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, 88, Friar Gate, Derby, Editor of the *Derby Mercury*. Mr. Pyne has the imperfect copy mentiond in Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

<sup>4</sup> In F he left out his Latin verses, p. xiv, A. D.'s commendatory poem, p. xvii, and his own verses on 'The Avthor and his Booke,' p. xix-xx, below; in B, &c., he put in a poem by "C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations," p. xv-xvi, below.

## 62\* § 6. Changes in the 2nd and 6th eds. of the Anatomie.

gambling, were innocent. He evidently wrote, and perhaps printed, this Preface before he wrote all his book, and then saw that it was more or less inconsistent with the book itself, which denounst Plays, &c., so fiercely, and calld out loudly for their abolition.

2. he put in the story at p. 71—3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the 21 pages, p. 87-9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111-13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113-14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on Greate Swearyng in Ailgna, p. 129-136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than 'break or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth,' p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111—14, 122, 130—6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the Anatomie is too well known to need any dwellingon by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's wordsthe ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are 'puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together' (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have 'their pretie pussie to huggle withall' (p. 97), the usurer, 'thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man' (p. 127), the dancers, 'what kissing and bussing, what smouthing and slabbering one another' (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, 'to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees' (p. 184), the 'vgglesome monsters and Deuills' (p. 188), &c, &c.

Another change that Stubbes made in his 1595 edition (our F) was of his earlier inkhorn terms into simpler ones. Here are a few instances taken at random:—

A. tractation F. discourse

A. preparaunce F. great preparation

# § 6. Changes of inkhorn words used in the 1583 ed. A. 63\*

				-
	momentaine momentary	115	A. introite F. entrance	154
	acuate 128 whette	128	A. instinction [on-pricking] : F. instinct	157
	implicate entangled	129	A. preter time F. former ages	157
	denegers of (the faithe) reprobates concerning	134	A. quauemire or plash 159, 1 F. quagmire or puddle	168
	abdicate (themselves) abandon	134	A. obtused F. dulled	161
	evacuate haue discended	136	A. babish F. wanton	161
	God his (left at 189) Gods	142	A. distincted F. distinct <sup>1</sup>	165
	exordium 145, original	154	A. victimats and holocaustes : F. and oblations	168
	procliue prone	146	A. Hethenicall 168, 1 F. Heathnish	177
	allections 146, enticements	155	A. auditorie F. hearers	169
	instinction instinct	148	A. fucate F. counterfeit	174
	exterior action outward show	152	A. promulgat F. published	176
	templaries & oratories	152	A. vendicate commend-	
	temples and churches saturitie	7.50	ations F. challenge rewards	177
	fulnesse	153		178
	determinat	153	F. annull	
	prefixed circumvalled 153,	-60	A. prostrated F. humbled	181
	compassed about	162		182
A.	concions	154	F. annoying	
F.	preachings		A. consummate 183, 1 F. ended	191

But he has left amarulent, 147; alatrate, 149; conculcate, 183, &c.; and in one case he has turned the simpler trinckets of A, 82, to supellectiles in E and F: probably more of like kind occur. In F, too, Stubbes gave up his absurd way in A of spelling certain

## 64\* § 6. Stubbes's Rosarie, Anatomie II, against Papists.

proper names backwards: Ailgna, for Anglia, England; Eprautna (71), for Antwerp; Lewedirb (100), for Bridewell; Munidnol (59), for Londinum, London; Ainatirb (21), for Britannia; Ratsurb (100), for Brustar; Enlocnilshire (135), for Lincolneshire; Notelgnoc for Congleton (136), &c. Erichssehcshire for Cheshire (135) he had given up in E (1585) or before.

e. Stubbes's fifth book was "The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for divers Purposes, and at divers Times, as well of the day as of the Night, by Phill. Stubbes. Lond. by Iohn Charlewood, 1583, 18mo." It was enterd in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 3, 1583, and assignd to James Roberts on May 31, 1594, but no copy is now known.

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/rie degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon/ the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uersion vnto God: made/dialogwise by Phil-/lip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed . . . . London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright,/ and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the/Poultrie, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe."[1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of 5½ inches high by 35/8ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36\*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

In the 1583 edition of Foxe's Martyrs ('Ecclesiastical History . . . . Actes and Monumentes,' &c.), the following eight lines of Stubbes's, on the Papist Bloodsuckers or Leeches, appeard at the end of the commendatory Poems, sign. ¶ iiij. They are not in the edition of 1570, but are repeated in that of 1596:—

"In sanguisugas Papistas, Philippus Stubbes.

Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum, Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum,

## § 6. Stubbes's Popes Monarchie, & Parry's Treason. 65\*

Florida quæ nimio compresse est pondere palma, Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis. Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eoque magis. Sic Ευαγγελιον quantumuis turba papalis Conspuat, exurat, crescit, vbique tamen. Finis."

g. Of the seventh book: "The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie. by Phil. Stubbes. Lond. for Henry Carre. 1584. 8vo," no copy is known.

h. His eighth, a 4to tract of 4 leaves, is represented by copies in the Lambeth and Huth Libraries, and was reprinted (with a few changes) by Mr. Reardon in the Old Shakespeare Society's Papers, iii. 17—21:

"The / Intended Trea-/son, of Doctor Parrie:/ and his Complices, A-/gainst the Queenes moste / Excellent Maiestie./ With a Letter sent from the Pope / to the same effect./ Imprinted at London / for Henry Car, / and are to be solde / in Paules Churchyard at the Signe / of the Blazing Starre. /" (1585.)

This little tract must have been written between Febr. 25, 1585, when Stubbes says that Parry "was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided," and March 2, when he was hangd.\(^1\) The object of the tract was to state Parry's crime, to print the Pope's letter to him—'written by the Cardinall of Como'—encouraging him to his crime, and granting him plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins, and to make Englishmen hate the Pope and papists:—

"One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie, and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waightie affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded of her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after, this Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing

<sup>1</sup> And, as Stowe says in his Annales (1605), p. 1180, "The 2. day of Marche [1584—5] William Parry was drawne from the Tower through the city of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered for high treason, as may appeare by a booke extant, intituled 'A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry' &c. & I have set downe the same booke in the continuance of Reine Woolfe's Chronicle" [calld by us, Holinshed's, ed. 1587, vol. ii. p. 1382—95].

receiued his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a Dag, sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided sign. A. ij. (p. 18). . . . .

"What good subject, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest the one & y° other? (A. iij. back, p. 20). . . . take this for a Maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soeuer otherwise they beare the world in hand (p. 20) . . . blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizaunce of them, and of that wicked generation; and let vs look for it, they wil be pricks vnto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo" (sign. A. iiij.—p. 21).

i. Stubbes's ninth book was his Life of his Wife, or Christal Glasse for Christian Women, 1591, enterd on the Stationers' Registers on June 15, 1591. Mr. Henry Pyne has been kind enough to lend me his unique copy of the first edition.<sup>2</sup> From it the part in which Stubbes describes his wife and her relation to him, is printed below, p. 195—208, the doctrinal part being left out. That Stubbes lovd his young wife, and did his duty by her, is clear. The picture of the stern grave husband and the sweet girl-wife looking up to him, never contrarying him, but gently persuading, listening to his exposition of Holy Writ, is surely one grateful to the mind, notwithstanding its dark background of hard religionism.

j. Stubbes's tenth book is also in part reprinted below, p. 209.

"A perfect Pathway / to Felicitie, / Conteining godly / Meditations, and prai-/ers, fit for all times, and / necessarie to be prac-/tized of all good / Christians. / Imprinted at Lon-/don by Richard Yardly / for Humfrey Lownes" / 1592. /. My copy, believed to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pistole: F. A Pistoll; a great (horsemans) Dag . . Pistolet; m. A Pistolet; a Dag, or little Pistoll—1611. Cotgrave.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The 2nd edition, 1592, is in the Huth Collection. The tract was printed as late as 1658. Of that edition I have a copy.

## § 6. Stubbes's Pathway, and Motive to good Workes. 67\*

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of 3 oin. high, by 23 broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below, p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212, -and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions 'those fleas and gnats' that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspere. These Prayers convinct me that their writer was a pureminded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes: and all who wish to understand him should read them.

k. Of the eleventh and last known work of Stubbes, only one copy seems to have been lately extant, and that belongd to Mr. J. P. Collier, but has (he says) been stolen from him. He thus describes it in his Bibliographical Catalogue, ii. 400-1:—

"A Motive to good Workes. Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede. Wherein by the waie is shewed, how farre wee are behinde, not onely our forefathers in good workes, but also many other creatures in the endes of our creation: with the difference betwixt the pretenced good workes of the Antichristian Papist, and the good workes of the Christian Protestant.—By Phillip Stubbes, Gentleman.—Matthew. 5. verse 16. Let your light so shine, &c.—London, Printed for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater Noster rowe, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593. 8vo. 114 leaves.

"In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out

so important a word as 'good' before 'workes.'

"This is the only copy of the book that we ever met with: Lowndes originally mentioned it, and the short title is given in the new edition, p. 2539; but in both it is erroneously dated 1592: it is entirely prose.

# 68\* § 6. Stubbes's 11th book, A Motive to good Workes.

"Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that 'he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past1,' and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it 'from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593' we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it —a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address 'to the courteous Reader' he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style: "I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect filed phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre fetched epithetes.'

"Considering the purpose for which the author travelled, we might reasonably expect some minute and interesting details of what he saw in the country nearly three centuries ago; but we have little beyond general invective and pious lamentation over the prevailing vices, until we arrive at p. 184, where remarks are made upon the facility with which a license was obtained for a worthless or immoral book, while permission to publish a religious or meritorious work was long delayed. As this is a point which he had touched upon in his 'Anatomy of Abuses [p. 185, below]' we

transcribe only a few sentences: he says—

'I cannot a lyttle mervayle that our grave and reverend Bishops, and other inferiour magistrates and officers, to whom the oversight and charge of such things are committed, will either license (which I trust they do not, for I wyll hope better of them) or in anie sorte tollerate such railing libels and slanderous pamphlets as have beene of late published in print, one man against another, to the great dishonour of God, corruption of good manners, breach of charitie, and in a worde to the just offence and scandall of all good Christians. And truely, to speake my conscience freely, I thinke there cannot a greater mischiefe be suffered in a common wealth, than for one man to write against another, and to publish it in print to the viewe of the world.'

"In this passage we can scarcely fail to observe an allusion to the very personal controversy about this date so vigorously carried on, through the medium of the press, between Nash and Harvey. The Martin-marprelate feud was also then at its height, and Stubbes, as a zealous Puritan, sincerely sympathised with his pen-persecuted brethren.<sup>2</sup> He proceeds:—

1 25 March, 1593.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> And had a direct personal feeling about it besides: see Nashe's attacks on him, p. 37\*—41\* above. But it is surely to Stubbes's credit that (so far as we know) he didn't, like Galriel Harvey, answer Nashe's personal railing by personal railing, as he could easily have done, but protested against the practice. It's a height of virtue which I have not yet reacht.

## § 6. Stubbes's Motive, 1593. § 7. His Character. 69\*

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere uppon earth. For is not this the next way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulacion, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next way to make bloudshed and murther, to rayse up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookes and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallowes, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happly rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buryed in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilest in the meane tyme other bookes, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conycatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickely licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

"At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered

[Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

"He is especially vehement on the neglected and ruinous state of the churches in the country and does not spare the Roman Catholics and Jesuits for their many attempts on the Queen's life, enumerating Parry (about whom he had himself written), Somerville, Arden, Throckmorton and Babington as among the principal offenders." 2

§ 7. Stubbes's Character. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been "of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: men very commendabl for their behaviour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey their pastime." Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. Tho his

1 next is the contraction of 'nighest,' as hext of 'highest.'

<sup>3</sup> Captain Cox or Laneham's Letter, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society. Who'll give us £35, to issue it for the New Shakspere Society?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On p. 402, Mr. Collier, besides trying to take a dozen or more years off Stubbes's life by making him die of the plague in 1593, thinks "It is rather singular that in the [Motive to Good Workes, 1593] Stubs says nothing of the death of his wife which had occurred on the 14th December preceding," or 1592. But 1590 was the year of Katherine Stubbes's death: see p. 195 below.

Anatomie can't be calld a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :-

"Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true Phisition and expert Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued." p. 26 below.

And tho he cut out in after editions, the moderate and sensible Preface to the Reader, 1 p. x-xiii below, which he wrote to his first edition, yet there stands his declaration of his meaning in the book, that it was the abuse, not the use, of amusements that he condemnd: "take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill; being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet, because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away." p. xii; see too p. x.

And granting that Stubbes went beyond this limit in the body of his book, yet one knows that the evils he was denouncing were real sores in the common weal, and one sees how easily he, believing that the Day of Doom was close at hand (p. 187), would be led to speak, maybe too sharply, of the ridiculous petty vanities and fooleries that were going on daily and hourly around him. There was something better for English men and women to do in Shakspere's days than dress themselves like 'a dog in a doublet,' and paint themselves like harlots; and if Stubbes while calling on

<sup>1</sup> I attach no value whatever to Mr. Collier's suggestion that Stubbes withdrew his Preface on account of the issue of 'a public order . . forbidding the profanation of Sunday by the representation of plays and interludes.' Why should this make him withdraw his moderate Preface, and yet make him maintain his fierce attack on Sunday plays in the after part of his book? And I suppose that the following paragraph is due to that imagination of Mr. Collier's which gave us his versions of the Alleyn letters (Audelay and Harman, E. E. T. S. xxv), Blackfriars petitions, &c: "We can readily believe that, considering the offence it had given at Court and elsewhere, he [Stubbes] was glad also to omit what he had said, in the first instance, on the subject of indecency and extravagance in dress." Bibl. Cat. ii. 394. The denouncings are made fiercer, if anything, in the 2nd edition; the Preface is withdrawn only because it weakend the attack in the text.

them to do this better thing, also calld them idiots, and all the hard names he could lay his tongue to, let us hold that he was right in his main purpose, if he errd somewhat in his way of carrying it out.

And if we read his meditations and prayers, and give him credit—as we surely may—for trying to do and be, from dawn till sleep came upon him, what he askt others to pray to do and be, in their daily life, I do not think we shall deny to Philip Stubbes a pure spirit, an earnest soul, a longing to be one with God, and fit himself and the world around him for the habitation of the Holy One, in whom he with his whole heart believd.

§. 8 Miscellaneous. a. The illustrations. As Stubbes writes so much about the dress of his period, I thought our members—the foreign and colonial ones especially—would like to have some authentic reproductions of trustworthy specimens of that dress: hence our héliogravure (by M. Dujardin) of Virtue's large engraving of Queen Elizabeth's Herbert Procession in 1600, from Lord Ilchester's picture, and the other cuts from Planché's late work on Costume. For the Ballad cuts that follow the above, I cannot claim equal authority; but as they could be had for the price of the casts of them, they were added, and Mr Ebsworth has been so kind as to write an interesting Memorandum on them.

The cause of Elizabeth's Procession was her going to the marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell. A short notice of the event is given, says Mr. G. Scharf (*Archæol. Journal*, xxiii, 231), in the *Sidney Papers*, ii, 203:—

"Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:-

"This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had prouided a lectica, made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court."

p. 137: "It may be observed, with reference to the costume of the Queen, that the wide-spreading, radiating ruff, open in front so as to show the neck, appears to be a peculiarity of the Queens latest

<sup>1</sup> Litèra, a horselytter, Lectica. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict.

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601. Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading

lace-ruffs." Scharf, p. 143. The bride is in white.

As to the house in the background, the antiquary whose loss we all so lament, Mr. J. G. Nichols, said (Arch. Journal, xxiii, 302) that he

- "... did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it may give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner: subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the Times newspaper in Printing-house Square."
- b. The Extracts from Stubbes's other works are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the Anatomie alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their marrid life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

The Extracts from Bp. Babington are given, to show how a grave Churchman in high place in Elizabeth's reign spoke of the social

<sup>1</sup> But in 1598, when Hentzner saw Elizabeth at Greenwich, "Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry." Harrison, I. lxxvi.

## § 8. Naogeorgus's Popular Superstitions. This Book. 73\*

ills of which Stubbes complains, so that the reader may judge, from them and the other extracts in the Notes, how little or how much Stubbes exaggerates. That I could have three- or four-folded the testimony borne by these extracts, and those in the Notes, every student of the literature of the time knows.

- c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) Regnum Papismi, as englisht by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desird with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informd and interested them in Brand (Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of The Popish Kingdome, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.
- d. The present Edition of the Anatomie (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull 1 re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly calld the third. That the worth of the book deserved more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's Description of England was never reprinted separately, 2 till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the Anatomie's reprints.

Stubbes having so added to and changed this first edition, I thought it would be more interesting to print the text in its first state, and show all the changes in it, rather than to reprint the last edition of 1595, and note the earlier states of that. The only difficulty was, how to deal with the chapter on Swearing, and the other long additions of the second edition: I decided to put them in the text, between brackets, and with notes saying that they were insertions. Of no copy of the edition of 1584 (then considerd two

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of Holinshed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Canon Simmons's note on him in The Lay Folks' Mass Book, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. lxvi.

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editions, p. 60\* above, note 3) could I hear, and so I couldn't get it collated. For the copying and collations of the text I have to thank our helpers, Mr. George Parker and Miss Smith; for a great part of the Index, Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage and Mr. H. K. Deighton; for some aid in the Notes, Mr. W. G. Stone; for their details of Stubbes's family, Col. Chester and Mr. Henry Stubbes; for leave to have the englisht Naogeorgus out of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. Bradshaw, our great Chaucerian; for his Memorandum on the wood-cuts, Mr. Ebsworth-king, with Mr. Chappell, over Ballad-land; -- for tidings of editions, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; and for information about their paintings of O. Elizabeth's Procession, Lord Ilchester and Mr. Digby.

For any further tidings about Stubbes or his lost books, I shall be greatly obliged, for use in my edition of The Anatomie, Part II.

3 St. George's Sq., N. W., July 20, 1879.

p. 52\*. Mr. Henry Stubbes says: "I have had the Eltham Registers examined, and they contain a great number of Stubbs entries of the branch from which I am descended, from 1584 to 1650, and among them some Philips, but none whom I can identify as the Author."

p. 66\*. Life of Wife.—Besides the witness that its many editions afford to the wide-spreadness of Stubbes's 'Life of his Wife,' we have other testimony in plays, &c., as for instance, in William Cartwright's The Ordinary, probably written in 1634, printed in 1651, Vicar Catchmey says-

"I shall live to see thee

Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box, Thy half-crown library, and cry small books:

'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'-

'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards' :

' A pill to purge out popery':

"The life and death of Katherine Stubbs,"

in Hazlitt's Dodsley, xii. 272. And, as the note there says, 'Richard Brome, in his play of The Antipodes, act iii, sc. 2. [acted 1638, printed 1640] mentions this book in the following manner: -

> "A booke of the godly life and death Of Mistress Katherine Stubs, which I have turn'd Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth, To woe an ancient lady widow with."

'Again, Bishop Corbet, in his Iter Boreale, [? 1647] says-"-And in some barn have cited many an author, Kate Stubbs, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

## APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

# EXTRACTS FROM BP. BABINGTON ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, A.D. 1588.

Dress, p. 75\*
Charms, Gaming, and Cursing, p. 78\*
Spending of Sunday, p. 78\*
Parents' Neglect of Children, p. 82\*
And setting them a bad Example, p. 82\*
Children's Neglect of Parents, p. 82\*
Stage-Plays and Players, p. 83\*
Dancing: its Evils, p. 83\*
Wanton Looks and Books, p. 84\*
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Idleness in Youth, p. 86\*
Idle Jesting and Scoffing, p. 87\*
Amusements allowable, but not Gaming for Money, p. 88\*
Dicing: its evils (Chaucer on), p. 89\*
Oppressing the Weak. Taking Bribes, p. 91\*
Covetousness. Lawyers. Unfit Parsons, p. 92\*
Prittle-prattle: evils of it, p. 93\*

#### Bp. Babington on Dress.

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of Apparell. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possiblie may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grieuouslie offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing then in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp, seeing it plainely telleth vs, we are not as we were

"Macilente. I was admiring mine own outside here,
To think what privilege and palm it bears
Here in the court! Be a man ne'er so vile,
In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else;
If he can purchase but a silken cover,
He shall not only pass, but pass regarded:
Whereas, let him be poor and meanly clad,

<sup>1</sup> Dress, advantages of.—"Fastidious Brisk. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties; makes continual holiday where it shines; sets the wits of ladies at work, that otherwise would be idle; furnisheth your two-shilling ordinary; takes possession of your stage at your new play; and enricheth your oars, as scorning to go with your scull." 1598-1601. B. Jonson. Every Man in his Humour, II. ii. Works, i. 94. See too

when no apparell was worne, and yet no shame thereby? Were it not monstrous pride, if a redeemed prisoner conditionally, that he should euer weare an halter, should waxe prowde of his halter? Mans apparell is the badge of a sinner, yea of a condemned and cursed sinner, & therefore the pride of it and delight in it, no doubt very monstrous before the Lorde, and hatefull. If euery silken sute and gorgeous gowne in Englande shrowded vnder it a saued soule, and a sanctified bodie in the sight of God, O, happie then England of all the nations vnder heauen. But if vnder such garded garments, may, and doeth lodge a body and soule abhorred of the Lorde, that in the day of wrath shall finde no fauour: then is it not apparell, that ought to be sought after, but in the day of iudgement how we may be saued."

p. 308. "As for filthines, foolish talking, iesting, and such like, they are thinges vncomelie for a Christian. Againe, vnchast bookes and wanton writinges, who knoweth not howe they tickle to vncleannes? and therfore both they and the reading of them forbidden in this lawe. Sixtly, too much showe in apparel, painting, tricking and trimming of our selues aboue conueniencie: it is a daungerous allurer of lust, and

therefore forbidden.

Que. I could wish yet a litle larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaieth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant, and a thing, to

Though ne'er so richly parted\*, you shall have
A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
Or how to rince his clammy guts in beer,
Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,
And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
Of virtue in bad clothes!"

ib. p. 108, col. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"A Dreame of the Devil and Dives, most terrible and fearefull to the servaunts of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60)

leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

"Then, said Dives, wo woorth these rackte rentes, and unreasonable fines that shall purchase such a kingdome! I would to God I might chaunge my estate of that kingdome with the most vilest and basest cottage on the earth. When they came hyther, they will crie out and say, Wo woorth the time that ever we rackt our tenants, or tooke such fines to impoverishe them! wo woorth the tyme that ever wee were so greedie of money, and wo woorth the tyme that ever we consumed the same in gluttonous and excessive fare, in proude and sumptuous apparell, in playing of Dice, Cardes, or other games, and other worldly vanities! Wo woorth the tyme that we made our Sonnes ritch by making Tenaunts poore! But cursed be the time that we have made our Sonnes Lordes and Gentlemen on the earth, with the everlasting damnation of our owne bodies and soules in Hell! That proverbe may be truelie verifyed in us, which is Happie is that childe whose Father goeth to the Devill. This will be theyr song when they come hither, but then they shall be without remedy, as I am." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 498.

<sup>\*</sup> Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselues in." 1

<sup>1</sup> Apparel: (a) Women imitating men's dress: (b) Men's absurd Dress. Andrew Boorde's Cut of the naked Englishman, p. 249, below.

"For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens Shee Apes, for they will not bee behind them the bredth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will haue the French standing coller too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall Apishnesse, in a short time they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie, after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to Beggerie. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned, one of euery Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an Englishman, At the last (to giue him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe (see p. 249, below).

"For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seuerall places: his Codpeece is in Denmarke, the collor of his Duble[t], and the belly in France: the wing and narrowe sleeue in Italy; the short waste hangs ouer a Dutch Botchers stall in Vtrich: his huge floppes [slops] speakes Spanish: Polonia gives him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster than the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne Blockheades. And thus we that mocke everie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from everie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scurvily becomes vs." 1606. T. Decker. Seven Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 36—7.

Women. Tight waists. — "I have seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling, will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones: Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne's Essayes (ed. 1632), p. 133. [in French, 1580.]

The following sketch of a fop with a toothpick in his mouth and a flower in his ear (compare the picture in the Natl. Portrait Gallery) is from—"Laugh and lie downe: or The worldes Folly." (Printed at London for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great North dore of saint Paules.) 1605. 4to. B. L.

"The next was a nimble witted and glib-toung'd fellow, who, having in his youth spent his wits in the Arte of love, was now become the jest of wit; for his looks weere so demure, his words so in print, his graces so in order, and his conceites so in tune, that he was—yea, iwis, so was he, and that he was such a gentleman for a Jester, that the Lady Folly could never be better fitted for her entertainement of all straungers. The picktooth in the mouth, the flower in the

#### Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.

p. 158-9. "For sorcerie and witchcraft, charming and coniuring, am I able to say I have as earnestlie abhorred them as I ought, and everie way so absteyned from them as I shoulde? Nay hath not rather ease beene sought in paine of mee by these meanes, or at least wished if I coulde have gotten them? . . . Let it be wel weied of anie Cristian heart that feareth God indeede, and carefullie seeketh the credite of his name, howe often vnreuerentlie in sporting and playing, in shooting & bowling, in dising & carding, we vse Scripture his name, howe the phrase of scripture wil rowle out of our phrase. him in cursing & banning our bretheren, and surely he shall see no smal guilt touching this commandement in everie one of vs."

Here is Babington's contrast of the way in which the Papists punisht breaches of God's laws—swearing, &c.—and of their own :—

p. 119. "Who so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runneaway from the Church: cite him and summon him, excommunicate him and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for Reade the L. he is not worthie to liue upon the earth. But if he blas
Cobhams last examination in the beginin the beginin the beginoffende most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, & most commonly so, or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c."

## Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.

p. 189-191. "If the sanctification of this day consist greatly in labouring to knowe the Lorde by the preaching of his worde, howe shall they safely passe the curse of God for the breache hereof, who with benummed soules, parched, padded, senselesse, and every way most hardened hearts, either lie and sleepe on the one side idle, or tossing the alepot with their neighbours, suffer this day to passe without any instruction, and like dumbe dogges hold their peace, no way discharging the dutie of a true minister, and one that tendereth the glory of God, his owne, & his peoples soules? . . . Againe, if to sanctifie the Sabaoth, be to consecrate it to holy vses, such as haue beene named, is it possible for vs to escape the reuenging hande of the eternall God, if he, content in mercie with one day in the 7. we denie him that also, and dedicate it

eare, the brush upon the beard, the kisse of the hand, the stoupe of the head, the leere of the eye, and what not that was unneedefull, but he had so perfecte at his fingers endes, that every she was 'my faire Ladye,' and scarce a Knight but was 'Noble Sir': the tobacco pipe was at hand, when Trinidado was not forgotten, and then a tale of a roasted horse to make an asse laugh for lacke of witte: why, all thinges so well agreede togither, that at this square table of people, or table of square people, this man (made by rule) could not be spared for a great somme." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. p. 452-3.

## Appx. Bearbaiting on Sundays, attackt & defended. 79\*

to drunkennes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in ye name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to judge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [Spending whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage Sunday.] plaies and summer games; whether gadding to this ale or that, to this bearebaiting 2 & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frosen & void of

1 See Harrison, Part I, p. 32: he speaks of Ales, &c., as lessend in number.

<sup>2</sup> The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting.

In Haslewood's account "of the London Theatres; No. IX, The Bear Garden," in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1816, vol. 86, Part I, p. 205, \* he says that "The Author of a tract in manuscript in the Museum, + written about this period [1606], having censured the players for the indirect attacks made by them upon the Nobility, under borrowed names of foreign Dukes and feigned persons, defends this diversion as needful for the common people, and that it should be exhibited upon festivals. 'I cannot (he says) see howe that sweet and comfortable recreation of beare-bayting (beinge, to our rude and inferiour vulgar, that which Circensis Venatio was among the Romans) maye welbe forborne, seeinge like will to like, as it is in the black proverbe, and therfore conclude that our active spirritts and fine pregnant witts, with pleasant and ingenious playes would be intertayned, and the scumme of the people (evene vpon the festivall daies) to the Bancke-side drayned . . . To retorne, where exception is taken to bear-bayting on festivall daies, I saye, vppon those, hell is broake loose, and it is good pollicye to drawe all the devylles (if it be possible) into one place, to keepe them from being easely tempted (for pares cum paribus facillime congregantur, penè dixissem copulantur, for one devill easely tempteth another,) and vnlawfull attemtinge ells where. Bestiis indulgendum est infimæ plebi; the poore slaves have bene heldein harde to labour att the working daies, and would be gladd to have a little recreation on the holye dayes, which our commiserant Lord ordayned in part (as I conceive) for the reste of them, and all brutes in generall, whome the insatiable covetousnes of man wold contynually, without intermission, be hurrying in traveile and laboure, and partly for solace and refection to the droylinge servant. Nowe becawse the rude multitude dothe not knowe well howe to vse libertye (and some they muste and will have), therefore, that they themselves may devise none madder, whereof mischief maye aryse to the weale publique of the poppular cittyes, let them vse the sweete pastime of beare-bayteinge, and other suche publique exercises (thoughe on the festivall dayes), a God's name, that we may knowe what they doe, and wheare to fynd them if neede be. And [in] generall, all manner of pastimes are to be permitted att customable tymes to a peaceable people for there solace and comfort, as his Majestie in those moste judicious and admirable preceptes and direccions to the Prince t hathe verye choisely noated and prescribed."

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.
† I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS. tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.
‡ Fames I's Book of Sports.

## 80\* Appx. Bp. Babington against Sabbath-Breaking.

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, that having every day in 6. every houre in euery day, & euery minute in euery houre, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnlesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling. Awake, awake, in Iesus Christ admonished, awake! & seeing al the weeke long, ye Lord of heauen doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow with thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord yt one day shall be

consecrated of thee, & obserued according to his will."

p. 199-205. "Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, powring out thanks from a feeling soule for ye Lords goodnes euer to vs, & namely the weeke passed? Haue we visited or thought vpon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffring for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues, or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as ye preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we have not, we have not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much haue we neglected all these; yea, euen diverse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, haue litle or neuer at all troubled our heads: but for their contraries, in most ful measure we have wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished them. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not justly condemne them for ungodly gadding [Churchales, on this day to Churchales, to weddings, to drinkings, to ban-stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearbaitings.] summer games, and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

While men with maides in wanton If that his mate doo seem to like the daunce unseemly oft doo turn,

with Venus games to burn . . .

game that he would have,

Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause | He trips her toe, and clicks her cheek, to show what he doth crave.

For Thomas Deloney's advice in 1607 how to woo and win a wench, see Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 215.

Arthur Golding, the great englisher of classical books in Shakspere's day, also complains of the Sabbath-breaking that went on. In his little book on the earthquake \* probably alluded to by Shakspere, through the Nurse's mouth, in Romeo and Juliet, he says :-

Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays.—See Mr. Collier's account, in Bibl. Cat. i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's 'Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (Henry VIII, Act I, sc. 4).'

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of Aprill. 1580. betweene the houres of five and six in the Evening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman.—At London, Imprinted by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Thamis streate nere Baynerds castle," small 8vo. B. L.

conscience to restraine his seruants from this impietie, or the seruant againe that hath either brideled himselfe for ye Lords cause, or else wel accepted his master or mistres restraint being made vnto him, and which hath not rather burst out into vngodly & disobedient speeches, murmuring that because he hath wrought all the weeke, therfore he should haue libertie to do what he list on ye Sabaoth, not considering that this com-mandement bindeth not only ye master himselfe to honor God on this day, but to see to his family so much as he can, that they also do it. Nay I would to God yt masters in many places were not ringleaders to their owne & al other mens people, to prophane this Sabaoth of the Lord, and that euen such maisters as in respect of their calling, office and credite in the countrey, should farre otherwise doe. When doeth a gentleman (to name no higher estates) appoint a shooting, a bowling, a cocking, or a drunken swearing ale, for the helpe as they say of some poore one, but vppon the Sabaoth? And if he be at ye Church in the forenoone, for the after noone it is no matter, he hath beene verie liberall to God in giuing him so much. What day in the week vsually doeth he give so euill an example of vnmeasurable sotting in bed, as on the Sabaoth? But O filthie sauour that ariseth out of this lothsome chanell, thus raked vp into the nostrels of the Lorde! I spare to speake, I shame to see, I rew to knowe, what I fully knowe against our soules in this respect. . . . What should I say of the second end of the institution of the Sabaoth, namely for the rest of seruant & cattell? But even in an word, woe to the man whom God shall judge according to his guiltinesse herein. For it is too vsual with al estates to be a meanes to robbe their servauntes of the blessing due to the keepers of this law, and to pull vppon them the plague for the contrarie, by making them ride and run, post and away, vpon euerie occasion that commeth in their heads, when in truth, if they would but euen look into it, the matter may be done wel without such hast. . . . Wherein or howe crucifie we the fleshe more on this day than any other, bridle the frowarde desires of the heart, restrayne our owne nature, and doe the will of God more on this day than any other? Alas, our owne consciences crie vnto us, we doe nothing lesse: wee drinke, wee eate, wee surfet, wee sweare, we play, [Sunday we daunce, we whore, we walke and talke idlely, vainely, amusements.] vncleanely and vngodlily: these are our workes on ye Sabaoth more commonly than any day in the weeke else; and if this bee to resemble a spirituall rest, then in deede wee doe it, not otherwise. . . . A thousand times & a thousand he might with great right haue destroyed vs either amongst our pottes, or in our daunces, or idle in our beds, asking vs if that were to halow his Sabaoth, or to honour his name to swill [Drinking and to bibble, to leape, to walowe and tumble in bed, till it on Sundays.] bee noone, with such like."

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word to the reformation of our lyves, for the administration and receyving of the Sacramentes to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behovefull for bodye or soule at Gods hands by Prayer, for the mynding of his benefites, and to yeelde praise and thankes unto him for the same, and, finally, for the special occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed."—Collier's Bibl. Cat. ii. 315—16.

# 82\* Appx. Bp. Babington on Parents' want of Duty.

## Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.

p. 221-2. "For too much it is of parents neglected, & yet are they grieued, if of their children they be not reuerenced: and howsoeuer many there bee, that in these daies are carefull ynough to procure vnto their children knowledge of Artes, of Countries, and of any thing that in worldely sort may make them mightie, famous, and spoken of: yet is the grounde of all verie fearefully neglected, namely, to setle in them the true feare of the God of Israell, deliuered and taught in his worde. Yea, it is euen accounted by father and child not so needefull or beseeming for a gentleman, to the great exasperating of the Lordes wrath against them and their seede. Humilitie also and shamefastnes are taken from youth in these daies, euen by their parents and their teachers; and where it hath euer beene held, that blushing in measure, modestie, and silence haue been commendable tokens in young yeeres, nowe is it a shame to be ashamed at any time, blushing is want of countenance and bringing vp, silence is ignoraunce, modestie is too much maidenlinesse; and in short, nowe vertue is vice, and vice very comely and gallant behauiour. So times are changed to and fro, and chaunging times haue chaunged vs too. But of this thus farre."

## Children's want of Reverence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.

p. 247-251. "What shoulde I name, what shoulde I feare to name, so will it wring vs all, the mocking of our Parentes? Where is that childe that hath carefully couered to his power, and euer borne withall in him selfe, the wantes or infirmities whatsoeuer of his Parents? No, no, the Lord hath not onelie something against vs in this behalfe, but euen great and greeuous hath beene our fault, and still it remaineth in manie of vs. Wee laugh to see our Parentes shame, we smile at their wants, wee publishe their infirmities, we disdaine their ignoraunce, wee loath their age, and in manie a thing to our owne confusion, if the Lorde give not an amending repentance, we bewray a robbed hart of that true reuerence which ought to bee in children to their parentes. Alas if God iudge vs for our obedience, where are we? what witles wil erecteth a kingdome in vs? Howe cleaue wee to our selues in all matters, and thinke our owne direction best? Howe despise wee the counsell of our friendes, and cast behinde vs their experience? Euerie sonne and euerie daughter would rule their mariage wholie themselues. And euen in euerie action, alas, what disobedience sheweth it selfe in vs vnto our parentes. . . . Are we parents? . . . What life haue wee ledde before our children too breede and continue these duties in them? Hath it beene holy, graue, and modest, and so remayneth, as neere as we can, seeking to hide from the eyes of their witlesse heades, such wantes as we knowe our selues subject vnto? No no, but carelesly and loosely, euen in euery place, parentes bewray neglect of religion: they will goe to the Churches or good exercises when they list, and that verie rarely; they shewe no regarde of the dutie of Christians, they carie no grauitie in their doinges, no modestie often in their behauiour, but liue most dissolutely and often incontinently; they sweare fearefully without regarde, speake prophanely, not respecting the frailtie of the youth that heareth them; father and mother let vnkinde speeches passe from them one towardes an other in the presence of their children, to the great impayring of their credite

with them, carelesse, God knowes, of their bringing vp, and too full of foolish pitie when they should correct them. . . The very vnnaturall and vnkinde dealing of Parentes with their children in their youth, denying them releefe, and comfortable helpe, maketh them often (though it should not) when they have attayned to anie estate, to deale as vndutifully with their needie Parentes againe."

#### Stage-Plays and Players. (See too p. 85\*.)

p. 316-318. "These prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes: what an occasion they are of adulterie and vncleanenesse, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires, the world knoweth with too much hurt by long experience. Vanities they are if we make the best of them; and the Prophet prayeth to have his eies turned away by the Psal. 119. Lorde from beholding such matter: Euill wordes corrupt 1. Cor. 15. good manners, and they have abundance. There is in them euer manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from 1. Thes. 5. 22. al appearance of euill. They corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodie, till al be horrible before the Lord. Histrionicis gestibus inquinantur omnia: (sayth Chrysostome) These players behaviour polluteth all thinges. And of their playes he saith, they are the feasts of Sathan, the inuentions of the deuill, &c Councels have decrieed verie sharply against them, and polluted bodies by these filthie occasions have on their death beddes confessed the daunger of them, lamented their owne foule and greeuous faulles, and left their warning for euer with vs to beware of them. But I referre you to them, that vpon good knowledge of the abominations of them, haue written largely & wel against them. If they be dangerous on the day time, more daungerous on the night certainely: if on a stage, & in open courtes, much more in chambers and private houses. For there are manie roumes beside that where the play is, & peraduenture the strangenes of the place & lacke of light to guide them, causeth errour in their way, more than good Christians should in their houses suffer."

## Dancing, the Evils of it. (See too, p. 85\*.)

p. 318-321. "Que. What else? "Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, [Dancing.] and the allurements to vncleannesse, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the councels have condemned it, & the proofe of Gods judgementes upon it biddeth vs beware. Instrumenta luxuriæ tympana & tripudia, sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancinges. Laquei sunt & scandala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus. They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to ye beholders. Iob noteth it as an olde practise of the deuil to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth : that from the tabret and the flute, which in Calu. serm 80. themselues are not vnlawefull, they come to dauncing, vpon lob. which is the chiefest mischiefe of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vnchast behauiour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an inticement to whoredome. In the gospell the spirite of God noteth it Math. 14. in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable

# 84\* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Dancing.

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was meretriciæ lasciuiæ Martor. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio. That is, that for her to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoeuer (saith he) hath a care of honest grauitie, he euer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it spectaculum familiæ Regiæ probrosum. A dishonorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike. Syrac. 9. 4. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experience, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. Ambros. de. godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For saltatio ad virgin. lib. 3 adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe Chryst. Math. speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake hom. 48. it. Saltatio barathrum diaboli, sayth an other: dauncing is the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Iacobs mariage in Genes. Theophilact in Mar. 6. (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing that was at it. Mira collusio sayth another, saltat diabolus per puellam: It is a strange jugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The councels haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the judgementes of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Col-An. 1505. Strange which Pantaleon hotels becke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead. But because others have so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to have beene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselues. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Que. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

Ans. There are yet many mo. But I may not in this sort stande vpon them. Gluttonie & drunkennesse, with houses of open whoredome, youre booke nameth and proofes for them. Idle1. Cor. 7. 39. nesse also is an other meanes, the vowe of chastitie, the deniall of seconde marriages, the going of men in womens apparell, and women in mans apparell, with a number such."

### Temptations to Unchastity: Wanton Looks and Books, Dress, Plays, Dancing.

p. 348-350. "The meanes and allurementes either to the actuall offence, or the thought condemned in this commaundement as we have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robert Manning of Brunne cites this instance too, in his *Handlyng Synne*, A.D. 1303. See my edition, p. 279-286. He makes the sacrilegious Carollers or Dauncers go on hopping for ever after.

## Appx. Bp. Babington against Stage-Plays, &c. 85\*

heard before, are many and diuerse. Sometimes the eyes disorderly wander, and beeing not checked by a Christian conscience that feareth to give them libertie too long, they become the occasions both of thoughtes and actes, wicked and damnable. Sometimes behauiour vnchast and unseemely. Sometimes speeche wanton and light, stir the hart vp to conceiue that thing, and the wicked fleshe to perfourme it fully, which God and nature abhorre as filthie. The dalying tattles of these courting dayes, the lasciuious songes made by loose mindes, and the wanton greetinges in euerie place nowe vsed, alas what thoughtes procure they, neuer liked of the Lorde, that I may say no worse? Bookes written by vnreformed heartes, and continually redde to the greefe of God, are they no occasions to fraile flesh, both in thought and deede to offende against this law: God knoweth, and experience teacheth such soules as tast of Christ, that verie deadly poyson vnder a false delight, doth this way creepe into vs. An vnchast looke makes an vnchast heart, and a rouing tongue beyonde the listes of godlinesse ere euer we well knowe what we doe. So subtill is the sinne that this way creepeth into our soules. Apparell is next, a most fearefull allurement to the breache of this commaundement both in thought and deede, if God once in mercie would open our eyes. So are these stage playes and most horrible spectacles, so is our dauncing, which at [Stage Plays.] this day is vsed, so is drunkennesse, gluttonie and idlenesse, with a number such like, as can witnesse eche one in the world that will weigh them."

p. 351-354. "Light behauiour and alluring daliance is Behauiour, euerie where accompted comelie bouldnesse, and good Speech. bringing vp: discoursing speeche to a vaine ende, we count a quality commendable in vs, and the want of it we esteeme simplicitie, wheresoeuer we see it. And therefore by bookes to such endes set out, we endeuour to attaine vnto it, and having once polluted our speech (for I will neuer call it polishing) we are neuer better than when we haue company to bestowe our tales and greetinges vppon. Our apparell, in matter, to our power we make sumptuous, and in forme, to allure the eye asmuch as wee can. If this be true, in the name of Christ let vs better thinke of it than we have done. These are allurementes to sinfull lust, and this lawe of God forbiddeth not onely both act and thought, but euen euerie allurement to either of them. What should I speake of stage plaies and dauncing? Can we say in trueth before the maiestie of God that we carefullie abstaine from these thinges, because they tickle vs vp either more or lesse to the breach of this commaundement? Alas we cannot a number of vs. But we runne to the one continually to our cost, when we will not be drawen to better exercises that are offered freely, we sucke in the venom of them with great delight, and practise the speeches and conueyances of loue which there we see and learne. The other wee vse with especiall pleasure, Dauncing. and God being witnesse to many an one, they wish the fruite of their dauncing to be this, even the fall of them selves and others into the breach of this lawe. What should I say of gluttonie and idlenesse? Doe they not make vs sinne? Good Lord, give vs eyes to see, and hearts to weigh the occasions of our fall. The spirite of God hath Gluttonie and sayde that these pricked up the flesh of the filthy Sodomites drunkennesse. to that height of sinne; and yet we can imagine they will cause no sinne at all in vs against this lawe. And therefore professing the gospell and integritie of life, yet dare we so pamper, so stuffe, & cramme this rebelling

# 86\* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Retainers, &c.

flesh, as if we were gods that could suffer no temptation: we dare gull in wine and hote drinkes continually, beeing peraduenture both strong and young, and euerie way needing rather pulling downe, than setting vp. We dare solace our selues in soft beddes too long for our constitutions, and all the day after betake our selues to nothing whereabout the minde might walke, and so escape impure conceptes."

#### The giving of Liveries to Retainers and Serving-men, &c.

Liueries are p. 378-9. "And I wil yet adde one thing ouer vnto all often meanes these, which must needes be included in this head of and couers of oppression, because it is a common and a dangerous cloake oppression. of the same, to wit, lyueries of Prince or subjectes, noble men, gentlemen, or whosoeuer. Which if they maintaine and beare out the vniust & wrongfull dealings of any man with ye knowledge of the Lord, not only the deede doer, but the giver of that cloth and cote whatsoeuer he be, standeth giltie of that oppression before almighty God. The consideration whereof being so true and sure, should justly cause in al estats, that deale their cloth to others, a more vigilant eye & eare to see & heare the conversation of their followers, & a restraining hand of such countenance, credite or couer to them (all worldly reasons set apart) when so euer they shall vnderstande the same to be abused. For why should any earthly respect euer stande so great in mens eies, as that for it they dare take vpon them the guilt of other mens sins, & spoyling oppression? But alas great is the vnfeelingnesse of many mens harts in this matter in these dayes. Either Pope, profite, or pollicie, doe make vs deale our cloth too liberally, and regard our mens behauiour too negligentlie. But a worde is ynough."

"What shoulde I say of that cloke and couer and cause of p. 428. Liueries. much oppression, the cloth and liueries of Superiours? Am I the giuer or the taker? If I bee the giuer, haue I neuer boulstred my cognisance out to doe the thing that God forbiddeth? Haue I hearkned about to see and learne howe they vse the credit that is given them? God knowes wee haue litle neede to be charged with other mens sinnes, as no doubt such a maister shall with such a mans offences. For we shall neuer be able to beare in our selues the burden of our owne. Am I the taker? what then saith my conscience? haue I sought it and sued for it for affection, and true duetie in my heart to him that gaue it? Doe I weare it, and wishe to weare it, to haue my heart knowen to him or her the better, whom with heart and hande, bodie and goods, power and might till my death, in right I honour and serue, and wishe and will doe euer? Or rather a false faith seeketh a faire shewe, and a powling hande of manie a seelie weake wretch seeketh a strength to establish my wickednesse, and a backer to beare on my foule oppressions?"

#### Neglect of honest Work in Youth. (The Grasshopper and the Ant.)

p. 382-385. "There was a litle tittle tattle, when time was, they say, betwixt the grashopper and the pismire, and we may laugh at it, & yet looke better about vs as admonished by it. The grashopper hauing passed the summer ouer merily, as her custome is, singing and tuning the notes of a thoughtlesse minde vnder euerie leafe, at last when winter came on, beganne to shake, and to goe to bedde with an emptie bellie

# Appx. Bp. Babington on Idleness in Youth, & Jesting. 87\*

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and having a wealthie neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaile, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demaunded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grashopper) I sung, and litle remembred this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will neuer maintaine idlenesse in anie." Thus received slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. Optimum obsonium senectute labor, (sayth one) They are good refreshinges in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,2 who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tipple and drinke, banket and reuell, what connsell soeuer is given vs to the contrarie, with that litle we haue, and sing care away. And a litle gaie apparell on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I have no wages vnlesse you could worke, many thinges may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idlenesse and slouth. . . . 3 Wherefore it is not ynough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we have by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) just labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fidling and pyping vppe and downe the countrey, by carying about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subject to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

#### Idle Jesting and Scoffing.

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoeuer, and all leawde vanitie, or babishe seruilitie to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or such like place with one peeuish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a merie greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe. Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

<sup>1</sup> p. 383. <sup>2</sup> p. 384. <sup>3</sup> p. 385. <sup>4</sup> 'Good men' fighting, &c.—"howe dare these sinfull, brauling, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vppon them to be called good men borne, and soe foorth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I have named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

Amusements in Moderation are justifiable. What Games are allowable. Gaming for money is not. The Evils of Gaming.

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, diuers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie straite, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must give accompt in the day of indgement o feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue

bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

p. 400-408. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would drawe vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to have this effect in vs, even to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subject to dulnesse, and wearinesse, even in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weakenesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach. 8. 5.

Exod. 13.

2. Sam. 18.

Leuit. 23.

The appointing of festival dayes.

I so tearme, because I am assured that the worde of God condemneth not all our play, and the corrupt constitution of our bodies, together with the dulnesse of our minds, require some play. Sparing in truth is the worde in giuing, because well knew the Lorde wee woulde not bee sparing in taking libertie for to play. Yet is it plaine inough.

Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying

philosophie, Philosophandum paucis: Wee must play but litle.

But nowe the seconde steppe is more harde than this, namelie to knowe what games wee maie vse, and at what wee may play. Wherein not purposing anie set and curious treatise, I aunswere briefely, that of those manie and differing kindes of sportes, that are deuised and vsed in euerie place, I condemne none, which make for the quickening of bodie or minde, which serue to actiuitie, and prepare men for better seruice an other daye, vnlesse they haue ioyned to them any vngodlinesse, or are by Lawe of that particular place forbidden: no, not Cardes or Tables in all respectes, and to euerie person at all times, and in all places: Neuerthelesse I am fullie assured, and doe willinglie affirme, that they ought not of Christians professing the Gospel to bee so much vsed as they are.

. Let vs therefore rather enter to consider an other poynt, which is

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that cals them good men, bicause

Stoute fighters they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutely, and would mayme and kill desperatly: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.

T. Lupton. Sivgila, p. 53.

# Appx. Bp. Babington against Gaming and Dicing. 89\*

harder than this, namelie, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus: If it bee lawefull to plaie for monie, then is it lawefull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawefullie possessed: But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first inuention of plaie prooueth, which, as euerie one canne well witnesse, was neuer inuented to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirdlie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullie crie for want of succour: from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare vppon, and euen from the want of manie necessaries for our selues, that it is not lawefull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a witnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not given seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Iesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at vayne playe, in a vayne manner, twentie times as much? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will neuer pricke him, or neuer haue a just rewarde of punishment at Gods handes? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee saued too? Naie, is it not woonderfull, and a thing that heauen and earth are ashamed of, and euen all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former dueties, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie bookes to benifite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessaries, and yet thinke hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawefull, and not to bee spoken agaynst? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus have his conscience seared vp? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stoode in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to driue awaie from vs such grosse securitie. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyued our selues, and others; wee were neuer anie thing lesse, than Christians. These dueties therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessaries for our selues, improoue 1 our playing for monie."

#### Dicing, the Evils of it. Chaucer and Sir T. Elyot.

p. 411-417. "The Poet layeth it downe amongest the Cankers that consume men and make them beggers, Dise, Wine, and Women. What shoulde I say? Take anie booke in hande of an heathen man, and it is a woonder, if you finde not some thing against dysing. Nowe come from heathens to Christians, and see euen as great misliking. Austen beginneth and is not afraide to say plainely, Aleam De civit. Dei. invenit Dæmon, The deuill first found out the game of lib. 4. dising. Lyra, detesting it, seeketh to make other men doe In præceptorio. as much by diverse reasons. It coveteth (sayth hee) an other mans

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lat. improbo, disapprove, blame, condemn.

### 90\* Appx. Bp. Babington, Chaucer, &c., against Dicing.

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it misspendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise, and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner:

Dising,2 (saith he) is verie mother of leasinges, And of deceite and cursed forswearings. Blasphemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also, Of battaile, naughtinesse, and other mo.3 [3 Of catel, and of time, and forthermo] It is reproofe and contrarie to honour, For to be hould a common disesour.4 [ \* hasardour] And euer the higher he is in estate, The more he is houlden desolate. If thou a Prince dost vse<sup>5</sup> hazardie [3 If that a Prynce | vseth] In all[e] gouernance and pollicie 600 He is, by a6 common opinion [6 as by] Houlden lesse<sup>7</sup> in reputation. 602 [7 Yholde the lesse] Lordes might finde other manner of 8 play, 627 [8 fynden other maner] Honest inough to drive the day away. 628

But of all other speeches, me thinkes it is a maruelous saying of Sir Thomas Eliot, and ought verie greatly to moue vs, who affirmeth that if a man heare one to be a diser, and knoweth him not, by and by he iudgeth him to be a light and vaine person, and of no credite or accompt. . . Last of all, peruse the Statutes of this our owne countrie, and I beseech you marke the liking they have showed of dising. In the twelfth yeare of Richarde the seconde all vnlawefull games were forbidden, and by name Dising generallie. In the 21. yeare of Henrie the fourth, disers taken were imprisoned sixe dayes. And if anie heade Magistrate, as Maior, or Sheriffe, made not diligent search for them, they forfetted fortie shillings: If a Constable were negligent, hee lost sixe shillinges and eight pence. In the seuenteenth yere of Edward the fourth, they that kept dicing houses were to have three yeares imprisonment and 20. pounds fine. Players at dice in those houses, two yeares imprisonment and ten pounds fine. In the eleuenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth, Dicers shoulde be openlie set in the stockes by the space of one whole day, and the house keepers that suffered him to play, forfeit a noble, and be bounde to their good behauiour. In the 33 yeare of Henrie the eight, Dicing houses forfetted fortie shillings euerie time, & disers vi. s. viii. d. and bound in recognisance neuer to play againe. And yet more may you see in Pultons abridgement.9 Now it is woonderfull that notwithstanding all this, yet so foule a thing shoulde seeme so faire, and that a man should not thinke himselfe vsed as a gentleman or almost as a man, vnlesse hee may have libertie in this loosenesse, and the large reine to so great an euill. And yet wee be Christians, and that of the better sort too, or you doe vs wrong. The heathen hated it, and we hatch it vp in euerie house, and yet we be Christians. The godly writ against it, wee waite for it, and yet we be Christians. The councels haue condemned it in the spirite of Christ, and christian lawes haue most sharpely punished it: wee day and night vse it, and cannot be reaued of it, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the Pardoner's Tale, Group C, l. 589-628; Six-text, p. 321-2. A few of the Ellesmere MS. readings are in the margin above.

<sup>9</sup> Of the Statutes.

# Appx. Bp. Babington on Oppression of the Weak. 91\*

yet we be Christians. But alas, alas! the day of vnderstanding, or the day of damnation for our ignoraunce, shall teach vs an other thing. We sweare, we lie, we reuile, and wee runne into the fielde with murthering mindes (for such anger is murther) moued by play, and yet we will not leaue it. And if I doe not thus in shewe, yet inwardly I frette, I chafe, I gnash with my teethe, and teare the Cardes, burne the Dice, throw away the Tables, and such like, and yet I am religious. The Lorde forbiddeth all appearaunce of euill, all occasions of sinne, and yet wee are the Lordes, and doe neither. The Lorde saith, 'If thy right hande cause thee to offend, or thy right eye, cut it off, plucke it out, and cast it away'; wee will bee the Lordes, and not restrayne a litle play, that, mine owne soule being witnesse, most greeuouslie maketh mee offende. Fie, fie, what deadnesse is this? Where is either loue of God, or feare in vs? Loue makes vs burne with desire to doe well, feare makes vs shake, to thinke of anie sinne: we continually sinne in our greedie gaming, and yet we be godlie. But this either makes vs see it, or we will neuer (I feare) see the mischeefe of playing, and by name of Dising. The Lorde for Christ his sake awake vs, and so I end."

#### Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.

p. 425-428. "Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all Oppression. oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Haue wee neuer detained the poore seruauntes wages, and wrecked our anger vppon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Haue wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded," or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

1 "Nay, thou hast yet Another Cruelty gnawing in thy bosome; Against want for what hope is there that thou shouldst have pitty over others, of provision when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke over thy walls into thy dye in the Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy servants and apprentises sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day vpon deadly errands; when they perceive that the Armed Man hath struck them, yea, even when they see they have tokens delivered them from heaven to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke vpon their graves, and to gather the flowers themselves that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to have a writing over their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

"Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hye wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common shame, and common necessity compell,) none step in to give them buriall. Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are alive: Set vp an Hospitall to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead." 1606. T. Decker. Seven Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 48.

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall towardes him in this commaundement. . . . Haue wee Widow and not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe wee might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from the bones, as Iob wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered Bribes. these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift I to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you have offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnes pulled not vppon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeues.

Covetousness. Lawyers. Giving Church-livings to bad Parsons.

p. 431-5. "Wee boldlie looke of euerie mans commodities. As we goe and ride, wee streight way couet, and that which is worse, presentlie we deuise to obtain our will to the impayring of our brothers wealth, and the fearefull breaking of this commandement. And woulde God the rage of our lust were not sometime so vehement, as that missing to get what it greedelie seeketh, it casteth vs downe sicke in our bed, or causeth vs to hurt him who hindereth our wishe, as wee see fell out in Achab to Naboth for his vineyarde. But of this hereafter more againe in the tenth By tongues. commaundement. For the tongue, alas what shoulde I saie, I will neuer bid you enquire whether you bee guiltie or no. For whither shoulde a man flie in these dayes from flatterie, or where may we liue and not light of false forgers seeking by filed phrase to bleere the eyes of such as least suspect them. . . . Let them ioyne hereunto, whose calling is such a true viewe of the drift and successe of their pleas, whether they have not often indeuored with their tongues, and often also obtayned by their speach, the wrongfull alienation of mens right from them to other men. And is not this a theft? Might not he euen aswell haue robbed him with his handes, as to be a meanes by speach of wrong perswasion that others doe it? But alas, what wordes can I vse, or anie man else this day aliue, to make men feele, that neither golden gaine, nor anie regarde to be named whatsoeuer, shoulde make them speake vntruely against the good estate of their brethren in anie causes? Surely, if this will nothing moue, that it is in nature theft which in name they so abbore, I will assay no further. . . . Are we al cleare of that theft of theftes committed in conueying of the Church liuinges to our owne vse from them that ought to haue them and doe the dutie for them, to the dishonour of God, the ruine of the Church, and the fearefull casting away of manie a soule into the pitte of hell for

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bacon's case, &c.

### Appx. Bp. Babington on Unfit Parsons, Tittle-Tattle. 93\*

want of knowledge? 1... Shall the Lorde crie woe vppon woe, wrath vpon wrath, vengeance vppon vengeance, to the carelesse shepheardes that feede themselues, and not the flocke; and shall he so quietly passe them ouer, that put in, and place such dume dogges, and vnable drones to doe anie duetie for their owne lucre? Is it a token of loue to feede his sheepe, to feede his lambes; and is it not a want of loue both to God and his lambes, to put in, for my gaine, such a drie nurse as can giue no milke nor feede at all, except it be with follie, and a fowle example of drinking, swearing, carding, tabling, bowling, sleeping, and such like?"

#### Prittle-prattle and Tittle-tattle, the Evils of em.

p. 481-2. "For the seconde which was telling of tales, wee haue heard it before shewed, and our owne knowledge both assure vs it is a branch of the breach of this commandement, which shall burne both bodie and soule in the fire of hell. And yet see, do we feare it, or flie it? Alas we knowe I am sure of it, we have beene too too secure in this point, and our securitie not seeing and weighing the wickednesse of the vice hath stayned both heart and tongue horriblie. Looke about the worlde and veiwe the generall course of all. Feareth anie man to discredite his neighbour privily, and to whisper vpon hearesay or his owne imagination what tendeth to the blemish of his name whom he speaketh of? Feareth any woman when shee hath mette with her gossippe to tittle tattle, to the slander of an other, this thing and that thing, which yet hath no certaintie, and which full loth she would haue saide of her selfe vpon like coniectures? No no we see too much the cursed course of lawlesse tongues in euerie place, though the Lorde in mercie giueth some consciences, and a thousande times I begge that we woulde see our sinne, confesse our sinne, and rippe vp our guilt in this respect. Why shoulde wee be so dull and without feeling? If it be a vertue thus to prittle and prattle of euerie bodie, vncertaine tales, but most certaine discredites, then prooue it so, and vse it : but if it bee a branch of false witnesse, that doth truly witnesse gods wrath to hang ouer vs for it, good Lorde, shall we still be polluted with it?"

[Tea Gowns in 1878.—See The World article, reprinted in The Royal Exchange, Nov. 9, 1878, a number sent out as an advertisement. (I, of course, see nothing of the set of folk referred to in it.)

"It is not so very long ago that the appearance in the drawing room or in any other place where she was visible to the naked eye of the male sex, of a lady loosely wrapped in her dressing gown, would have been an impossibility. But the world moves rapidly in this last quarter of the nineteenth century; and ladies, who a few years ago would have considered the idea appalling, calmly array themselves in the glorified dressing robe known as a 'tea gown,' and proceed to display themselves to the eyes of their admirers. . . . It is absolutely useless and utterly ridiculous; but this is not the worst that may be said about it. It is, to

all intents and purposes, a déshabillé; and so great is the force of association, that the conversation is exceedingly apt, nay almost certain, to become déshabillé as well. The gentlemen, in houses where tea gowns prevail, relieve themselves of their shooting attire, and reappear very frequently in gorgeous smoking suits; there is an ease and sans facon about the whole proceeding that favours laxity of discourse, and advantage is generally taken of the latitude afforded. It is easier to take three strides forward than half a step backwards; consequently, when the company reassembles at dinner, the point of departure for the conversation is several degrees nearer to the doubtful borderland of hasarde allusions and double entendres than it would have been without the antecedent symposium en négligé. . . Old-fashioned prudery has long been thrown aside in the eager desire for more admirers of such becoming raiment; the tea gowns have descended to the drawing-room and the hall, and have become more marvellous and more voyant in the transit. With the graceful négligé toilet there has come in a habit of lounging, which is certainly of most doubtful grace. Hands are not unfrequently to be seen clasped above or behind the head, thus often liberally exhibiting the arm by the falling back of the loose sleeve; feet and ankles are lavishly displayed as dainty slippers are rested on the fender; more ardent spirits recline in ostentatious repose on various sofas. It is considered the thing to suit the action to the attire, and exhibit in it the supremacy of ease. Any quiet spirits in the party generally disappear; they feel themselves as out of place among the stray remarks and hasardé stories, as their quiet morning dresses are among the pink and blue and other rainbow-hued tea gowns, with their lavish cascades of lace, and bewitching caps to match. They disappear; and when they again meet their friends at dinner-time, are apt to be somewhat astonished to find how much ceremony has been thrown to the winds in their brief absence, and on how much more familiar a footing their friends are than when they parted from them two or three hours before.

"... It will be doubtless said, tea gowns are far less objectionable than the extremely décolleté dresses of which such grievous complaint has been made during the last two seasons. But two wrongs do not make a right; and besides, objectionable as too décolleté dresses may be, they are still, by a fiction of society—that unwritten law which is of such infinitely greater force than all the statutes in the judicial archives—considered to constitute the fullest toilette, the greatest possible pitch of grande tenue; and owing to this belief they are by no manner of means so provocative of laxity of conversation as the moral dressing gown and

slippers of the tea-gown."]

For the loan of the following cut I have to thank Captain Harold Dillon. His uncle, at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, has a picture of one of the brothers of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in the time of Elizabeth, with a Rose in his ear, like the fop on p. 78\* note, above: the Rose is just stuck like a pen is, between the hair and the ear, showing the flower in front. The dandies must have carrid their heads very steadily, to have kept the flower from falling out. Perchance it had a woman's hair-pin to hold it in.

# Irish Costumes. The 1584 edition of the Anatomie. 95\*



Irish Costumes in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, from MS.

\*Edel-vrouwe Noblewoman Burgher-vrouwe Citizen's wife Wilde Irische Wild Irish

p. 60\*. The 1584 edition of the Anatomie.—Since I wrote the Forewords, Mr. Wallis has been kind enough to lend me his perfect copy of the 3rd (or 4th, or 3rd and 4th as Mr. Hazlitt and I now suppose) edition of the Anatomie, of '12 October 1584.' I have tested it in different places chosen at haphazard with the collations of the other editions given at the foot of the original text below, and have found that all of the few important changes there noted as due to E. 1585, had been made before in this (C-D.) edition of 12 Oct., 1584. Out of 58 passages tested (counting the sidenotes singly, would make em full 70) only 4 show small differences. It is clear, then, that Stubbes revised the 1584 edition more largely than that of 1585, though not so largely as the second of 1583 (August 1) and his last of 1595. The results of my testing follow:—

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11. p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

# 96\* Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomie.

viii/6.-2, 4, 6-6 differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s: 'a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of': has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21-21, 22, 23, 24.

ix.—1-1 not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.

x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F. xiv.—9. xvi—Greek motto. xvii—3. xix—2. 30.—8-8. 36.—13 differs, having both A. and B. and E.: 'peltes felles & skins' (E. peltes & skins).

38.—6. 39.—2, 'more' not in C.-D. (as not in E.).
40.—7. 41.—3, 4, 10-10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12-12. 68.—7. 70, 71, 72. -has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example, Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s headline, 72 foot. But keeps A. and B.'s 'Eprautna,' p. 71, against E.'s 'Antwarpe.'

79 note.—has the 'Deuil's bellowes' sidenote.

82.-8. 87.-has E.'s 'Handbaskets' headline, on back, and 'great paynes' side-note, &c.

96.—17. 97.—4 §, 9 'the' not in (as not in E.).

III-II4 .- has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the top sidenote on 113 markt F.

117, notes l. 2.—has, like E., 'Lawyers ruffling in.'

129-136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.

139.—6, 10 'very' not in (as not in E.). 152.—9-9. 186-190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; but on p. 188 'A materiall Hell,' like F., against E.'s 'Materiall.' 191.-4, 5.

Mr. Wallis, too, thinks "that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination." He adds: "It may interest you to know that my 'Stubbes' has never been 'in the market.' It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father's cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the 'first folio' brought £10.1 He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.2 I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books-Horresco referens !- being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms."

The title and colophon are given on the opposite leaf. The cut at the back of the colophon is that of the stooping robed man of B.

<sup>1</sup> Lot 1960. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, first folio edition, bound in Russia leather with gilt leaves. 1623. £10.

1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes,

bl. letter. 1583.

<sup>2</sup> From the Derby Mercury, Oct. 26th, 1786:—"On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his house in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, London, Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., late one of the physicians of St. George's Hospital; only son of the late Mr. Wright, surgeon, of this town (Derby). His remains were brought here yesterday, and interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church."

# The Anatomie of Abuses:

Containing

A Discouerie, or brief Summarie of such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as nowe raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especially) in the Countrey of AILGNA: Together, with most feareful Examples of Gods Judgementes, executed upon the wicked for the same, as well in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere.

Hery godly, to be read of all true Chrishians, every where: but most chiefly, to be regarded in England

Made Dialogue-wife by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly remised recognized, and angmented the third time by the same Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE. 13. Ver. 5.

I say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perish.

¶ Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12. October . 1584.

# Perused, aucthorised, and al-

lowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties
Iniunctions.



#### At London

Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere but Holborne
Bridge.

1584.



# PHILIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

OF THE

# ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

# [Collations for the title-page of May 1, 1583, opposite.]

<sup>1</sup>—¹ description F (1595).

<sup>2</sup> corruptions E (1585); enormities F (1595).

<sup>3</sup> now om. F.

<sup>4</sup> Christian not in B (1 Aug. 1583), or F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> the countrie of E; this Realme of F.

<sup>6</sup> verie not in B.

<sup>7</sup> England F. <sup>8</sup> Gods heavie F. <sup>9</sup> inflicted F.

10 euerie where not in B.

11 chiefly E.

12 Gent., added in F.

13—13 And now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. E (1585); Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by the same Author F (1595).

14—14 omitted F.

15 saith Christ not in E.

<sup>16</sup> Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595. F.

17 16. August in B, not in E.

18 1585 in E.

Series VI. No. 4.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

# The Anatomie of Abuses:

# Contagning1

A <sup>1</sup>Discoverie, or briefe
Summarie, of fuch Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigne in many Chriftian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (efpeciallie) in a verie famous Ilande called Ailgna? Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the fame, as well in Ailgna? of late, as in other places elsewhere.

# Terie Godly, to be read of all true Christians,

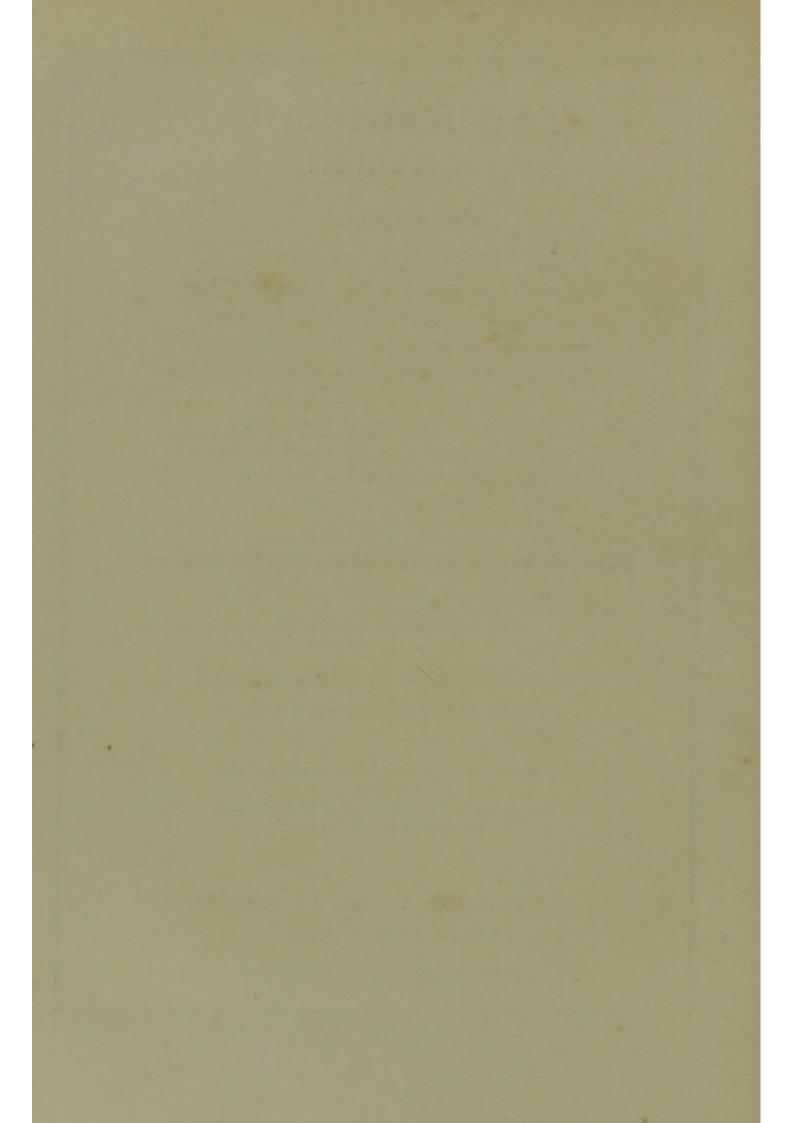
euerie where 10; but most needefull, 11 to be regarded in Englande.

Made dialogue-wife by Ahillip Stubbes. 13
13 Seene and allowed, according to order. 13

MATH. 3. ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.
 Lvc. 13. ver. 5. I fay vnto you (faith Chrift) 15 except you repent, you fhall all perifh. 14

<sup>16</sup> ¶ Printed at London, by Richard Iones. 1. Maij. 17</sup> 1583. 18

[1 The collations are on the opposite page.]





# To the 'Right Hono-

rable,2 Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip Stubbes wisheth helth of body & foule,1 fauour of God, increase of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie, 3 in the Heauens,3 by 4 IESVS Chrift.

<sup>5</sup> Nobilitas Patriæ Decvs. <sup>5</sup>

HE Lord our God (right honorable) 6 having by the power of his word, created Heauen and Earth, with all 7thinges what foeuer, for the comfort 7 and vie of Man, the last of all other (euen the fixt daye) 8 made [God made man Man, after his owne fimilitude and likenesse, that 10 in likeness,

him he might be glorified aboue all other Creatures. And therfore, wheras in making of other thinges he vsed onely this Woord, FIANT, be they made or let them be made, when he came to make Man, 11 as it weare aduyfing 12 himfelfe and 11 afking councell at his wisdome, he said FACIAMVS HOMINEM, let vs make Man; that is, a wonderful Creature: and therfore is called in greek Micro-COSMOS, a litle world in himfelf. And truely he is no leffe, whether a little world in we confider his fpirituall foule, or his humaine body. For what Creature is theare vppon the face of the Earth comparable to man,

1-1 Christian Magistrates and godly Gouernors of England, whose authority & offices are to reforme vice and maintain virtue, P. S. wisheth the F.

<sup>2</sup> and his singuler good Lorde added in E (1585). 3-3 in the Heauenly hierarchie E; om. F. 4 through E. 5\_5 om. F.

6-6 Right Honourable, worshipfull and welbeloued, the Lord our God F.

7-7 other thinges, for the benefit, F (benifite E).

8 he made A, F. 9 to what end? namely inserted in B (I Aug., 1583). 11\_11 consulting with himself, & as it were E, F. 10 to this end, that F. 12 consulting with in B.

iv

[2 Sig. ¶ 2, k, A.] [3 Sig. A 2, back. E.] [4 Sig. ¶ 2, back. B.]

[God made man, to be glorified in him,

that he might advance God's name.]

[This was typified by Moses's Tabernacle,

to which all men gave something.]

either in body or 1 in mind? what creature hath a foule immortall inherent in his body, but onely Man? what Creature can forfee things 2 to come, remember things past, or judg of things present, but onely 3 man? what Creature beareth the ymage of God 4 about with him,5 but Man? what Creature is made fo erect to behould the Heauens as man? What Creature may be likened to man, 6 either in proportion of body, or gifts of the foule 6? And (finally) what Creature hath the promife of the refurrection & glorification of their bodies, & of eternall life, but onely Man? Than, feeing the Lorde hath made Man thus glorious, and preferred him in 7 8 euery degree 8 before 9 al other Creatures (the Angelicall Creatures fet a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end 10 & purpose, 11 namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by him aboue all other his works, according to the measure of his integritie, excellency and perfection.11 And hereby we may learn that it is the will of God, that we 12 bend all our force to the aduauncing of his <sup>13</sup> glorious Name, <sup>13</sup> the edification of his People, and the building vp of his Church, which he hath redemed with the bloud of his deare Sonne.

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured foorth vnto vs in the 25 of Exodvs, wher the Lord commaunded Moyfes to build him a Tabernacle, or howfe of prayer, to this end and purpofe (doubtles) that therin his lawe might be read <sup>14</sup>, his Ceremonies <sup>15</sup> practifed, Sacrifices, Victimates & Holocaustes offred, <sup>15</sup> and his glorious Name called vppon and obeyed. To the erection wherof enery one conferred some what, some brought gold, some filuer & some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought filk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare, sand, lyme, morter, wood, stone, and such like. Euen so <sup>16</sup> (right honorable) would the Lord haue

1—1 soule? For what creature hath an immortall soule, F.
5 about with him om. F.

we should E, F. <sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> glorie E, F. <sup>14</sup> read and preached F. <sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> duly practized, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed F. <sup>16</sup>—<sup>16</sup> om. F.

<sup>6—6</sup> whether we respect the lineaments the demensions and proportion of the body, or the gifts and graces of the mind E, F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> by E, F. 8—8 many degrees F. 9 above E, F. <sup>10</sup> speciall end B. <sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> that, as in perfection and all kinde of integritie, he excelleth all other Creatures, so he might be glorified in, thorow, and by him aboue al other Creatures. B.

euery one to conferre some what, euen such as he hath, to the building1 of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the bloud of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Wherfore seeing it is so, that every one is to further this fpirituall building to his possible power, I have rather chosen, with the bring now my fimplest and meanest fort, to bring, though but heyre, fand, skins, lyme, morter, 3 wood, or 4 ftones, than altogether to 5 contribute nothing. [3 Sig. ¶ 3. A.]

[So I, to help God's Church,

our talents, not

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howfe, Chrift Iefus, will not diflike, but accept 6 of 7 8 my poore con- [8 Sig. ¶ 3. B.] tribution, no leffe than he did of the poore wydowes Mite, to whom [9 Sig. A 3, E.] was 10 imputed that fhe had caft more 11 in Gazophilatium Templi, 11 into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest; for what she wanted in effect that she supplyed in affect. And for that, also, the [God bids us use Lord our God committing his talents to every one, whether more or hide them, leffe, not onely requireth of vs the fame againe fimply, but also, as a ftraight computift, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs: & for that not only he is a murtherer & a Homicide before God who flayeth or killeth a Man with materiall fword, but he also who 12 may 13 preuent the fame, 14 and will not. And 15 not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any euill really, 16 but also he who confenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might avoid it, and either for 17 negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therfore, albe it, that I have receiued but one poore talent, or rather the 18 shadow of one, yet least I might be reproued (with that vnprofitable Seruaunt) for hyding my fmall talent in the Earth, not profiting therwith at all, either myfelf or others, I have aduentured the making 19 of this litle treatife, intituled and so I've thall formewhat conduce to the building 20 of this spirituall howse of the God's House,] Lord.

written my

And although I be one 21 (most honorable Lord) 21 that can do least in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into Wysdomes school), yet for that some wil not,

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1 building vp F.
                          <sup>2</sup> the Messyas B.
                                                  4 and F.
                       6 rather accept F.
5 to sit idle and F.
                                               7 of this E, F.
             11_11 om. F. 12 vho A.
10 it was F.
                                               13 might hinder B.
                    15 And for that E, F.
14 same murther F.
                                                16 actually F.
                    18 but the E, F. 19 contriuing F.
 17 through F.
                                              21_21 om. F.
 20 building vp & erection E, F.
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[and from love to God and my country.]

[I Sig. ¶ 3, back, A.]

[4 Sig. ¶ 3, back. B.]

[6 Sig. A 3, back. E.]

[Tho' I was at first minded to suppress my book, my friends made me publish it.]

[I didn't know whom to dedicate it to, till I thought of you, Lord Arundel, whose fame is worldwide.]

for feare of lofing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lofe the Kingdome of Heauen), Other fome dare not for difpleafing the world: I fay for these, & semblable causes, together with the zeale and goodwill I beare vnto my Countrey, and feruent defire of their conversion and amendelment, I have taken vpon me the contryuing 2 of this book; which GoD graunt may be with like plaufible alacritie received, as with paines and good will I have published it for the benefit of my Cuntrey, the pleafure of the God4ly and amendement of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and peruerfe, whose gawld backes are tutched, will repyne against mee, so the Godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and trauaile herein,5 whose gentle fauour and good6will shall counterpoyse (7 and farre furmount with mee<sup>7</sup>) the maligne ftomacks and ftearn 8 countenances of the other. After that I had 9(right honorable)9 fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithflanding, both in regard of the ftraungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to have suppressed it for euer, for diverse and fundrie causes, and neuer to have offred it to the viewe of the world, But, notwithflanding, being ouercome by the importunat request, and infatigable 10 defire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as 11 now you fee 11 is 12 extant.

13 But when I had once graunted to imprinte the fame, I was 14 in greatter doubt than 15 before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the fame fo rude and impolifhed a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to every one his sin, and discovereth every Mans wicked waies, which indeed the vngodly can not at any hand abyde, but, as it were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks. 16 (Cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenis buccis et dentibus plusquam caninis rabide feruntur:) they rage, they sume, and rayle both against the AVTHOR and his booke. Thus (vacillante animo) my minde wandring

<sup>2</sup> publishing F.

<sup>3</sup> collected F.

<sup>5</sup> sustained added in E, F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> yea farre surmount B; om. F.

<sup>8</sup> austere F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> om. F.

<sup>10</sup> orig. infagitable

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> now (God haue the praise therof) B.

<sup>12</sup> it F.

<sup>13</sup> From here to faile neuer, last line, p. vii, is omitted in F.

<sup>14</sup> was then B.

<sup>15</sup> than then E.

<sup>16</sup> and spewing out the poyson of their malicous harts inserted in B.

too and fro, and refting, as it weare, in extafie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue 1 pearced the Skyes, and whose laudable vertues2 are blowen not ouer the realme of England 3 onely, but even to the furtheft cofts and parts [3 Sig. ¶ 4. A.] of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayses, if I should take vppon mee to recounte, I might as well number the ftarres in the Sky, or graffe of4 the Earth.

For, for Godly Wysdome, and zeale to 5 the truth, is not your good [5 Sig. ¶ 4. B.] Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable with the best? For fobrietie, affabilite, and gentle curtefie to euerie one, farre excelling many.

For your great deuotion and compassion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie to your Soueraigne, loue to the CVNTREY, and vertues in generall, euerie where most renowmed.

But least I might obscure your Worthie commenda stions with my [8 Sig. A 3, bk. vnlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphaticall) I will rather furcease than further to proceed,9 contenting my felfe rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, than to have ciphered them foorth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable.

In confideration (whereof,) not withflanding that my Booke be fimpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) prefent it felf to your good Lordship (being farre vnworthie of such an honorable Perfonage) yet, accordinge to your accustomed 10 clemency, I most humbly befeache your good Lordship to receive the same into your honors Patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, feruice, and good will towardes your honorable Lordship: For proofe whereof, would Gop it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyse, yet with my humble seruice, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and euer willing heart I beare in breft to your good Lordeship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie 11 and faithfulnes 11 faile neuer.

[Tho' my book is unworthy of you. yet take it under your protection !]

<sup>1</sup> have long since B. <sup>2</sup> (by the golden trumpe of fame) inserted in B. 7 your great not in E. 4 vpon E.

<sup>10</sup> mansuetude, and pristine inserted in B. hearein added in E. 11\_11 faithfulnes and goodwill B.

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[It exposes sins, [5 leaf ¶ 4, back. A.]

and you are God's vice-gerent to correct sins.]

[12 Sig. ¶ 4, back. B.]

[Reform is needed.

Pride is rife.

Commoners wear gentlefolks' dress.

[17 Sig. A 3, back. E.] Plays, whore-dom, and usury go on.]

And because this my Booke is subject 1(my verie good Lord)1 to as many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as euer was any litle book 2 (for that few can abyde to 3 haue 4 their fins 5 detected) therfore I haue had the greatter care to commit the same to the guardance and defence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that God hath made your honour 6a Lamp of light vnto the world of 6 true nobilitie and of al7 integritie and perfection, but also hath made you his fubflitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte finne.

And as3 in mercie he8 hath given you this9 power and autoritie, <sup>10</sup> fo hath he <sup>11</sup> giuen <sup>10</sup> you a hungrie <sup>11</sup> defire to ac<sup>12</sup> complish the same 13 according to his will: Which zeal in your facred breft the LORD increase for euer.

And 14 as your Lordship knoweth, 13 reformation of maners and amendement of lyfe was neuer more needfull, for was pride (the chiefest argument of this Booke) euer so rype? Do not both Men and Women (for the most part) euery one in generall go attyred in filks, veluers 15, damasks, satans, and what not 16? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at 17 anie hand? Are not vnlawfull games, Playes, and Enterluds, and the like, euery where vsed 18? Is not whordome, couetousnes, vsurie, & the like, daylie practifed without all punishment or lawe 19?

But hereof I<sup>20</sup> fay no more, <sup>21</sup> referring the <sup>21</sup> confideration, both <sup>22</sup> of these and 23 the rest, to your 24 Godly wysdome. 25 Beseaching 26 your

> 1\_1 om. F. 2 book subject vnto E, F.

3-3 heare their faults discouered) I thought it most meetest to be dedicated to all good Magistrates and men in authoritie, to reforme vice, & maintaine vertue: Vnto whom, in al humble dutie I doe willinglie present the same. And therefore, as the Lorde God F.

> 6\_6 a mirror of E. 4 heare E.

8 om. F. 9 his E, F. 7 a rare Phoenix of for of al E. 10-10 to reforme vices and abuses, so I beseech him to give every one of F.

11\_11 by the operation of his Holy Spirite infused into your heart an earnest B. \*13\_13 for as you know F.

14 the rather for that inserted in B; For, E.

15 Velvets F. 16 not els? F. 18 frequented E, F.

19 or execution of iustice added in E; F adds, Was there euer seene lesse obedience in Youth of all sortes both men-kinde and women-kind towardes their superiours, Parents, Masters and gouernors?

<sup>21</sup>—<sup>21</sup> reservyng the good E, F. 22 as well E, F. 20 I nead to E. 24 your Lordships E, 25 Wisedomes F. 26\_26 you F. 23 as of E, F.

good Lordship 26 to perdon my prefumption in fpeaking thus much, for (Zelus domini huc adegit me) the zeal of my God hath dryuen me heather.

1 Knowinge that the LORD hath ordeined you to himselfe, a chosen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and fet foorth in this Church.] litle 2 booke.1

[You, Lord Arundel, are God's Minister

Thus I cease to molest your facred a eares any further with my rude fpeaches, most humbly beseaching 4 your good Lordship,4 not onely to admit this my Book into your 5honours patronage and defence 5,6 but also to perfift the iust Defender therof against the swynish crew of rayling 8 Zoilvs and flowting Momvs, with their complices 9; to whome 10 it is easier to depraue all things, than to amend any thing mockers 1] them felues: Which<sup>11</sup> if I shall perceive to<sup>12</sup> be accepted of your honour, befides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the fame, I shall not only think my felf to have received a fufficient guerdon for my paines, and shalbe therby greatly incoraged (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand fome memorable thing to your immortall prayfe, honour and renowne; but also shall daylie pray to Gop for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleafure and your harts defire, with increase of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS by Iefus Christ.

[10 leaf ¶ 5. A.]

Columna gloriæ virtus.

Your Honors to commaund,13 PHILLIP<sup>14</sup> Stubbes.8

1\_1 Not in E. 2 treatise B.

5\_5 protection F. 6 protection E. 7 defenders F.

8-8 F has the following, and slaunderous tongues, so shall I acknwledge my selfe most bounden to pray vnto god for the prosperous & good estates of you all, whom I beseech for Christ his sonnes sake, to blesse and prosper you in all your godly proceedings now and for euer.

Your Honours and Wisdomes most bounden,

omplies of braging Thrasoes and barking Phormions E. 11 but E. 12 the same to E.

14 P. in B.

13 in the Lorde added in E.

[leaf ¶ 5, bk]

[Tho' I blame Plays, Dances,

I don't want to abolish all

[2 leaf ¶ 6]

example

[Some plays are useful for good

amusements, but only the abuses in them.]

&c.,

#### A PREFACE

to the Reader.



Thought it convenient (good Reader, who foeuer thou art that shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply thou mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: That wheras in the processe of this

my booke, I have intreated of certen exercyfes vfually practifed amongeft vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and fuch other like, I would not have thee fo to take mee, as though my fpeaches tended to the overthrowe and vtter difliking of all kynd of exercyfes in generall: that is nothing my fimple meaning. But the particulare Abuses which are crept into euery one of these seuerall exercyfes is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwife (all Abuses cut away) who seeth not that some kind of playes, tragedies and enterluds, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commend2able exercyfes, being vfed and practifed in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (fuch they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholfome inftruction; And may be vsed, in tyme and place convenient, as conducible to example of life and reformation of maners. For fuch is our groffe & dull nature, that what thing we fee opposite before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen Poet, can witnesse: Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum occulis obiecta. So that when honest & chast playes, tragedies & enterluds are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that which is euill, and learning of that which is good, than are they

and Godly recreation

1 This Preface is omitted in the editions of 16 August 1583, of 1585, and of 1595.

very tollerable exercyfes. But being vfed (as now commonly they [But Plays be) to the prophanation of the Lord his fabaoth, to the alluring and to wantons, inuegling of the People from the bleffed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean affemblies, to ydlenes, vnthriftynes, whordome, wantonnes, drunkennes, and what not; and which is more, when they are vied to this end, to maintaine a great fort of ydle Persons, and to support doing nothing but playing and loytring, having their lyuings of the insufferable.] fweat of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronets deuouring the fweet honie of the poore labouring bees, 1 than are they exercyfes (at [ leaf ¶ 6, bk] no hand) fufferable.

acted on Sunday

idle drones, are

But being vied to the ends that I have faid, they are not to be difliked of any fober and wife Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not have thee (good Reader) to think that I condemne the exercyfe it felf altogether; for I know the wifeft Sages, and the Godlyeft Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vied the fame, as Dauid, Salomon, and many others: but my woords doo touch & concerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vied vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning [Dancing all vntill night, in publique affemblies and frequencies of People, Men lic, with music, & women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming, and fuch like wrong; inticements to wantonnesse & fin, together with their leapinges, fkippings, & other vnchaft geftures, not a few: Being vfed, or rather abused, in this fort, I vtterly discommend it.

Sunday in pubskippings, &c., is

But vppon the other fide, being vied in a mans privat-chamber, or tho' in private it is allowable.] howfe, for his Godly folace and recreation in the feare of GoD; or otherwise abroade, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disalowed.

And wheras I fpeake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an [Gaming is only exercife altogether vnlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of Godly, honeft, ciuile game, or exercife, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, fo that they be not inflamed with co2ueytoufnes, or defire of vnlawfull gaine; for the [2 leaf ¶ 7] commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet: wherfore, if any be voide of these affections, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for defire of filthie lucre, he may vie the fame in the feare of God: yet fo as the vse therof be not a let or hinderance vnto him to any other Godly exploit.

covetousness is mixt with it. ]

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#### To the Reader.

[Haunting gaming-houses to win money, is wrong.

I want the abuses of amusements removd.)

[So in Dress. Noble folk may wear sumptuous apparel.]

[2 leaf ¶ 7, bk]

But if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming howses, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether discommendable and vnlawfull. Wherfore, as these be exercyses lawfull to them that know how to vie them in the seare of God, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse them, as I have shewed. But take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not eaill, being vied as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooved, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away.

And wheras also I have spoken of the excesse in Apparell, and of the Abuse of the same, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be so vnderstood, as though my speaches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sump<sup>2</sup>tuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I suppose them rather Ornaments in them, than otherwise.

And that they both may, and, for fome respects ought, to were such attire (their birthes, callings, functions, and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my Booke laid downe, as may appeare; and for the distinction of them from the inferiour sorte it is prouable, both by the Woord of God, Ancient Writers, and common practise of all ages, People and Nations from the beginning of the World to this day.

[But lower folk must not flaunt in velvets, gilt daggers, &c.] And therfore, when I fpeake generally of the excesse of Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour forte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpasse either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, russling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Tasseties, Gold, Siluer, and what not, with their swoords, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burnished, and costly ingrauen, with all things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull Man doth, or may weare, so as the one cannot easily be discerned from the other.

[Iam against abuse, not use.]

These be the Abuses that I speake of, these be the euills that I lament, and these be the persons that my words doo concerne, as the

1 be- it is

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tenure of my Booke, confideratly wayed, to any indifferent READER doth purport.

farewell.

This much I thought good (Gentle Reader) to informe thee of, for thy better inftruction, as ¹well in these few points, as in all other [¹ leaf ¶ 8] the like, whersoeuer they shall chaunce to occurre in my Booke; Beseaching thee to construe al things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and to give the same thy good-woord and gentle acceptance. And thus in the Lord I bid thee

Thyne to vse in the Lord, PHILLIP Stubbes.



[Sig. B i. E, B.]

# Phillippus Stubeus

CANDIDO LECTORI.1

[I don't wonder, reader, if my book offends you with its worse than Vandalic words and dull themes; so read something more useful.] Offendit nimia te garrulitate libellus
fortè meus, Lector; miror id ipfe nihil.
Obfitus est etenim verborum colluuione
plusquam vandalica, rebus et insipidis.
Quare si fapias, operam ne perdito posthac
nostra legendo; legas vtiliora, vale.

¶ Idem in Zoila

[Since, Zoilus, you rage like a mad dog, Zoile, cum tanta rabie exardescis in omnes, non aliter rabidus, quam solet ipse canis:

Dente Theonino rodens alios, calamoque,<sup>2</sup> inceffens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi:

Vipeream in cunctos vibrans, O Zoile, linguam, linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam:

Cum debacchandi finis fit, Zoile, nullus, hora quieta tibi nullaque prætereat:

Cum tumeas veluti ventrofus, Zoile, bufo, demiror medius quod minus ipfe crepes.

and dart out your viper's tongue against everybody, and can never be quiet, and are always swelling like the frog, I wonder you too don't burst.]

¶ Aliud in eundem.

Dæmonis ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antrum, hunc³ lacerent furiæ, Cerborus ore voret. Imprecor at misero quid pænas, cui satis intus? dæmona circumsert pectore namque suo.

¶ Eiufdem aliud.

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber ifte videtur, pauca legas; poterit fic liber effe breuis.

<sup>1</sup> This page is omitted in F.

<sup>2</sup> calomoque in B, E.

3 hunce in B.

[To the devil with Zoilus! But why so with one who carries about the devil in his own bosom?

If the book before you seems too long, make it short by reading but little of it.] <sup>1</sup>C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations.

[r Sig. B i, back. B, E; not in A.]

Jou Sages graue with heares so hoare attend what you doe heare:

[Sages,

And eke you youthfull gallants all, marke well and giue good eare.

Gallants,

You princely peeres, and Senatours, in facred breafts imprint:

Peers.

These faiynges wife, and prudent eke,

to practize doe not ftint. You Bishoppes, and you Prelates all,

Bishops,

learn here your flock to keepe: You Ministers, and Preachers eke,

Preachers,

to feade your feely sheepe,

Commons,

You Commons all, whiche doe enioye, bothe high and lowe degree:

Step boldly in amongeft the route,

and view with fingle eye, This perfect glaffe, and mirror pure,

see here your sins describ'd!

And facred precepts doeth prefcribe, by name Anatomie.

Approche therefore both high and lowe, this Booke fee that thou buye:

which doeth your finnes descrie:

Buy this book,

And learne thy felf by facred lore, in vertue for to dye.

To God, to Queene, to all men eke, how thou thy felf shouldst frame:

learn your duty by it,

To liue, to dye in vertues lawes, to win immortall fame.

<sup>2</sup>Loe here (you readers all) the gaine, which you herein maie haue:

[2 Sig. B ij. B, E.]

Delay not then, give Stubbes the praise, fince freely he it gaue.

and praise Stubbes.]

#### xvi

[I, Stubbes's friend, ask you to take his work in good part, and praise him.] Loe, here my freende, his freendly harte,
which he to Countrey beares,
His taken paines, to all his¹ fendes,
with fighes and tricklyng teares:
In his behalfe, I, as his freende,
doe humbly of you craue:
His willyng minde accept, and giue
hym praife he ought to haue.

Finis.

τής ἄρετής διεγού· η τευχ' ή αλδιαιακαί. Β, Ε.]
<sup>1</sup>?he



[leaf A.]

# <sup>1</sup>A. D. In commendation of the Author and his Booke.

[Sig. B ij. B, E.]

I F Mortall-man may challenge prayse
For any thing done in this lyfe,<sup>2</sup>
Than may our Stubbes, at all affayes,
Inioy the same withouten stryse:
Not onely for his Godly zeale,
And Christian life accordinglie,
But also for this booke in sale,
Heare present, now before thine eye.
Herein the Abuses of these dayes,
As in a glasse thou mayest behold:
Oh! buy it than; hear what he sayes,

[Stubbes should be praisd for his Christian life, and this book which mirrors the abuses of our days.]

1 This page is omitted in F.

<sup>2</sup> like B.

And give him thankes an hundred fold.

3 his B, E.



[Sig. A 1, bk. A; B ij, back. B, E.]

[If profane men get praise for wanton pamphlets,

Stubbes should receive the laurel for this godly book,

in which the vices of the world are displayd.]

# I. F. In Commendation of the Avthor and his Booke.

C Hall men prophane, who toyes haue writ, And wanton pamphlets ftore, Which onely tend to noorish vice, And wickednes the more, Deferue their praise, and for the same Accepted be of all, And shall not this our AVTHOR than Receive the Lawrell pall? Who for goodwill in facred breft He beares to native foyle, Hath published this Godly Booke With mickle paine and toyle. Wherein, as in a Mirrour pure, Thou mayest behold and see The vices of the World displayed Apparent to thy1 eye. He flattereth none, as most men do, In Hope to gaine 2 a price; But shewes to all their wickednesse, And Gods diuyne Iuftice. A Godlyer booke 3 was neuer3 made, Nor meeter for these dayes: Oh! read it than, thank God for it; Let TH' AVTOR 4 haue his praise.

<sup>1</sup> the E, F. <sup>2</sup> get F. <sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> hath not beene E, F. T' HAVTOR A; Th' Author B, E, F.

#### <sup>1</sup>The Avthor and his Booke.

[Sig. A ij. A.; Biij. B.]

Now having made thee, feelie booke, and brought thee to this frame,

Full loth I am to publish thee,
left thou impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why fo, good Maister? what's the cause why you so loth should be
To send mee foorth into the World,
my fortune for to trye?

The Author.

This is the cause; for that I know The wicked thou wilt moue; And eke because thy ignoraunce is such as none<sup>2</sup> can loue.

The Booke.

I doubt not but all Godly Men will loue and like mee well; And for the other I care not, in pride although they fwell.

The Author.

[Sig. A ij, back. A.]

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
And subject every way
To Momvs and to Zoilvs crew,
who'le dayly at thee bay.

<sup>1</sup> This and page xx are omitted in F.

#### The Booke.

Though Momvs rage and Zoilvs carpe, I feare them not at all;
The Lord my God, in whom I truft, fhall foone cause them to fall.

#### The Author.

Well, fith thou wouldest so faine be gone,
I can thee not withhold;
Adieu, therfore; God be thy speade,
And blesse thee a hundred fold.

#### The Booke.

And you also, good Maister mine, God blesse you with his grace; Preserve you still, and graunt to you In Heauen a dwelling place.





# The Anatomie of 2 the Abuses in AILGNA.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B i. A. Sig. B. iij, back. B, E.]

¶ The Interlocutors, or Speakers. Spudeus, Philoponus.

od geue you good morow, Maister Philoponus. Philo. And you also, good brother Spudeus.

Spud. I am glad to fee you in good health, for it was 3 bruted Flying fame abroad euery where 3 in our countrey (by reason of your discontinuance,4 I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.5

oftentimes

Philo. In deede, I have fpent fome tyme abroad, els where then in my native countrey (I must needs confesse), but how false that Report is (by whom foeuer it was first rumored,6 or how farre so euer it be dispersed) your present eyes can witnesse.

<sup>7</sup> Spud. I pray you, what course of lyse haue you lead in this your [7 Sig. B j, back. A.] longe absence foorth of your owne countrey?

Philo. Truely (brother) I have lead the life of a poore Trauayler in a certaine famous Ilande, once named 8 Ainabla, after Ainatirb, 8 but nowe prefently called Ailgna,9 wherein I have lived thefe feuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently.

The place wher the Authour hath trauayled. [Albania,

10 Spud. That was to your no litle 11 charges, I am fure. 12

[10 leaf r. B.t]

13 Philo. It was fo, but what than? I thank God I have atchieued [13 leaf 1. E.] it, and by his dyuine affiftance prosperously accomplished it, his glori- chargeable.

3\_3 reported F; euery where not in B, E. 2 the not in B, E, F.

from thence inserted in B, E, F. 5 agone F.

8-8 Albania, after Britania F. 6 broched B, E, F. + leaf I. The Author a Trauailer. B. 9 Anglia F.

11 small E; no litle omitted in F. 12 F adds was it not I pray you?

ous name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayfed there fore.

Spud. And1 to what ende did you take in hand this great trauayle? if I may be fo bould as to afke.2

Philo. Truely, to fee fashions, to acquainte my-felfe with the

The causes that moued the author to take this trauaile in hand.

[6 Sig. B ij. A.]

natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my felfe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, & cyuill be-

hauiour; to fee the goodly fituation of Citties, Townes, and Countryes, with their prospects and commodities; and finally to learne the state

of all thinges in generall: all which I could neuer haue learned in 3 one place.3 For 4 5 who fo 5 fitteth at home, euer 6 commorante or 7 abid-

ing8 in one place, knoweth nothinge in respecte of him that trauayleth abroade: and hee that knoweth nothing, is lyke 9 a brute Beafte; but hee that knoweth all thinges (whiche thinge none doeth but God

alone) hee is 10 a God amongest men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in euery thing els, euery man ought to defire that per-

fection 11; for in my judgement there is as muche difference (almost) 12

betwixt a man that hath trauayled much, and him that hath dwelt euer in one place, (in respect of knowledge and science of things,) as

is be13twen a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue; And therfore I

haue had a great felicytie in trauayling abroade.14

betwixt a man that \* hath tra-uayled, and a man that hath not. [\* the A; that B.] [13 leaf 1, back. B.+] [15 leaf r, back. E.]

The difference

15 Spud. Seing that by diuyne providence we are heare 16 met together, let vs (vntill we come to the end of our purposed 17 iorney) vse fome conference of the state of the World now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyousnes of oure iorneye.

Philo. I am very well contente fo to doe, beinge 18 not a litle glad 19 of your good companie; for Comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo est. 1. A good Companion too trauayle withall, is in-fleade of a Wagon <sup>20</sup> or Chariot. For as the one doth ease the painfulness of the way, so doth the other alleuiat the yrkfomnes of the iourney intended.

The benefite of a good Companion to tra-uayle withall. [20 Sig. B ij, back. A.]

> 1 And not in B, E, F. 2 aske you F.

3-3 my owne countrey E; my owne countrey at home F.

5\_5 hee that F. 4 For (in my poor iudgement) E, F. 8 or abiding not in B, E. 7 commorante or not in F.

10 is (as it were) E, F. 9 like not in E, F.

14 F adds all my life long. 11 F adds aboue al other things. 12 om. F. 16 om. F. † leaf I, back. The benefite of trauailyng. B. 19 glad not in E, F. 17 om. F. 18 reioysing E, F.

Spud. But before I enter combat1 with you (because I am a countrey man, rude and vnlearned, & you, a Cyuilian indued with great wisdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly befeech A request to you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you or E.] offence. fomwhat grofly,2 without eyther polifhed wordes, or fyled fpeeches, which your wifdom3 doth require, and4 my infufficiencie and inabylitie5 is not 6 of power to affoorde.6

auoid [scandal

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not be offenfiue to mee, if they be not offenfiue to God first.

Spud. I pray you 8 what maner of Countrey 9 is that Ailgna, 10 where [9 leaf 2. B.+] you fay you have trauailed fo much?

Philo. A pleafant & famous Iland, immured aboute with the Ailgna a Sea, as it were with a wall, 11wherein the aire is verie12 temperate, the [Anglia, Engground fertile, and 13 abounding with all things, either 14 necessary to 14 [11 leaf a E.] man or needefull 15 for beaft.

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there 16?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious, 17 bold, puissant, and he- The people of roycal; of 18 great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incomparable feature, 19 of an excellente complexion, and 20 in all humanitie [20 Sig. Bij. A.] inferiour to none vnder the Sunne.

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus bleffed, must needes bee a verie godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate 21 to God, the authour of all grace, & of these their bleffinges especially.

Philo. It greeueth me to remember their liues, or to make mention of their wayes 22; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed The lives of 23 that Lande 23 with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other Landes Ailgna. in the world, yet is there not a people more abrupte,24 wicked, or peruerfe, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

Spud. From whence spring all these euills in man? for we see

1 into dispute F. <sup>2</sup> rudely B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> F adds peraduenture <sup>4</sup> and whiche B. 5 being such added in E, F. 6-6 able to perform B, E; able for to yeelde F. 8 you then E, F. † leaf 2. Ailgna described. B. 10 is England F. 12 verie not in B, E, F. 13 the earth B, E, F. 16 that Countrey E, F. 15 necessarie F. 14\_14 needfull for F. 17 most audacious F. 18 and of F. 19 of body added in F. 21 meerlie vngratefull F. 22 workes F. 23\_23 them F. 24 corrupt E, F.

euerie one is inclined to fin naturally, and there is no fleshe which liueth and finneth not.

From whence all euilles spring in man. [2 leaf 2, back.

[6 leaf 2, back. We ought to haue no dealing with the workes of the flesh. [10 Sig. Biij, bk]

The day of Dome not regarded.

Euery Man must answer for him selfe. [22 leaf 3. B.+]

Philo. All wickednes, mischiefe, and sinne (doubte you not, brother Spud.) fpringeth of our 2 auncient ennemie the Deuill, the inueterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the 3 4 originals of all vncleannes & impuritie 4 whatfoeuer. But we are now newe creatures, and 5 adoptive children,5 <sup>6</sup> created in Christ Iesus to doe <sup>7</sup> good woorkes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in. 8 Wherefore wee 8 ought to have no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, 9 Chrift 10 Iefus, 9 to walke in newnesse of life, and to worke our faluation in 11 feare and trembling, as the Apostle faith 12; and our fauiour Chrift biddeth vs fo 13 work as our workes may glorifie our heauenlye Father. But (alas!)14 the contrarie is most true; for there is no sinne that 15 was euer broached in any age, which 16 florisheth not nowe. And therfore the fearfull daie of the Lord cannot be farre of; at which day all the World shall stand in flashing fier, and than shall Christ our Saujour come marching in the clowdes of heaven, with his 17 Taratantara founding in each mans eare, 'arife you Dead, and come to judgement!' and than shall the Lord reward euery Man after 18 his owne workes. But how little this 19 is efteemed of, & how fmally regarded,19 to confider, it 20 greeueth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.20

Spud. It is but a follie to greeue at 21 them who forowe not for them felues. Let them finck in their owne finne: lyue well your felfe, & you shall 22 not answeare for them, nor they for you. Is it not writen, unusquisque portabit suum onus 23? Euery one shall beare his own bur-

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* leaf 2, back. The original of sinne. B.
    1 from E, F.
                            3 the causes and E.
   4-4 efficient causes and stinking puddles of all vncleannes and filthinesse F.
                                                           7 om. F.
      5_5 adoapted (sic) children of God F.
               *- 8 and therefore B, E; and therefore we F.
                                                           13 so to F.
                          11 with F. 12 speaketh F.
    9_9 not in E, F.
                                                       16 that F.
                                  15 which F.
        14 F omits alas.
      17 this dreadfull instead of his B, E, F.
                                                    18 according to F.
   19_19 daie is feared, thow smally perpended, t and how slenderly regarded
in Ailgna§ B, E, F. ‡-‡ om. F; § England F.
    20_20 would grieue any Christian hart to consider F.
                                                         21 for F.
                                                    23 onus suum F.
    † leaf 3. Of Christian charitie. B.
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den. Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur: the soule that sinneth shall dy. wherfore furcease1 to forow or greeue any more for them, for 2 they are fuch as the Lord hath cast of 3 into a 4 reprobat sence, & 4 5 prejudicat opinion, & preordinat 5 to 6 destruction, that his power, [6 Sig. Biiij. A. his glorie, and 7 iustice may appeare to all the World.

Philo. Oh, brother! ther is no 8 chriften man in whose hart shineth [The Christian's fcintillula aliqua pietatis, any sparke of 10 God his grace, which 11 will grief at Englishmen's sins.] not greeue to fee 10 his brethren & fifters in the Lord, members of the fame body, coheyres of the fame kingdom, & purchased with one & the fame ineftimable price of Christ his bloud, to runne thus 12 defperatlie into 13 the gulphe of destruction and laberinth of 14 perdition. 15 If the least and 16 meanest member of thy whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatriced, or brused, doth not the hart and euerie member of thy17 body feele the anguish and paine of the grieued parte, seking & endeuouring 18 them felues, 18 euery one in his office & calling, 19 to repaire The mutuall the fame, and neuer ioying vntill that 20 be reftored again to his former one member integritie & perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian charity, confideratly weighed, may 21 mooue any good Man 22 to mourn for their defection, and to affay 23 by all possible means 23 to reduce 24 them home 25 again, that their foules maie be faued in the daye of the [25 leaf 3, back. Lord. And the Apostle commandeth vs,26 27 that we be27 (alter28 alterius emolumento) an 29 ayde and helpe one to an other. And that we do good to all men, dum tempus habemus, whylest we have tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and 30 to be of like affection one towardes an other. And common [30 Sig. B iiij,

harmonie of with an other.

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1 cease F.
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2 by all probable conjectures added in B, E; F adds by all likelihood 3 not in F; of=off. 4\_4 not in B, E, F. 5\_5 destinate F. 8 not any F. 7 and his F. 9 vlla F. 10\_10 Gods grace, but will grieue, seeing F. 11 who B, E. 13 headlong into B, E, F. 12 thus not in B, E, F. 14 laberinth of not in F. 15 F adds both of body and soule for euer. <sup>16</sup> or B, E, F. 17 the E, F. 18\_18 by al meanes possible B, E, F. 19 nature F. 21 ought to B; mooveth me and ought to E, F. 22 Christian man B, E, F. <sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> not in B; assaying by al meanes possible E, F. <sup>24</sup> and to bring added in E; reclaime them, and to bring F. + leaf 3, back. The Authors intent. B. 26 to the vttermost of our power added in B, E, F. 27 om. F. 28 vt simus alter B, E, F. (alteri in F.) 29 That we should be an F.

No man born for himselfe. reason aduertiseth vs, that wee are not borne for our selues onelie; for Ortus nostri partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant: Our Countrey challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that optimo iure) doe vendicate a third parte: Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to their maladies, & daunger Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health & grace, and so eternally be saued.

Spud. Seeing that fo many and fo haynous finnes<sup>5</sup> do raigne and rage in Ailgna,<sup>6</sup> as your wordes<sup>7</sup> import, and which mooue you to fuch intestine forrowe and griefe of minde, I pray you describe vnto me more perticularly some of those Capitall <sup>8</sup> crimes, and chiefe Abuses<sup>8</sup> which are there frequented, and which dishonour the maiestie of God the<sup>9</sup> most, <sup>10</sup> as you suppose.<sup>10</sup>

[leaf 4; Sig. B. v.]

# A particuler description of Pride, the principall Abuse<sup>11</sup>; and how manifold it is in Ailgna.<sup>11</sup>

#### PHILOPONYS.

You do well to request me to cipher 12 foorth vnto you 13 parte 14 of those great Abuses (and Cardinall Vices) vsed 15 in Allgna, 16 for no man in anie 17 Catalogue, how prolixe soeuer, 17 is able to comprehend the summe of all 18 abuses there in practise. 18 And whereas you woulde have mee to speake of those Capitall or 19 chiefe Abuses, which both are deadly in their owne nature, and which offende the maiestie of

The number of Abuses [in Ailgna E.] infinite.

```
1 teacheth F. 2 by E, F. 3 to om. F. 4—4 om. F.
5 inormities B, E, F. 6 England F. 7 words doe B, E, F.
8—8 abuses and horrible crimes E, F. (vices for crimes F.)
9 the not in B, E, F. 10—10 in your independent F.
11 in Ailgna (in England in F.) comes after Abuse in B, E, F.
12 discipher B, E; describe F. 13 unto you not in B, E. 14 some F.
15 which are vsed F. 16 England F. 17—17 competent volume F.
18—18 the abuses there practised F. 19 and B, E.
```

God moste, 1 Mee thinke you 2 shake hands with the sworne enemies of God, the Papistes, who say there are two kindes of sinne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you must vnderstand that there is not the leaft finne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woorde or deede (yea, Væ vniuerfæ iustitiæ nostræ, si remota misericordia iudicetur: Wo be to all our righteoufnes, if, mercy put away, All sinne in it they3 fhould bee judged) but it is damnable, dempta mifericordia Dei, mortall. if the mercie of God be 4not extended.4 And againe; there is no finne fo 5 greeuous, which 6 the grace and mercy of God is not 7 able 8 to [8 Sig. B. v, back] 9 coun 10 teruaile withal, & if it bee his 11 pleasure to blot it out for euer. 9 [10 leaf 4, back. B.t] So that you fee now, there is no finn fo venial, but if the mercie of God be not 12 stretched out, 12 it is damnable; nor yet anie sinne so mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not bee done away. And therfore as we are not to prefume of the one, fo wee are not to despaire of the other. But to returne againe to the satisfying of your request. The greatest abuse, which 13 both offendeth god The greatest moste, & is there not a little aduaunced, is the execrable sinne of offendeth god Pride, and excesse in apparell, which is there so ripe, 14 as the filthie fruits 15 thereof haue long fince prefented themselues before the throne of the maiestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and nighte inceffantly.

most is pride.

Spud. Wherfore have you intended to speak of Pride the first of all, geuing vnto 16 it the first place in your tractation 17? Because it is euill in it-felfe, and the efficiente cause of euill, or for some other purpose?

Philo. For no other cause but for that I thinke it to bee 18 not Pride the beonely euill and damnable in it owne nature, but also the verie efficient gyning of all cause of all euills. And therfore the wife man was bolde to call it ECCLES. 10. Initium omnium malorum, the beginning and welfpring of al euils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, & take their

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1 as I suppose added in B, E.
                                                       4_4 taken away E.
    <sup>2</sup> you herein B, E.
                          3 the B; it E, F.
   <sup>5</sup> lethall nor yet any offence so added in B, E; so lethall or deadly, nor yet any
offence so F.
                                 6 but F.
           9-9 pardon and remit, if it be his good_pleasure so to do F.
    † leaf 4, back. Pride, the roote of all vices. B.

12—12 stretched forth E; extended F.
  13 in my judgemente added in B, E, F. 14 so stinckyng B, E; so rotten F.
               15 and lothsome dregges added in B E; dregges F.
                             17 discourse F.
                                                         18 to bee not in F.
       16 om. F.
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[\* Sig. B vj.] [\* leaf 5. B.\*]

What is it but pride dares attempt it.

Pride is threefold: pride of the hart, pride

of the mouth,

and pride of apparell. beginning, so from the cursed <sup>1</sup> roote of <sup>2</sup> pestiserous Pride do all other <sup>3</sup> euilles sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therfore may Pride be called not improperly, Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum, the mother and nurse of al mischies: for what thyng <sup>4</sup> so haynous, what cryme so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprise so pernicious, or what thing so offensiue to God, or hurtful to man, in <sup>5</sup> all the world, which man <sup>6</sup> (of himselse a very Sathanas,) <sup>6</sup> to maintain his pride withall, <sup>7</sup> wil not willingly atchieue <sup>8</sup>? hereof <sup>9</sup> wee haue too muche experience energy day, more is the pittie. <sup>9</sup>

Spud. How manyfold is this fin of Pryde, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his maiestie so greeuously offended!

Philo. Pride is tripartite <sup>10</sup>; namely, the pryde of the hart, the pride of the mouth, & the pryde of apparell, which <sup>11</sup> (vnles I bee deceived) offendeth God more then the other two. For as the pride of the heart & <sup>12</sup> mouth is <sup>13</sup> not opposite to the eye, nor visible to the fight, and therefor <sup>14</sup> intice not <sup>14</sup> others to vanitie & fin (notwithstanding they be greeuous sinnes in the fight of God) so the pride of apparel, <sup>15</sup> remaining in <sup>15</sup> fight, as an exemplarie of euill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and sinne.

Spud. How is the pride of the hart committed?

[16 leaf 5, back. B.†] [18 Sig. B vj. back]

[Isaias 50. E.]

What pride of the hart is. <sup>16</sup> Philo. Pride of the hart is perpetrate <sup>17</sup> when as a man lifting him felfe on highe, thinketh <sup>18</sup> of himfelf aboue that which he is <sup>19</sup> of himfelfe, <sup>19</sup> dreamyng a <sup>20</sup> perfection of <sup>21</sup> himfelfe, when he <sup>22</sup> is nothyng leffe; And in respect of himfelfe contempneth, <sup>23</sup> vilefieth, and reproacheth <sup>23</sup> all men, <sup>24</sup> thinking none comparable to him felfe, whose righteousnes, notwithstanding, is lyke to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therfore the Pryde of the Heart maye bee saide too bee a Rebellious elation, or lyftynge vppe of the mynde agaynste the

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3 other not in B, E.
    * leaf 5. Three sortes of Pride. B.
                           5 is there in B, E, F.
  4 facte B, E, F.
                                                         6_6 not in F.
    7-7 come after atchieue in B, E, F. 8 attempt E; commit F.
       9-9 euery daies successe ministreth proof sufficient B, E, F.
                                                  12 and of the B, E, F.
10 threefold F.
                11 the laste whereof B, E, F.
                                    14_14 cannot intice B, E, F.
        13 are F.
             15-15 objecte to B, E; which is object to the F.
    † leaf 5, back. Pride deuided. B.
                                                     17 committed F.
                                     20 of a F.
                                                             21 in F.
    19_19 not in E, F.
    22 there F.
                       23_23 and despiseth
                                                     24 others E, F.
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Lawe of God, attrybutynge and afcrybynge that vnto himfelfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, Qui operatur in nobis velle1 et posse, who worketh in vs both the wil and power to do good, Ne gloriaretur omnis caro, leaste anie sleshe should boste of his owne power and ftrength, yet Pride, with his Cofin germayn Philautia, which is Selfeloue, perfwadeth him that he hath neede of PHILAUTIA. no mans helpe but his owne; that he flandeth by his own proper ftrength & power, and by no mans els, & that he is al in all; yea, fo perfect and good as no more can be2 3 exacted of hym.3

Spud. How is 4 Pride of wordes, or pride of 5 mouthe, committed? Philo. Pride of the mouth, or of6 wordes, is when we boaft, bragge, or glorie, eyther of our felues, our kinred,7 confanguynitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our 8felues 9for any 9 vertue, fanctimonie of lyfe,10 fincerytie of 11 Godlynes 11 which eyther is in vs, or which we pretend to be in vs. In this kinde of Pride (as in the other) almost euery one offendeth; for shal you not have all (in a maner) boaft & 12 vaunt themselues 12 of their Auncetors and progenitors? faying & crying 13 with open mouth, I 'am a Gentleman, B, E.] I am worshipful, I am Honourable, I am Noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this house, and I am come of that.14' Wheras, Dame Nature bryngeth vs all into the worlde after one forte, and receiveth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane 15 the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the fame order and manner, without any difference or diverfitie at all; wherof more hereafter shalbe spoken.

How pride of wordes or of the mouth is committed. [8 leaf 7: † there is no leaf 6. B 7.]

[Vain glorious ostentation of birthes, & arentage, &c.

Spud. How is Pride of Apparell committed?

Philo. By wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, fumptuous, & precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth; How pride of

a\_3 required of him in this life F.

begin{align\*}
6 om. F. <sup>2</sup> be required or B, E. 4 is the E, F. <sup>5</sup> of the E; the pride of the F. 7 affinitie added in F. + leaf 7. Pride vainglorious. B. 9-9 in respect of E; in respect of some F. 10 of lyfe om. F. 11\_11 integrity or perfection F; and the like added in E. 12\_12 bragge F. 13 aperto ore added in F.

14 I was borne of this race, and I was borne of that, I am ‡come of this stocke, and I am come of that, ‡ added in B, E, F; but E & F have sprong of [descended in F.] this stock, and I of that for !-! 15 I meane not in E, F.

apparel is perpetrate & committed.

[3 leaf 7, back. B.†] [4 B 7, back]

A decorum to be obserued.

Our apparell rather deformeth than adorneth vs.

[23 B viij]

wherby we are puffed vp into Pride, and inforced1 to thinke of our felues more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable finners. And this finne of Apparell (as I have fayde before) hurteth more then the other two; For the finne of the heart hurteth none but the Author in whom it breedeth, fo long as it burfteth not foorth into 2 exteriour action 2; 3 and the 4 Pride of the mouth 5 (whiche confifteth, as I have fayd, in oftenting and braggyng of fome fingular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himfelfe (by 6 Hereditarie possession or lineall dissent)5 though it be meere vngodly in it own nature; yet it is not? permanent (for 8 wordes fly 8 into the aire, not leaving any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes9) But this finne of 10 excesse of Apparell remayneth as an Example of euyll before our eyes, and as 11 a prouocatiue 12 to finne, as Experience daylye sheweth. 13

Spud. Would you not have men to observe a decencie, a comlinesse, & a decorum in their vsuall 14 Attyre? Doeth not the worde of God commaund 15 vs to do all things 15 decenter et secundum ordinem ciuilem, decently and after a cyuile maner 16?

Philo. I<sup>17</sup> would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you fay, a decorum were observed, as well in Attyre as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for 18 most of our nouell 19 Inuentions and new fangled fashions 20 rather deforme vs 21 then adorne vs, difguife vs then become vs, makyng vs rather to refemble fauadge Beaftes and stearne 22 Monsters, then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of 23 Pride in 24 Apparell infected and poyfoned any other countrey befide Ailgna,25 fuppose you?

> 2-2 outward shew and appearance F. 1 induced F. † leaf 7, back. Men become Monsters. B. 5-5 not in F; from his progenitors added in E.

> 7 is it not so F. 6 as it were by B, E.

8\_8 Verba cito avolant, et euanescunt in aerem, words soone fly away and vanish E, F. 10 of the F. 9 eies withal F.

14 ysuall not in F. 12 prouocation F. 13 prooueth F. 16 order F.

15\_15 vs al thinges to be done E, F. 19 fond F. 18 do not the E.

17 yes truly I B, E; Yea trulie I F. 21 vs omitted in F. 20 dooe thei not added in B. 25 countries besides England F.

22 bruitish F. 24 of F.

1 Philo. No doubt but this poyfon hath fled foorth his influence, [1 leaf 8. B.\*] and powred foorth his flinking dregges ouer all the face of the earth; [Circes cuppes but yet I am fure there is not any people vnder the Zodiacke of pottes have made Englanddronken heauen, how 3 clownish, rurall, 3 or brutish soeuer, that is 4 so poisoned with Pride. E.] with this Arsnecke of Pride, or 5 hath drunke so deepe of 6 the dregges of this 6 Cup as Ailgna 7 hath; with griefe of confcience I fpeake it, with forow I fee it, and with teares I lament it.

Spud. But I have heard them fave that other Nations paffe them for exquisite 8 brauery in Apparell: as the Italians, the Athenians, the No Cuntrey so Spaniards, the Caldeans, Heluetians, Zuitzers, Venetians, Muscouians, and fuch lyke: now, whither this be true or not I greatly defire to knowe.

Philo. This is but a vifour, or cloke, to hide 9 their Sodometrie 10 withall; onelye spoken, not prooued; forged in the deceiptfull Mint of their owne 11 braynes: For (if credit may be given to ancient writers) the Egyptians are faid neuer 12 to have changed 12 their fashion, or altered the forme 13 of their first 13 Attire from the beginning 14 to this day: as Iacobus Stuperius, lib. de diversis nostræ ætatis habitibus, Pag. 16, (Stuperius. B. affirmeth. The Grecians are faide to vie but one kynde of Apparell without any chaunge: that is, to 15 wit, a longe Gowne reaching [15 B 8, back] downe to the grounde.

The Germaynes are thought to be fo precise in obseruing one vniforme fashion in Apparell, as they have neuer receeded from their first Original; as the faid Stuperius fayth in these 16 wordes: Non [16 leaf 8, back. enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnquam confueuit incola: Whiche in Englysh Verse is thus muche in effect:

¶ The Germayne people neuer vse lightly 17 to chop and chaunge Their customes olde, or els Attyre, wherin abroade they range.

[Cp. my Andrew Boorde, p. 159, 152, 149.]

The Muscouians, Athenians, Italians, Brafilians, Affricanes,

\* leaf 8. Newfanglednesse in Ailg. B. 3\_3 sauage F. 2 face F. 4 that is not in B, E, F. 6—6 this impotionate B, E, F. 5 or that B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> England F. <sup>8</sup> finenesse and added in F. <sup>9</sup> couer B, E, F. 10 owne shame E, F. 11 own lying F. 12\_12 to chaunge F. 13\_13 or fashion of their F. 14 of the world added in F. + leaf 8, back. Foreigne guise of Apparell. B. 17 at all F.

#### 32 Brutish fashions in Ailg[na.] The Anatomie

[All nations inferiour to Ailgna for pride of apparell B, E.]

[5 C 1]

[No people so curious in newe fangles as thei of Ailgna. B, E.] [6 leaf 9. B.†]

Other countreyes not to be blamed though they go in silks, veluets, and why.

[12 C 1, back]

Afianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians, or els what Nation? foeuer vnder the Sunne, are so farre behinde the people of Ailgna3 in exquifitnesse of Apparell, as in essect they esteeme it litle or nothing at all, so it repell the colde and couer their shame; yea, some of them are fo fmally addicted therto, that, fettyng apart all honeftie and fhame, they go cleane naked. Other fome, meanly apparelled; fome in Beafts skinnes, some in haire, & what euer they can get4: some in one thing, fome in another, nothing regarding eyther hofen, thoes, bands, ruffes, fhirts, or any thing els. And the ciuilest nations that are, bee fo farre estraunged from the pride of 5 Apparell, that they esteme him as brauelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all ouer in filkes, veluets, fatens, damasks, grograins, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you fee that they fpeak vntruly, that fay that other nations exceede them in brauerie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other Nati<sup>6</sup>ons vnder the fun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foeuer they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyuerfe fashions & fundrie formes of apparell in Ailgna,7 are most vnhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no People in the World is 8 fo curiouse in new fangles as they of Ailgna7 be. But graunte it were fo, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do euill because they do so? shall their wickednesse excuse vs of sinne, if we commit the like & worse? shall not the soule that finneth dye? wherfore let vs not finne of 9 prefumption with the multitude, because they do so, least we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreouer, those Cuntreves are rich and welthie of them felues, abounding with all kinde of preciouse ornaments and riche attyre, as filks, veluets, Satens, damasks, sarcenet, taffetie, 10 chamlet, and such 11 like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntreyes), and therfore 12 if they weare them they are not muche 13 to bee blamed, as not having anie other kind of cloathing to couer themselues withall. So if wee would contente ourselues with such kinde of attire as our owne Countrey doeth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dutch, French added in F. <sup>2</sup> nations F. <sup>3</sup> England F. <sup>4</sup> get not in F. <sup>†</sup> leaf 9. Brutishe fashions in Ailgna. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> England F. <sup>6</sup> are B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> in B, E. <sup>10</sup> Taffeta F. <sup>11</sup> the B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> not in F.

<sup>1</sup> minister vnto <sup>1</sup> vs, it were much <sup>2</sup> tollerable. But wee are so surprised <sup>3</sup> in Pride, that if it come not from beyond the feas, it is not worth a Other Counstraw. And thus we impouerish our selues in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plefant than necessarie, and inrich them, who as we do. rather 1 laugh at vs in their fleeues than otherwife,6 to fee our gret [4 leaf 9, back, B,t] follie in affecting of trifles, & departing with good merchandizes for it.9 And howe litle they efteeme of filkes, veluets, fatens, damasks, [Foreigners <sup>10</sup> and fuch like, <sup>10</sup> wee maye eafely fee, in that they fell them to vs for <sup>11</sup> wolles, frizes, rugges, carzies, and the lyke, whiche they coulde 12 neuer doe 13 if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessytye to weare such riche attyre, wanting other things (whereof we have ftore) to inueft themselves withall. But who feeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth vs to weare them, having abundance of other things to attire our felues with,14 both hanfomer, warmer, 15 and as comlie as 15 they in euerie respecte? But 'farre setched and deare boughte' is good for Ladyes,16 they fay.

tryes esteme not so muche

change their velvets, &c. for our wools. Cp. Stafford, p. 54,

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, havinge store of other necessary clothing, 17 to weare filks, veluets, taffeties, & other [7 C 2] fuche riche attyre, of what calling foeuer they be of 18?

Ph. I doubt not but it is lawfull for the potestates, 19 the nobilitie, the gentrie, 20 yeomanrie, and for euerye private fubiecte els20 to weare 21 Euery man attyre euery one in 22 his degree, accordinge as his calling and con- apparell acdition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be keept, for omne extremum cording to his callinge. vertitur in vitium, euery extreme is turned into vice.22 The nobilitye <sup>23</sup> (though they have ftore of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubte) may vie a rich and preciouse kynd of apparell (in the feare of God) 23 to innoble, garnishe, & set forthe their byrthes, dignities, 24 functions, and callings; but for no other respecte they may not in any maner of

The nobility may weare gorgiouse attire, and why

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1-1 afford B, E; yeeld F. 2 somewhat B, E, F.
                                                   3 captinate F.
                                             5 rather not in B, E, F.
† leaf 9, back. Pride and Pleasure in Ailg. B.
                                   7 parting F.
  6 than otherwise not in B, E, F.
9 them B, E, F. 10_10 Taffetaes, and such, F.
                                                 11 for our B, E, F.
                          13 not in F.
     12 would F.
                                                 14 with-all F.
                                                     16 ladies as B.
 15_15 and comlier then B, E, F. (comelier F.)
                      19 the potestates not in B, E, F.
   18 of not in B, F.
                                   21 weare riche B, E, F.
 20_20 and the magisterie B, E, F.
 22_22 their calling B, E, F. 23_23 omitted in B; and gentrie E, F.
                24_24 & estates. The magistery B, E, F.
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SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

Maiestrats may were sumptuouse attyre, & why. [3 leaf 10, B.\*]

[7 C 2, back]

[Men die for want of food.]

Not lawfull for private subjectes to weare sumpteous attyre.

Hard to know a Gentleman from another by apparell.

[16 leaf 10, back. B.†]

wyfe. The maiestrats also & Officers in the weale publique, by what tytle foeuer they be called (accordinge to their abylities), may were (if the Prince or Superintendent do Godly commaund) cofflie ornaments and riche attyre,24 to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat <sup>1</sup> and shewe forth <sup>1</sup> the excelency <sup>2</sup> and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure & feare into the harts of the people to offend against 34the maiesty of their callings4: but yet would I wish that what so is superfluous or ouermuche, either in the one or in the other, shold be distributed to the helpe of the pore members of Christ Iesus, of whom an infynite number 7 daylie do 8 perish thorowe wante of necessarie refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the privat fubiects, it is not at any hand lawful that they should weare filks, veluets, fatens, damasks, gould, filuer, and what they lift (though they be neuer fo able to maintain it), except they, being in fome kinde of office in the common wealth, do vse it for the dignifying and innobling of the same.9 But now there is fuch a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna, 10 and such preposterous 11 excesse therof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he luft 12 himfelfe, or can get by anie kind of 13 meanes. So that it is verie hard to knowe 14 who is noble, 14 who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall have those which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry; no, nor yet anie Magistrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in filkes, veluets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, & seruyle by calling. 15 This is 15 a great confusion, & 16 a general disorder: 17 God be mercyfull vnto vs 17!

Spud. If it be not lawfull for euery one to weare filks, veluets,

\* leaf 10. Sumptuous Attyre. B. 4—4 their office and authoritie B, E, F.

\* and erogate to B, E, F.

\* and subvention of B, E, F.

\* do not in F.

<sup>9</sup> Or at the commaundement of ‡ their superintendent, or Archprimate,‡ for some speciall consideration or purpose, added in B, E, F. (‡—‡ the chiefe Magistrate F.)

10 England (and so in every other place where Ailgna occurs) F.

11 horrible F.

12 listeth F; lusteth B, E.

13 kind of not in F.

14\_14 not in F.

15\_15 And this I compt [accompt F.] B, E, F.

16 † leaf 10, back. Riche ornaments. B.

17\_17 in a christian common wealth E, F.

fatens, damasks, taffeties, gold, filuer, preciouse stones, & what not, wherfore did the Lord make & ordein them?

Philo. I denie not but they may be worne 1 of them who want [1 C 3] other things to cloth them withal, or of the nobylity, gentilytie,2 or wherfore the magistery, for the causes abouesaid, but not of euery proud fixnet3 indifferentlie, that haue 4 ftore of other attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane these riche ornaments and gorgiouse vestments to be worne of all men, or of anie, fo muche as to garnish,5 bewtifie, and fet forth, the maiefty & glorie of this his earthly kingdome: For as cloth of gold, Arase, tapestrie, & such other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a house of estate, serue not onely to manuall vses and feruyle occupations, but also to decorate,6 to bewtifie, & Wherto riche become<sup>7</sup> the house, and to shewe the riche estate and glorie of the owner; fo these riche ornaments, and sumpteouse vestments of the earthly territory of this World, do not onelie ferue to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but also to shew forth the power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the Author of all goodnesse.8 And here in the providence and mercy of God appeareth most plainelye; for wher there is store of other clothing, there hath he geuen leffe ftore of filks, veluets, fatens, damasks, 9 and [9 leaf 11. B.t] fuch like: and wher there is plenty of them, there is no clothing els almost; & thus the Lord 10did deale 10, for that every cuntrey 11 ought to contente themselues 11 with there owne kind of attyre; except necessitie inforce 12 the contrarie; for than we are to vse our libertie, [12 C 3, back] in the feare of God.

riche ornamentes.

ornamentes do

Spud. I praye you, let mee intreate you to shewe me wherefore our apparell was given vs, and by whome?

Philo. Your requeste is both diffuse and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend 13; yet least when, where, I might bee adjudged vnwilling to doe good, I will affay to doe the cause our best 14 I can.

and for what apparell was geuen vs.

When the Lord our God, a spiritual, intellectible vnderstanding fubstance, incomprehensible, immensurable, & inaccessible, had, by

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<sup>2</sup> Gentry F.
                        <sup>3</sup> Thraso B, E, F.
                                                    4 hath B, E, F.
<sup>5</sup> splendishe B, E, F.
                              6 decore B, E, F.
                                                         7 adorne F.
8 thynges B, E, F. + leaf II. By whom App[arell] was giuen. B.
10_10 hath dealt B, E, F. 11_11 should be content B, E, F.
  13 performe B, E, F.
                                                14 best that B, E, F.
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his woord and heauenly wifedome, Chrift Iefus, created and made the world & all things therin contayned, the fixte day he created man after his own fimilitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteoufnes, & all kind of perfection, he placed him in Paradife terestrial, commaunding 2 him to tyl & manure the same. Than the deuil, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angel in heauen, & through fin 3 of pride in arrogating to himselfe the seate & throne of Gods maiefty, cast down into the lake of hell, enuying mans glorious eftate, which he than had loft, came vnto man in Paradife, & 4 inticed him (oh,5 torteouse serpent!) to eat of the forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to tast on pain of his life: notwithstanding Adam, condescending to 6 his wife her perfwafions,6 or 7 rather to8 the Serpent,9 having buzzed his venemous fuggestions into their 10 eares, tooke of the apple & did eat, contrary to the expresse commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei faw their nakednes, & were not a litle ashamed; (& yet before fin was committed, they, being both naked, were not asbamed; but fin once committed 11 they became vncleane, filthie, lothfome, & deformed,) & fewed them garments of fig leanes together, to couer their shame withall. Than the Lord, pittying their miferie & loathing their deformity, gaue them pelts & 12 felles 13 of beafts 12 to make them garments withall, to the end that their shamefull parts might leffe appeare; yet fome are fo brafen faced & fo impudent that, to make the deuill & his members fport, will not flicke to make open shew of those parts which God commaundeth to be couered, nature willeth to be hid, & honesty is ashamd once to be-

[4 leaf 11, back. B.\*]

The fall of man by the

malice of the deuill.

17 C 4]

Impudent beasts, [that shewe their prinities. E.]

[14 leaf 12. B. +]

hold or looke vpon.

Spud. I gather by your words three special poynts. First, that fin was the cause why our apparell was given vs; Secondly, that God is the author & giver therof; Thirdly, that it was given vs to cover our shame withall, & not 14 to feed the insatiable desires of mens wanton & luxurious eies.

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1—1 and placing B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> commanded B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> the sinne B, E, F. <sup>4</sup> leaf 11, back. The fall of Adam. B. <sup>5</sup> like a F. <sup>6</sup>—6 the perswasions of his wife B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> of B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> in his wife added in F. <sup>10</sup> her F. <sup>11</sup> contracted F. <sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> beasts felles and skinnes F. <sup>13</sup> and skins E. <sup>13</sup> and skins E. <sup>14</sup> leaf 12. Proude Ap[parell] the Deuils nets. B.
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[1 C 4, back]

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, feeing that our apparel was giuen vs of god to couer our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, & to bee as pricks in our eies to put vs in mind of our miferies, Wherfor our frailties, imperfections, and fin, of our backflyding from the com- gener vs. maundements of god and obedience of the highest, and to excite 2 vs the rather to contrition and compunction of the3 fpirit, to bewayle our mifery, & to craue mercy at the mercifull hands of God, let vs be thankfull to God for them, be forie for our finnes (which weare the cause4 therof,) and vie them to the glory of our God, & the benefyte of our bodies and foules, 5 against the great day of the Lord appeare.5 But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respects before rehearsed, we have so peruerted as now they serve, in flead of the deuills nettes, to catche poore foules in; for every one now adaies (almost) couet to7 deck and painte their liuing8 fepulchres, 9 or erthly graues 9 (their bodies I meane) with all kind of brauerie, what foeuer can be deuised, to delight the eyes of the vnchast Mens bodies behoulders, wherby God is difhonored, offence 10 is encreased, 10 and chres. much finne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

lyning sepul-

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not having any thing more preciouse to attyre them withall, or for that it might be 11 a permanent 12 rule, or patern, vnto vs (his posterity) for [11 leaf 12, back B.t] euer, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, fo as it is not now lawfull to 13 go in 14 richer arraye, 14 without 15 offendinge [15 C 5] his maiestie?

Philo. Although the Lord did not cloth them so meanly, for that he had nothing els more preciouse to attyre them withall, (for Domini est terra, et plenitudo eius, the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse therof, faith the Lord by his Pfalmift; And by his Prophet, Gold is myne, filuer is myne, and all the riches of the world is my16 own,) yet, no doubt, but he would that this their meane & base attyre should be as a rule, or pedagogie, vnto vs, to teach vs that we ought rather

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> exercise F. 3 the not in F. 4 causes F. 5\_5 at the last F. 6 intangle B, E, F. 7 couet to not in B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> liuing not in B, E, F. <sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> ministred B, E, F. † leaf 12, back. The right vse of App[arell]. B. 12 perpetual F. 13 for vs to F. 14\_14 riche attire B, E, F. 16 mine F.

### 38 No confcience reposed in Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

In our apparell we ought rather to obey a necessity than to feed vanity.

to walke meanelye and fimplye, than gorgioufly or pompoufly; rather feruing prefente necessitye, than regarding the wanton appetits of our lasciuiouse mindes. Not-withstandinge, I suppose not that his heavenlye maiefty would that those garments of lether should stand as a rule or pattern of necessitie vnto vs, wherafter we shold be bound to shape all our apparell for euer, or els greeuouslye to offende; but yet by this we may fee his bleffed will is,2 that we should rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a iote aboue. And that any fimple couering pleafeth the Godly, fo that it repell the colde and couer the shame, it is more than manifest, as well by the legends both 3 of prophane Historyographers, Cronologers, and other writers, as also by the cenfures, examples, 4 and lyues of all Godly fince the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not 5 that the attyre of Adam should haue beene a figne or patterne of mediocritie vnto vs, he both in mercy would &, in his almighty6 power, could, haue inuested them in filks, veluets, fatens, grograins, gold, filuer, & what not.7 But the Lord our God forefawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiouse attyre (fuche is our proclyuitye to finne), he wold haue bene proude therof, 8 as we fee it is come to passe at this day (God amend it!), and therby8 purchase to himselfe, his body and soule, eternall damnation.

[4 leaf 13. B. †]
Adam his
mean kind of
attire was a
signe of mediocrity vnto vs
in our apparell.
[5 C 5, back]

Spud. Than, it feemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance, that we refemble our first Parents in austerity 10 and simplicity of apparell, 10 so muche as maye be possible, doth it not?

No religion reposed in apparell. Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like fimple attyre of our parents Adam & Eua (as <sup>11</sup> our Papistes, Papists? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists <sup>11</sup> do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments & Romish raggs) fo that we observe a meane, and exceade not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a litle nearer them in Godly simplicitie and Christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyuinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enritche our Cuntrey, but also awoyd many scandals & of <sup>12</sup> fences which grow

[12 C 6]

1 oby A. 2 was then, & is now F. 3 both not in B, E, F. † leaf 13. No conscience reposed in App[arell]. B. 6 mighty E. 7 not els F. 8—8 and so F. 9 moment F. 10—10 of apparell and simplicity of attire B, E, F. 11—11 Sorbonicall Papists B, E, F (F prefixes the).

daily by our excessive ryot, and ryotouse excesse in apparell. For doth not the 1 apparell flyrre vppe the heart to pride? doth it not [ leaf 13, back. B. 1] intice others to finne? and doth not fin purchase hell, the guerdon of The fruite of pride ?

Pride.

Spud. But they fay they please God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouse attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanship in them doth more 2 appeare. Befides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and esteemed of in euery place; wheras otherwise they should be nothing lesse.

Philo. To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the The Lordacfplendente shewe of outward apparell, or that it setteth forth the man after his glory of his Creatures, and the maiefty of his kingdom, I fuppose ther is no man (at least no perfect christian man) so bewitched or assorted: For that we re as much as to fay, that flinking pride & filthie finne tended to the glory of God; fo that the more we fyn, the more we increase his prayse and glorye. But the Lord oure God is so farre from delightinge in finne, that he adjudgeth them to eternall Death and damnation that committe the fame. Than, who is he that will take pleafure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle, will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne, will foone rotte, or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure 3 wayes, his judgements not 4 [3 C 6, back] our judgements, as he fayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that Apparell fetteth foorth the glory of his Maiestie in his creatures, makynge them to appeare fairer, than other wyfe they would of themfelues, 5 it is blafphemoufly fpoken, and muche derogateth from the No attyre can exellency and glory of his name. For, faith not God by his prophet ture of God Moyfes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, & [5 leaf 14. B.+] behould they weare (and especially man, the excellentest of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own fimilitude & liknesse) excedinge good? And were all creatures good & perfect, & only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If these their speeches were true (which in the fulnesse of their blasphemie they shame not to fpeake) than might we eafily conuince the Lord of 7vntrue fpeak-

make the crea-

\* leaf 13, back. Hell, the rewarde of Pride. B. <sup>2</sup> more not in E; more brauely F. † leaf 14. Man comely of hymself. B. are not F. 6 the not in F. 7-7 untruthe B, E, F.

### 40 Proud App[arell] deformeth man. The Anatomie

Euery one is to contente him selfe with his creation, and to prayse God for it.

[5 C 7]

[10 leaf 14, back. B.†]

The Lord our God is a consuming fire to destroy all impenitent sinners. ing,7 who in his facred word informeth1 vs, that man is the perfecteft Creature, & the fayrest of al others, that euer he made (excepting the heuenly fpirits, & Angelical creatures) 2 after his own likneffe,2 as before. O3 man! who arte thou, that reasonest with thy Creator? fhall the clay fay vnto the potter, why haft thou made me thus? Or can the clay make himselfe better fauored than the potter, who gaue him his first stamp & proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanshippe of the Lord to4 feeme fayrer? Than, why did not the Lord cloth vs 5 fo at the first? or at least, why gaue he not commaundement in his will & testament, which he fealed with the 6 price of the 6 bloud of his fonne, to cloth our felfes in riche & gorgiouse apparel to set forth his glory the more? But away with these dogs & hellish haggs, who retaine this opinion,9 that cur<sup>10</sup> fed pride glorifieth God, & fetteth forth or bewtifieth his workmanshippe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expostulat with them, for doubtles non hould this, but fuch as be 11 mifecreants (or deuills incarnate) 12 & men 12 cast of [f] into a reprobate sence, 13 whom I befeech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either speedely to conuert, that they perish not, or els confounde, that they hurte not, that peace may be vppon<sup>14</sup> Ifrael. Thus, having fufficiently (I truft) refelled their false positions, I leave them to the Lord, beseechinge them (as they tender their own faluation, linguas compescere digitis, to stoppe their facrilegiouse mouthes with ther fingers, & not to spit against heaven, or kicke against the pricke, as they do, anie longer: For the Lord our God is a confuming fier, & vpon obstinate finners shal raine down fire & brimston, & consume them in his wrath. This is our 15 portion acquired by finne.

*Spud.* But what fay you to the other branch of their conclusion, namely, that Apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in euery place?

[16 C 7, back]

-16 Philo. Amongest the wicked and ignorante Pezants, I must needes

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1 teacheth B, E, F.
2—2 not in B, E, F.
3 But O F.
4 to not in F.
6—6 not in F.
7 sauage added in E, F.
9 mind F.
+ leaf 14, back. Proude Appa[rell] deformeth man. B.
11 as be not in B, E, F.
12—12 as the Lord hath B, E, F.
13 and prejudicate opinion added in F.
14 vnto F.
15 their B, E, F.
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confesse, they are the more estemed in respect of their apparell; but nothing at all the more, but rather the leffe, amongeft the godly wyfe. So farre of f will all wyfe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer fo gallantly pain ted or curioufly [1 leaf 15. B.\*] plumed in the deceiptfull fethers of pride) they wil rather contemne him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odiouse, 2& detestable to God & good men.2 And feeing it cannot fland with the rule of god his The wise will inflice, to accept, or not to accept,3 any man for4 his apparell, or any any after, other externe shew of deceiptfull vanytie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a Iudas to the truth, a Traytor to inflice, & an enemy to the Lord: wherfore farre be that from al good christians; and if those that go richely clothed should be esteemed the rather for their rich apparel than à contrario, must those that go in meane and base attire, be the more contemned, and despised for their pouertie. And than should Christ Iesus, our great Ambassador from 5 the king of heauen, 6% only Saujour,6 be comtemned, for he came in poore & mean array: but Chrift Iefus is bleffed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich & precious attyre. Vnder a fimple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wifdom & knowledg; & [Wisdom not contrarely, vnder braue 7 attyre fomtime is couered great ydiotacy8 and riour pompe of folly. 9 Hereof euery daies successe offreth proofe sufficient: more is [7 C 8] the pytie9!

not accept of apparell.

Spud. Wherfore would you have men accepted, if not for Apparell?

Philo. If any be fo foolish to ymagin that he shalbe worshipped, reuerenced, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not fo wyfe as I pray 11 God make me. For furely, for my part, I will rather wor- 10 Reuerence shippe & accept of a pore man (in his 12 clowtes & pore raggs 12) due to vertue, not to attyre, 10 having the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him that B. 1] roifteth & flaunteth 13 daylie & howrely in his filks, veluets, fatens,

" leaf 15, back

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    leaf 15. No estimation due to App[arell]. B.

2-2 before men and detestable before God B, E, F. 3 accept of E, F.
           4 after E.
                                               5 sent from B.
                                                  9_9 not in B, E, F.
  6_6 not in B, E, F.
                            8 adiocie F.
                                                      10_10 not in E.
  + leaf 15. Reuerence due to Vertue, B.
           12_12 torne cloutes and ragges E; ragged cloutes F.
                          13 flaunteth it out F.
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[All reuerence due to vertue and not to riche attire. B, E.] damasks, gold or filuer, what soeuer, without the induments of vertue, wherto only al reuerence is due. And therfore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, & true godlynesse, so will I reuerence, or not reuerence, accept or not accept of him: wherfore if any gape after reuerence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely, wisdome, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobrietie, affability, gentlenesse & suche like; than can they be without reuerence or acceptation, no more than the sonne can be without light, the sire without heat, or the water without his naturall moysture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would have men accepted for vertue & true Godlines, wold you not?

Ph. I would not only have men to be accepted & reverenced for their virtue (though the 4chiefest reuerence is onely to be attributed to him, whose facred brest<sup>5</sup> is fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the Promptuarie or Receptorie6 of true wisdome and Godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes sake, parentage and confanguinitie7; and not only that,8 but 9 alfo in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the Temporal Magistery, or 10 Ecclefiaftical presbitery (fo long as they gouerne godly and well): For the Apostle fayth, that those Elders which 11 gouerne wel amongst vs are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath bleffed with vertue and true godlynes, thoughe he be neyther of great byrth nor callynge, nor yet any Magistrate whatsoeuer, is worthie of more reuerence and estimation then any of the other without the ornaments of the minde, & gifts of vertue aboue faid. For what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserueth 12 true worship? what is it els then to carie a golden Swoorde in a Leaden Scabbarde? Is it any thyng els then a golden Coffyn or painted Sepulchre, makyng a fayre showe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all stinche & lothfomnes? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a Gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall difdayned an other, for that he was come to great autho13rytie onely by vertue,

[4 C 8, back]

Wherfore man is to be worshiped and had in reuerence.

[9 leaf 16. B.+]

Gentilitie without vertue is no gentilitie.

[An exclent apothegme. E, F.]

[13 D 1]

<sup>1</sup> F adds feare of God, zeale to religion

<sup>2</sup> the heat. E. <sup>3</sup> onely added in F. <sup>5</sup> brest is so B, E.

<sup>6</sup> storehouse F. <sup>7</sup> discent F. <sup>8</sup> for that E.

† leaf 16. How to know a Gentleman. B.

<sup>10</sup> a or (sic) A. <sup>11</sup> that F. <sup>12</sup> maketh B, E, F.

being but a poore mans child by byrthe: "What! faith1 the Gentleman by birth,2 arte thou fo luftie? Thou arte but a coblers fonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman by 3 byrth and calling?" To whome the other answeared,4 "thou arte no Gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in 5 that my [5 leaf 16, back. gentilitie beginneth in me:" Meaning (vnleft I be deceived) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue The exordium was the beginning of true gentilitie in him felfe: for virtue therfore, exordium of not for apparell, is euerye one to be accepted; For if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothinge els, than shold it come one is the to passe, that we might more esteme 7 of one, both meane by birth, other. base without 8 virtue, seruyle by calling, & poore in estate, more than of fome, by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable.9 And the reason is because every one, tagge and ragge, go brauer, or at least as braue as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

of virtue is the gentilitie & worship, and decay of the

Spud. But I have hard fay, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in othersome; which makes them so much to affecte vary elie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the summe 10 of their religion doth confifte in apparell. And, to fpeake my confcience, I thinke there is more, 11 or as muche holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, iust [11 D 1, back] none at all. But admit that there be holynesse in apparell (as who is No holynes in fo infatuat to beleue it) than 12 it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them; & fo be they plaine Hipocrits to make flew of that which they have not. And if the holines by there attire prefaged be in them felues, than is it not in the 13 garments; & why do they than [13 leaf 17. B.+] attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer fo, why do they glory of it to the world? but I leave them to their follie, haftinge to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

apparell

Spud. But I have hard them reason thus: That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt; apparell is good, and the good Creature of

1 quoth B, E, F. 2 by birth not in F. 3 both by B, E, F. 4 repliyng, saide B, E, F. \* leaf 16, back. Vertue maketh Gentilitie. B. 6 vnlesse F. 9 venerable B, E, F. 7 accept B, E, F. 8 in B, E, F. 10 and enargie added in B, E; and substance added in F. 12 then B. + leaf 17. An objection to maintain Pride. B.

# 44 App[arell] the Mother of pride. The Anatomie

An argument trimly contryued. God: ergo no kynde of apparell can hurte. And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not; Therfore take awaye the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

[But shortly to fall, without hope of recovery.]

[2 D 2]

[5 leaf 17, back, B.†]

Vnpossible to take away pride, except sumptuouse apparell be taken away also.

Apparell and pride combined together as mother & daughter. [12 D 2, back]

Philo. These be well seasoned reasons, and substantiall affeuerations in deed; but if they have no better arguments to leane vnto than thefe, their kingdome of Pride will shortlie fall 1 without all 1 hope of recouerie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good, and the good Creature of God (I will not de2nie) and cannot hurte, except it be thorowe ouer3 owne wickednesse abused. And therfore wo be to4 them that make the good Creatures of God inftruments of dampnation to them felues, by not vfing them, but abufing them. And yet, not withflanding, it maye be faid to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abused or not abused; And wheras they would have the abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it is impossible to supplant the one, without 5 the extirpation of the other For it is trulye faid, fublata caufa, tollitur effectus; But not fubrepto effectu tollitur caufa; Take away the caufe and the effecte falleth,7 but not contrarylye, take away the effect and the cause falleth.7 The8 efficiente cause of Pride is gorgiouse attire; 9 the effect is pride it felfe ingenerate by attire 9: But to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaye the cause first (namelie fumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intendinge to supplante a Tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or, to pull downe heauen, should dig in the earthe, workinge altogether prepofterouslie and indyreclye. 10 And the reason is, 11 these two collaterall Cofins, apparell and Pride (the Mother and Daughter of mifchiefe) are fo combinate together, and incorporate the one in 12 the other, as the one can hardlie be dyuorced 13 from the other, without the diffruction of them both. To 14 the accomplishmente wherof, God graunte that those holsome lawes, fanctions, and statuts, which, by our most gracious and ferene princesse (whome Iesus preserue for euer)

1—1 withall B.

† leaf i7, back. Appa[rell] the Mother of Pride. B.

† sublato B, E, F.

The externe B, E, F.

11 is for that B, E, F.

3 through our F.

4 to not in F.

7 fayleth F.

7 fayleth F.

10 and contrarily added in F.

11 is for that B, E, F.

13 plucked F.

14 For F.

and her noble and renoumed Progenitors, haue beene promulgate and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were preciouse apparell and gorgiouse attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare fuche riche attire, wheras mealner is both better [1 leaf 18. B.\*] cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the bodie, and as decent and comly to any chaft christians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in Vnpossible not his bosome and not to burne. Therfore, would God euery man might rich attyre. be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, effat, and condition of life; which, if it were brought to passe, I feare least some who ruffle now in filks, veluets, fatens, damasks, gold, filuer, and what not,2 shold be glad to weare frize cotes, & glad if they might get them.3

Spud. What is your opinion? did the people of the former world fo much efteeme of apparell as we doe at this prefent day, without respect had either to fex, kind, order, degree, estat, or callinge?

4 Philo. No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections 5 and [4 D 3] faults, for Hominis est errare, labi et decipi; it is incident to man to erre, to fall, and to be deceived. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked haue alwayes affected, not onelie pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatfoeuer, fo the chafte, Godly, and fober Christians haue euer The Godly eschewed this excesse of apparell, having a speciall regard to weare fuche attyre as might neyther offend the maiestie of God, prouoke them felues to pride, nor yet offend 6 any of 6 their Brethren in any respecte. But (as I have said) not onely the Godlie have detested and The verie hated this vaine superfluitye of apparell in all tymes since the be ginning of the Worlde, but also the verie panims, the heathen Philoso- apparell. phers, who knew not God (though otherwife wyfe Sages and great B.+1 Clarks), haue contemned it as a pestiferouse euill; in so muche as they have writ (almost) whole volumes against the same, as is to be feene in most of their Books yet extant.

haue euer detested pride of apparell.

hethen haue contemned sumptuouse leaf 18, back.

Spud. Are you able to proue that?

Philo. That I am, verie easilye; but of an infinyte number, take a tatte of these few. Democrates beeing demaunded, wherin the Testimonies of

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 18. The godly abhorre Pride. B. 2 not els F. blemishes added in F. 3 them too F. 6\_6 not in B, E, F. † leaf 18, back. Vertue the comeliest ornament. B.

hethen people who derided riche attire.

[I D 3, back]

Vertue is the comlyest ornament of all.

[3 leaf 19. B.t]

Diogines his ansuerity.4

[5 D 4]

[The example of a Philosopher, deriding pride. E, F.]

bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, confifted? aunswered, in fewnes of speaches well tempered together, in virtue, in integrity 1 of life, and fuche like. Sophocles, seinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, faid to him, 'thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a manifest shewe of thy follie.' Socrates, being asked what was the greattest ornamente in a woman, answered, 'that which most sheweth her chaftitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, & not fumptuouse attyre, which rather sheweth her adulterate life.' Aristotle is so diffrict 2 in this point, that he would have men to vie meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The Wife of Philo, the Philofopher, being vppon a tyme demaunded why she ware not gold, filuer and preciouse garments, faid, she thought the vertues of her husbande sufficiente ornaments for her. Dionifius, the king, fente the richest garments in all his wardrobes to the no3ble Women of the Lacedemonians, who returned them from whence they came, fayinge, they would be a greatter shame to them than honore. Kinge Pirrus sente riche attyre to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menftruous clowtes. The conceiued opinion amongest the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouse attyre that adorneth either Man or Woman, but vertuous conditions, and fuch like. Diogines fo much contemned fumptuous attyre, that he chofe rather to dwell in wildernesse amon gest brute beasts all his lyfe longe, than in the pompoufe courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante.6 For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was than faire ynoughe, and fine inough also, not needing any more. A certen other Philosopher addressed himselfe towards a kings courte in his Philosophers attyre, that is, in meane, base and poore aray; But soe sone as the Officers espied him, they cried, 'awaie with that rogue! what dothe he foe nie the kinges maiefties courte?' The poore Philosopher, feing it lighten fo fast, retyred back for feare of their thunderclappes,7 and repayringe home, appaireled himfelfe in riche Attyre, and came againe marchinge towards the court: he was no fooner in fight, but every one received him plaufiblie, and with great fubmiffion and reuerence. When he came in presence of the kinge, and other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> strict F. † leaf 19. Philosophers examples. B. <sup>4</sup> austerie [austerity] in B, E. <sup>6</sup> resiant F. <sup>7</sup> thunderboltes F.

mightie potentats, he kneled1 down, and2 ceased not to kisse 3 his [3 leaf 19, back B.\*] garments. The king and nobles marueylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherfore he did fo? Who aunswered, 'O noble kinge! it is no The example of a Philosomarueyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, pher deriding my Apparell hath brought to passe: For I, comminge to thy gates the World. in my Philosophers 4 weede, was repelled; but having put vpon me [4 D 4, back] this riche attyre, I was brought to thy presence with as great veneration and worship as could be.' Wherby is 5 to be seene in what detestation he had the stinkinge Pride of apparell, takeing this occasion to give the King to vnderstand the inormious abuse thereof, and so to remoue the fame as a peftilent euill out of his whole dominion & kingdome. I read of a certen other Philosopher that came before a king, who, at the fame tyme, had inuited his nobles to a feast or ban- The example quet: the Philosopher comming in and seinge no place to spit in (for pher who spat in the kings euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of filuer, tinfell, face. arrace, tapestrie, and 6 what not 6) came to the kinge and spat in his face, faying, 'it is meet (o king!) that I fpit in the fowlest place.' This good Philosopher (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleafure or delight in the vaine gliftering shewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to haue confideration of his owne filthynes, miferie & finne, not ryfing vp into pride, and fpitting against heauen, as he did, by dilighting in prowde attyre and gor geouse ornaments. Thus we see the verie painims and heathen [7 leaf 20. B.†] people haue from the beginning difpyfed this exceffe of apparell, both in them felues and 8 others, whose examples heerin god graunt we may folowe.

9 Spud. But you are not able to proue that any good Christians [9 D 5] euer fet light 10 by precious attire, but alwayes efteemed it as a speciall ornament to the whole man. As for these Heathen, they were fooles, neyther is it materiall what they vsed, or vsed not.

Philo. I am able to prooue that even from the beginning of the world, the chosen and peculiar people of God have contemned proude 11 Probation that Apparel, as things (not onely) not necessarie, but also as very euilles the former world hath

1 kneelyng, B, E, F. 2 not in B, E, F, \* leaf 19, back. The Heathen dispise Pride. B. 5 it is E, F. 6-6 the like F. + leaf 20. The base attire of the former age. B. 10 lightlie F. 8 and in F. 11 gorgious F.

# 48 Chrift his example for Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

contemned pompouse attyre.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

[4 leaf 21, back. B.\*]

[5 D 5, back]

The children of Israell.

Iohn Baptist.

Peter.

[The early Church.]

The humility and pouertie of Christe vppon earth. [9 leaf 21. B.†] themselues, and have gone both meanely and poorely in their vsuall attyre. What fay you to our Grandfather Adam, and Eua our Mother? Were they not clothed in peltes, and skins of beafts? Was not this a meane kinde of Apparell, thinke you? Was it not vnfitting1 to fee a woman inuefted2 all ouer in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and feemelie ynough for them. What faye you to the noble Prophet of the world, Elias? did hee not walke in the folitude3 of this worlde in a fimple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? Elizeus, the Prophet, did not he in a manner the verie fame? And what fay you to Samuell, the golden mouthed Prophet, notwithstanding that hee was an Archprophet, and a chiefe feer of that time? did hee not walke fo meanely, as Saul, feking his fathers Affes, could not know him from the refte, but asked him, where was 5 the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common forte of people in his time? The Children of Ifraell, beeing the chosen people of God, did they not weare their Fathers attire fortie yeeres togither in the wildernes? was not Iohn the Baptist clothed with a garment of Camels heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of a girdle or fuccinctorie about his loines? Peter, the deere Apostle of our Sauiour, was not diffinct from the rest of his Felowes,6 Apostles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not have faid, 'I know thee by thy tung,' but rather, 'by thy apparel.' The Apoftle Paul, writing to the Hebrues, faith that the perfecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed, fome in Sheep skinnes, and fome in Gote skinnes, some in Camels heare, some in this, and fome in that, and fome in whatfoeuer they coulde get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept? them from the colde, they thought it fufficient, they required no more. but, to fpeak in one woord for all: did not our Sauiour Iesus Christ weare the very same fashion of apparell that his Cuntrey-men vsed, that is, a cote without a feame, either knit or weaued8? which fashions the 9 Palestynians vie there yet to this day, without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> straunge F <sup>2</sup> couered F. or wildernesse added in F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 21, back. Christ his example for Appa[rell]. B. 6 fellow F. 8 wouen F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 21. Greate superfluitie of Ap[parell]. B.

#### of Abuses. Great superfluitie of Ap[parell].

thought. This his attyre was not 1 very hanfome (one would think): [1 D 6] at the2 leaft it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; 3 but, as the Poet wel faid,3 nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata, we defire things forbid, and couet thinges denied vs. We lothe the 4 fimplicitie of Christe, and abhorring the christian pouertie, and godly mediocritie of our Forefathers in apparel, are neuer content except wee haue [Modern fundry futes of apparel, one divers from an other, fo as our Preffes crack withall, our Cofers bruft, and our backs fweat with the cariage therof: we must have one sute for the forenoone, another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night; one for the workeday, another for the holieday, one for fommer, another for winter; one of the newe fashion, an other of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of filuer, one of filkes and veluets, \* Superfluitie of and another of clothe, with more difference and varietie than I can dyuersitie of expresse. god be merciful vnto vs, and hasten his kingdome, 7that all imperfections may be doon away?!

extravagance.]

[\* Side-note here in B, E, F.]

## A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

9 [Spud.] YOu have borne me in hand of many and greeuous [9] leaf 21, back. abuses reigning in Ailgna,8 but now setting aparte these 10 ambagies and 11 fuperfluous vagaries, I pray you describe vnto me more 12 par- [11 D 6, back] ticularly the fundrie abuses in 13 Apparell there vsed; running ouer by degrees the whole state thereof, that I maye see, as it were, the perfect Anatomie of that Nation in Apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye defire to knowe.

Philo. Your request seemeth both 14 intricate and harde, 14 consider-

2 the not in F.

3-3 For of us that Poeticall Apothegme maie very well be verified B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> wee are F. <sup>6</sup> and not in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> for his electes sake B, E, F. 8 England F.

+ leaf 21, back. Hattes of sundry fashions. B. 10 these impertenent B, E, F (ambagies not in F.

12 more not in B, E. 13 of B, E, F.

14\_14 harde and intricate B, E, F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.

ing 1there bee Tot tantæ mæryadæs inuentionum, So manie and fo fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day. But yet, lest I might be iudged vnwilling to shewe you what pleasure I can, I will assay (pro virili mea, 2 omnibus neruulis vndique extensis), with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore, to begin first with their Hattes.

The diversity of hattes in Ailgna.

[10 D 7] [11 leaf 22. B.†]

The sundrye things wherof hattes be made.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes they were <sup>4</sup> them fharp on the crowne, pearking vp like a5 fphere,6 or shafte of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard aboue the crowne of their heades; fome more, fome leffe, as pleafe the phantafies of their mindes. Otherfome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements 8 of a house. An other fort haue round crownes, fometimes with one kinde of bande, fometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now ruffet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, neuer content with one colour or fashion two dayes 9 to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spende the <sup>10</sup> Lorde his treafure, <sup>11</sup> confuming their golden yeares and filuer dayes in wickednes & fin. And as the fashions bee rare and straunge, so <sup>12</sup> are the thinges <sup>12</sup> wherof their Hattes be made, diuerfe also; for some are of filke, fome of veluet, fome of taffetie, fome of farcenet, fome of wooll: & which is more curious, fome of a certaine kind of fine haire, 13 far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee fure 13; And fo common a thinge it is, that euerie Seruingman, Countreyman, and other, euen all indifferently, do weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men,14 if hee haue not a veluet or a 15 taffatie Hatte, and that muste bee pincked and cunningly carued of the beste fashion; And good profitable Hattes bee they,16 for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they haue.17 Befides this, of

<sup>1—1</sup> the innumerable meriades of sondrie fashions daiely inuented amongest them B, E, F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in F.

<sup>3</sup> A description of the Hattes of England added in F.

<sup>4</sup> vse B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> speare F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> their inconstant B, E; their wavering F.

<sup>9</sup> moneths F.

† leaf 22. Varietie of Hattes. B.

12\_12 is the stuffe B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup>\_13 These thei call Beuer hattes of xx, xxx, or xl shillinges price fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a greate sorte of other varieties\* doe come besides B, E, F. (\* vanities F.)

<sup>14</sup> them F. 15 a not in F. 16 these B, E, F.
17 F adds:—They have also Taffeta hattes of all collours quilted, and im-

late there is a new fashion of wearing their Hattes sprung vp amongst them, which they father vpon the Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes; but how vnfeemelie (I will not fay how Affy) a wering of fashion that is, let the wife judge. Notwithstanding, howe euer it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. An other fort (as phantafficall as the rest) are content with no kind of Hatt without a great bunche2 of feathers of diuerfe and fundrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not vnlyke (I dare not fay) Cockscombes, but 3 as fternes of pride and en4figns of 5 vanitie; and 3 thefe fluttering fayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for fo they are 6) are fo aduaunced in Ailgna, that every Childe hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and felling of them, and not a fewe prooue them felues more then fooles? in wearing of them.

hattes without

[Wearyng of Feathers in hattes. B, E, F. [4 D 7, back]

[5 leaf 22, back. B.†]

Spud. These Fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly conuince them of inftabilitie and folly; for fure I am, hanfome they cannot be, therefore Badges8 of pride they must needs be, which I think none wil weare, but fuch as be like them felues. But to your intended difcourfe.

<sup>9</sup>Philo. They have great and monsterous ruffes, made either of Cambrick, holland, lawn, or els of some other the finest cloth that can Great russes be got for money, whereof fome be a quarter of a yard deep, yea, ill fauored. fome more, very few leffe; So that they fland a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging ouer their shoulder poynts, infled of a vaile. 10 11 But if Aeolus with his blafts, or Neptune with his ftormes chaunce to hit vppon the crafie bark of their brused ruffes, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying 12 abroad, <sup>13</sup> and lye <sup>13</sup> vpon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a flut. <sup>11</sup> But wot

broydered with golde, siluer, and silke of sundrie sortes, with monsters, antiques, beastes, foules, and all maner of pictures and images vpon them, wonderfull to behold.

2 plume F. <sup>1</sup> And another B, E, F. 3-3 fooles bables if you list: And yet notwithstanding F. + leaf 22, back. Feathers, Flagges of vanitie. B. 6 be E, F.

7 Asses F. <sup>8</sup> Ensignes. F.

10 Pentise F. 9 heading: - Of great Ruffes in England. F. 11\_11 F has: But if it happen that a shoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffes strike sayle, and downe they fall, as dishcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill sayles.

13\_13 liyng B, E. 12 that flew B, E.

[ D 8]

Two arches or pillers to vnder proppe the kingdom of great ruffes withall, videlicet supportasses and starche. [5 leaf 23. B. \*]

you what? the deuil, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first invented these 1 great ruffes, so hath hee now found out also two great stayes2 to beare vp and 3 maintaine that 3 his kingdome of 4 great ruffes 4 (for the deuil is 5 king and prince ouer all the children of pride): the one arch or piller wherby 6 his kingdome of great ruffes is vnderpropped, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call Starch, wherin the deuill hath willed7 them to wash and diue his8 ruffes wel, which, when they be dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks. 10 The other piller is a certain deuice made of wyers, crefted for the purpose, whipped ouer either with gold, thred, filuer or filk, & this hee calleth a fupportaffe, or vnderpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the out fide of the band, to beare vp the whole frame & body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

Spud. This is a deuice passing all the deuices that euer I sawe or heard of. Then I perceive the deuill not onely inventeth mischeif, but also ordaineth instrumentall 11 meanes to continue the same. These bands are fo chargeable (as I suppose) that 12 but fewe have of them: 13 if they haue, they are better monyed then I am. 13

Philo. So few haue 14 them, as almost none is without them; for euery one, how meane or 15 simple foeuer they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure apeece for fayling. And as though Camericke, 16 Holland, Lawne, and the fineft cloth that maye bee got anie where for money, were not good inough, they have them wrought all ouer with filke woorke, and peraduenture laced with <sup>17</sup>golde and filuer, or other coftly lace of no fmall price. And whether they have Argente 18 to mayntaine this geare withall, or not, it 19 forceth not muche, 19 for they will have it by one meane or other, or els they

[15 D 8, back]

Euery pesant hath his stately bands & monsterouse ruffes, how costly socuer they be.

[17 leaf 23, back. B.+]

- 3\_3 vphold this F. 4\_4 Pride withall F. <sup>2</sup> pillers B, E, F. \* leaf 23. Great Ruffes and Supportasses. B. 6 wherewith F.
  - 9-9 beyng B, E, F. 8 their B, E, F. 7 learned F.

10 F adds:-And this startch they make of diuers substances, sometimes of Wheate flower, of branne, and other graines: sometimes of rootes, and somtimes of other thinges: of all colours and hewes, as White, Redde, Blewe, Purple, and the like.

12 that comes before as F 11 instrumentes and F. 14 haue of F. 16 Cambricke F. 13\_13 such as are of the richer sort F. † leaf 23, back. Costly shirtes and bandes in Ailg. B. 18 Unde F. 19\_19 is not greatly material B, E, F.

will eyther 1 fell or 2 morgage their Landes 3 (as they have good ftore) 3 on Suters hill & Stangate hole,4 with loffe of their lyues at Tiburne in a rope.5

[New kind of Ruffes, called Three stepps and a halfe to the

Spud. The state and condition of that Land must needes be mif- Gallowes. F.] erable, and in tyme growe to greate fcarcitie and dearth, where is fuch vayne<sup>6</sup> Prodigalitie, and<sup>6</sup> exceffe of <sup>7</sup> all thynges<sup>7</sup> vfed.

vsed in Ailgna.

8 Philo. Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the The shirts Nobilitie or Gentrie onely did weare them, it were fomedeal 9 more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Holland, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And of these kindes of Shirts euerie one now doth weare alike: fo as it may be thoght our Forefathers haue made their Bandes & Ruffes (if they had any at all) of groffer cloth and baser stuffe than the worst of our shirtes 10 are made of now [10 E 1] a dayes. And these shurts (somtimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and fuche like, and curiouflie ftitched with open feame, and many other knackes befydes, mo than I can describe. 11 [In so much as I have heard of Shirtes that have [The cost of these cost some ten shillynges, some twentie, some fortie, some fiue pound, fome twentie Nobles and (which is horrible to 12 heare) fome ten [12 leaf 24. B.f] pounde a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is worne of any, doest cost a crowne, or a noble at the least: and yet this is fcarfly thought fine enough for the fimplest person that is. B, E, F.]

Spud. These be goodly shurts indeed, & such yet 13 as will not 14 chase their tender skinnes, 15 nor 16 vlcerat their 17 lyllie white 15 bodyes; or if they 18 do, it wil not be much to their greeuances, I dare be bound. Is it anie maruell, fi Cristas erigant & cornua attollant, if they stand vppon their pantoffles, and hoyfe vp their fayles on highe, havinge

1 eyther not in B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> or at the least F. 3\_3 not in F. 4 F adds, and Salisburie plaine.

6 vaine comes after and in B, E, F. 7\_7 thinges is F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> F adds: -& in sure token therof, they have now newly found out a more monstrous kind of ruffe of xii. yea, xvi. lengthes a peece, set 3 or 4 times double, & is of some, fitlie called: Three steppes and a halfe to the Gallowes.

<sup>8</sup> heading in F :- Of costly Shirtes in England. 9 not in F. † leaf 24. Nice Appa[rell] make tender bodies. B, F. 11 recount F.

<sup>14</sup> neither B, E, F. 13 yet not in B, E, F. 15\_15 nor yet fret their delicate F. 16 nor not in B, E.

<sup>17</sup> tender fleshe, nor yet make perforation into their added in B, E. 18 it F.

these dyamond shurts on their 1 delicate bodies 1: but how soeuer it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious? People, who sare thus nuffeled vps in fuch daintie attyre.

Nicenes of apparell maketh the body tender.

[8 E 1, back] [10 leaf 24, back. B. †]

Our predecessours weringe meaner apparell were stronge[r] than

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiofity, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) transnatureth them,4 makinge5 them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide fuch 6 sharp conflicts and bluftering ftormes 6 as many other people, both abroade farre from them, and in their confines nie to them, do daylie? fustaine. I have hard my Father, with other wyfe Sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compasse of foure or fyue score yeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hofen of Hufwyues carzie of the fame colore, 8that the sheep bore 9 them (10 the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the excessive wering of filks, veluets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, hath and doth make many a thousand in Ailgna 11 as poore mendicants 11 to begge their bread) wherof fome weare ftrait to the thigh, otherfome litle bigger: and when they ware flurts of hempe or flax (but now these are to grosse, our tender fromacks cannot eafilye difgeft fuch roughe and crude 12 meats) men weare stronger than we,13 helthfuller, fayrer complectioned, longer lyuinge,14 and finallye, ten tymes harder than we,15 and able 16 to 17 beare out 17 any forowe 18 or paynes whatfoeuer. For be fure, this pampering of our 19 bodies makes them weker, tenderer and nesher, than otherwyse they would be, if they were vsed to hardnesse, and more subject to receive anye kind of infection or maladie; And 20 rather abbreuiat 21 oure dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our liues one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no leffe; for how stronge men were in tymes past, how long they lyued, and how helthfull they weare before suche Nicenes, and vayne pamperinge curiofitie was inuented, we may reade, and many that lyue at this daye can testifie. But now,

<sup>2</sup> womanish kind of F. 1\_1 backes F. 3\_3 thus pamper their bodies B, E, F. 4 them, and B. 5 and maketh F. 6\_6 blustering stormes and sharpe showers F. 7 dayly beare and F. + leaf 14, back. Men strong in tymes past. B. 9 bare F. 12 a hard F. 11\_11 not in B, E, F. 14 liued F. 15 we be now B, E, F. 13 than we not in B, E, F. 16 abler F. 17\_17 undure F. 18 any discrasie B, E. 19 their B, E, F. 21 shorten F. 20 and doeth B, E, F.

through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, we have brought our felues into fuche pufil1lanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may [ E 2] feeme rather2 nice dames and yonge3 gyrles than puiffante4agents or manlie 4 men, as our 5 Forefathers have bene.

[5 leaf 25. B.\*]

<sup>6</sup> Philo. Their dublettes are noe leffe monftrous than the refte; For now the fashion is to have them hang downe to the middest 7 of their The monstrous theighes, or at least to their privile members, beeing so harde-quilted, Ailgna. and 8 stuffed, bombasted and sewed, as they can 9 verie hardly eyther floupe downe, 10 or decline 11 them felues 12 to the grounde, foe flyffe and flurdy they fland about them.

Now, what handsomnes can be in these dubblettes whiche stand on their bellies like, or 13 muche bigger than, a mans codpeece (fo as 14 their bellies are thicker than all their bodyes befyde) let wyfe men iudge; For for 15 my parte, handsomnes in them I see none, and muche lesse profyte. And 16 to be plaine, I neuer sawe any weare them, but I supposed him to be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and fuche like.16

For what may these great bellies signifie els than that either they are Great bellied fuche, or els 17 are affected that way? 17 This is the trueft fignification en gourmandthat I could euer 18 prefage or diuyne 18 of them. And this may euerye one 19 judge of them that feeth them; for certaine I am there was neuer [19 E 2, back] any kinde of apparell euer invented that could more difproportion the body of man then these Dublets with great bellies, hanging down beneath their Pudenda (as I 20 haue faid), & stuffed with foure, fine or [20 leaf 25, back. fix pound of Bombast at the least. I say nothing of what their Dub-

dublets betok-

2 rather seeme F. 3 wanton B, E; wayrish F. 4-4 valorous and hardy F. \* leaf 25. Monsterous Dublets in Ailgna. B. 6 heading to chapter :- English Doublets. F.

8 and not in B, E, F.

o neither woorke, nor yet well plaie in them, through the excessive heate † thereof: & therefore are forced to weare them lose about them for the most part otherwise they could added in B, E, F. († F adds and stifnesse)

7 middle B, E, F.

10 downe not in B, E, F. 11 bowe F. 12 themselues not in B, E. 13 as big or F. 14 that F. 15 2nd for not in F.

16\_16 besides that I see no good end wherto thei serue, except it be to shewe the disposition of ye wearer, how he is inclined, namely ‡, to gluttonie gourmandice, riotte \( \), and excesse. B, E, F. (\( \) as namely F; \( \) drunkennesse added in F.) 18\_18 gather F. 17\_17 would be thought to be such F.

| leaf 25, back. Pride in Dublets, and Hose. B.

Dublettes of dyuerse ' fashions, lets be made, fome of Saten, Taffatie, filk, Grogram,<sup>2</sup> Chamlet, gold, filuer, & what not; flashed, iagged, cut, carued, pincked and laced with all kinde of costly lace of diuers and fundry colours, for if I shoulde<sup>3</sup> stand vpon <sup>4</sup>these particularities,<sup>4</sup> rather time then matter would be wanting.

Spud. These be the strangest doublets that ever I heard of; and the furdest from hansomnes in every respect, vnlesse I be deceived.

Hosen of diuerse & sundry fashions. [French hosen of two sortes, E, F.] <sup>5</sup> Philo. Then have they Hofen, which as they be of divers fashions, fo are they of fundry names. Some be called french-hofe, some gally-hose, and some Venitians. The french-hose are of two divers makings, for the common french-hose (as they lift to call them) contayneth length, breadth, and sidenes sufficient, and is made very round. The other contayneth neither length, breadth nor sidenes (beeing not past a quarter of a yarde side) wherof some be paned, cut and drawne out with costly ornaments, with Canions annexed reaching down beneath their knees.

[Gally hosen. E, F.] [8 E 3]

<sup>8</sup>The Gally-hofen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hofe. And the Venetian-hofen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place to <sup>9</sup> the Leg, <sup>10</sup> where they are tyed finely with <sup>11</sup> filk points, or fome fuch like, and laied on also with rewes of lace, <sup>12</sup> or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of filk, veluet, saten, damask, and other such precious things <sup>13</sup> beside: yea, euery one, Seruing man and other inferiour to them, in euery condition, wil not sticke to slaunte it out in these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparel sutable therunto.

[11 leaf 26. B.+]

[\* Side-note here in B.]

\* The great excesse vsed in hosen. In times past, Kings (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doo recorde) would not disdaine to weare a paire of hosen of a Noble, tenne Shillinges, or a Marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a

diuers B, E, F.

2 grograine B, E, F.

3 could F.

4—4 particularlie F.

5 heading in F: Costly Hosen in Englande.

6 Gallie in B, E; Gallie hosen F.

7 adioyned F.

9 of F.

10 beneathe the knee added in B.

12 of lace not in F.

13 stuffe F.

hundred pound of one paire of Breeches. (God be mercifull vnto vs !) 1 Spud. This is a wunderful excesse as euer I hearde of, woorthy with the Swoorde 2 of Iustice rather to be punished, then with paper and

pen to be 3 fo gentlie 3 confuteed.4

<sup>5</sup> Philo. Then have they nether-flocks to these gay hosen, not [5 E 3, back\*] of cloth (though neuer fo fine) for that is thought to base, but of The diversity Iarnsey worsted,6 filk, thred, and such like, or els at the least of the stocks worne finest yarn that can be,7 and so curiouslye knit with open seam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ancles, 8 and fometime [8 leaf 26, back. (haply) interlaced with gold or filuer threds, as is wunderful to behold. And to fuch infolency &10 outrage it is now growen, that euery one (almost) though otherwise verie poor, having scarce fortie shillings of wages by the yeer, wil 11 be fure 11 to have two or three paire of these filk neither-stocks, or els of the finest yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a Ryall 12 or twentie shillinges or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be leffe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and fome much more? The time hath beene when one might have clothed all his body well 18 for leffe then a pair of these neither-stocks wil cost.

in Ailgna.

Spud. I have feldome hearde the like: I think verely that Sathan, The miserie of prince of darknes & Father of pride, is let loofe in the 14 land, els it could neuer fo rage 15 as it dooth; for the like pride (I am fully perfwaded) is not vfed vnder the fonne of any nation or people how barberous fo euer: wherfore wo be to this age, and thrife accurfed be these dayes, which bring 16 foorth 17 fuch fowre 18 frutes; & vnhappie [17 E 4] are that people whom Sathan hath fo bewitched & 19 captived in fin. The Lord holde his hand of mercy ouer vs / 19

Philo. To these their nether-stocks, they have corked shooes, pinfnets, and fine pantofles, which beare them vp 20 a finger or two 20

1 and yet is this thought no abuse neither added in B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> Rodde F. <sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> not in F. <sup>4</sup> confuted F. <sup>6</sup> crewell added in B, E, F. \* heading to chapter :- Costly Nether Stockins in England. F. 7 be got F. † leaf 26, back. Costly netherstockes in Ailgna. B. 9 such impudent B, E, F. 11\_11 not sticke B, E, F. 12 royal F. 10 and shamefull B, E, F.

13 from top to toe added in F. 14 that F. 15 so far exceed F. 16 bringeth F. 18 vnsauorie B, E, F.

19\_19 captiuate in Pride. (heading) Corked shooes in England. F. 20-20 two inches or more F.

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Corked shoes, Pantoffles and pinsnets. [' leaf 27. B.\*]

Pantoffles & slippers are a let to those that go abrode in them,

Pantoffles vneasie to go in.

[8 E 4, back]

[" leaf 27, back. B.+]

The varytie of coates and ierkins,

from the ground; wherof fome be of white leather, fome 1 of black, and some of red, some of black veluet, some of white, some of red, fome of green, raced, carued, cut, and stitched all ouer with filk, and laid on with golde, filuer, and fuch like: yet, notwithftanding,2 to what good vses ferue these pantofles,3 except it be to wear in a private house, or in a mans Chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the onely vie wherto they best ferue in my judgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now vsed al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwise; for shall he not be faine to knock and spurn at euery 4 stone, wall, 4 or poste to keep them on his feet? 5 wherfore, to disclose euen the bowels of my judgement vnto you,5 I think they be rather worne abrode for nicenes, then either for any ease which they bring (for the contrary is moste true), or any hansomnes which is in them. For how fhould they be easie, when 6 as the heele hangeth an inch or two ouer the flipper on 7 the ground? Infomuch as I have knowen diuers mens legs fwel with the fame. 8 And handfome how should they be, when 9 as with their flipping & flapping 9 vp and down in the dirte 10 they exaggerate a mountain of mire, & gather a heape of clay & baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen. 10

Spud. Those kinde of pantoffles can neither <sup>11</sup> be so handsome, nor yet so warme as other vsuall <sup>12</sup> common shoes be, I think. Therfore the weringe of them abrode rather importeth a Nicenes (as you say) in them that we are them, than bringeth any other commodytie, els vnlesse I be deceived.

<sup>13</sup> Philo. Their coates and Ierkins, as they be diverse in colors, so be they diverse in fashions; for some be made with colors, some without, some close to the bodie, some loose, <sup>14</sup> covering the whole

\* leaf 27. Greate excesse in shooes. B.

<sup>2</sup> I see not added in F.

3 doe serue added in F.

4\_4 wall, stone F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> And therefore to tell you what I iudge of them F.

<sup>6</sup> a man can not goe steadfastly in them, without slipping and sliding at enery pace ready to fall doune: Againe how should thei be easie where added in B, E, F.

7 from B, E, F.

9-9 they go flip flap F.

10\_10 casting vp mire to the knees of the wearer F.

+ leaf 27, back. Coates and Ierkins. B.

not in F.

13 heading in F:—Coates and Ierkins in England.
14 which they cal Mandilians E, F.

body downe to the theighe, like baggs or facks that weare drawen ouer them, hidinge the dimensions and proportions of the body: [The shapes \* of fome are buttened downe the breft, fome vnder the arme, & fome kins.] downe the back; fome with flappes ouer the breft, fome without, F.) fome with great fleeues, fome with fmall, and 2 fome with non at all 2; fome pleated and crefted behind, & curiouflye gathered; fome not fo3; & how many dayes 4(I might fay houres, or minuts of houres,4 in the yeare) fo many fortes of apparell fome 5 one man will haue, and thinketh it good prouision in faire weather to lay vp against 6 a storme !6 But if 7 they would confider that their clothes (except those that they 17 E 51 weare vppon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would not heap vp their presses and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to have millions 8 of fundry fortes 8 of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iefus 9 Christe The poore die at their doores for wante of clothing? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miferable poore man, nor begger amongeft vs, but that euery one be prouided for and maintained of that abund- Our smal reance 10 which God hath bleffed vs withal. But we thinke it a great poore. matter if we geue them an old ragged coate, dublet, or a paire of hofen, or els a penny or two, wheras not withstanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to heauen, and we need to do no more. If we geue them a peace of brown bread, a meffe of porredge (nay, the flocks & prison, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the best portion of almes which many Gentlemen geue) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of fupererogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure felues, feeding on many a dainty 11 dish. There is a certen Citye in Ailgna called Munidnol, 12 where as the poore lye in the 13 ftreats vppon pallets [Londinum in Anglia.] of straw, and well if they have that to, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is feene, 14 hauing neither house to put in their heads, Cold charitic couering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their shame [14 E 5, back] withall, penny to buy them fustenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted 15 to dye in the streats like dogges, or beafts, without anie

coats and jer-\* varitie (sic)

prouided for. [9 leaf 28, B.+]

<sup>1</sup> lineaments B, E, F. 2-2 not in F. 3 so not in B, E, F. 4-4 not in F. 6—6 foule F. 8—8 of sutes F. 5 some some (sic) F. † leaf 28. Cold Charitie in Ailgna. B. 10 store F. 11 danity A. 15 suffered B, E, F. 12 Londou F. 13 the not in F.

# 60 Turkish impietie, in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

[3 leaf 28, back. B.\*]

The Turkish impietie of some towards the poore diseased.

[15 E 6]

The sundry fashions of cloks,

[19 leaf 29. B.+]

mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be ficke of the plague (as they call it) or any other1 difeafe, their Maisters and Maistres 2 are so impudent 3 (being,4 it should seeme, at 5 a league with Sathan, a couenante with Hell, and 6 as it were obliged them-felues by 6 obligation to 7 the deuil neuer to haue to do with the works of mercy) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores. And fo being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyfe, 8 and thrown 8 in the streats, 9 there 9 they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not feen it, I would fcarfly have thought that the like Turkith cruelty had bene vfed in all 10 the World. But they fay vnus testis occulatus plus valet quam mille auriti, one eye witnesse is better to be belyued than a thousand eare witnesses befydes. But to leaue these excursions, and to returne from whence I have digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will 11 as much respect 11 my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked 12 World did at 13 the preaching 14 of our Sauiour Christe Iesus; that is, iust nothing at all.

<sup>15</sup> Spud. Well then, feeing they are fuche a ftifneckned People, leave them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation. <sup>16</sup>

17 Philo. They have clokes there also in nothing discrepante 18 from the rest, of dyuerse and fundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, russet, purple, violet, and insynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, veluet, tassetie, 19 and such like, wherof some be of the Spanish, French, & Dutch sashion 20: Some short, scarsely reachinge to the gyrdlestead, or wast, some to the knee, and othersome traylinge vppon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes.

21 These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced; and sometimes 21 so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the

<sup>1</sup> other mortall B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> Mistresses F.

\* leaf 28, back. Turkishe impietie in Ailgna. B.

4 hauing made B, E, F (as added in F.)
5 at not in B, E, F.

6—6 an B, E; sealed an an F. 7 with B, E, F.

8\_8 are laied doune either B, E, F; but E F have or laide

9-9 or els conueied to some olde house in the fieldes, or gardens, where for want of due sustentation B, E, F. (and good tending added in F.)

any place of F. 11—11 regard as much F. 12 former B. 13 at not 14 of Noah, or the latter worlde at the preaching added in B, E, F.

discourse F.
 heading in F: Cloakes in Englande.
 different F.
 tleaf 29. Costly Clokes in Ailgna. B.
 fashions F.

<sup>21</sup>—<sup>21</sup> Then are thei garded with Veluette gardes, or els laced with costly lace,

outfide: fome haue fleeues, otherfome haue none; fome haue hoodes to pull ouer the head, fome haue none; fome are hanged with points & taffels of gold, filuer, or filk, fome without al this. But how foeuer1 it be, the day hath bene when one might have bought him two clokes for leffe than now he can have one of these clokes made for,2 they have fuch store of workmanship bestowed vppon them.

Spud. I am fure they neuer learned this 3 at the hands of our Proconful, and chief Prouost,3 Christ Iesus, nor of any other that euer lyued The counting godly in the Lord; but rather out of the deceiptfull forge of their own bouse of all enill is mans braines have they 4 drawen 5 this 6 curfed Anatomy 6 to their owne [4 E 6, back] deftruction 7 in the end, except the 8 repente.

<sup>9</sup> Philo. They have also bootehose which are to be wondered at; for they be of the fynest cloth that may be got, yea, fine inough to make any band, ruffe, or flurt 11 needful to be worn: yet this is bad cesse of bote hosen to inough to were next their grefie boots. And would 12 God this weare all 13: but (oh, 14 phy for shame!) they must be wrought all ouer, from the gartering place vpward, with nedle worke, clogged with filk of all colors, with birds, foules, beafts, and antiques purtrayed all ouer in comlie 15 forte. 16 So that I have known the very nedle work of fome one payre of these bootehose to stand, some in iiij pound, vi. pound, and fome in x. pound a peece. Befides this, they are made fo wyde to draw ouer all, and fo longe to reach vp to the wafte, that as litle, or leffe, clothe would make one a reasonable large shurte. But tush! this is nothing in comparison of the refte.

[9 leaf 29, back. 10 The vain ex-

Spud. I would thinke that boote-hofen of groffer lynnen, or els The varitie of of 17 wollen clothe, weare both warmer to ride in, as comly as the uince vs of other, though not fo fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for

either of golde, siluer, or at the least of silke three or fower fingers broade doune the back, about the skirtes, and every where els. And now of late thei vse to garde their clokes rounde about the skirtes with (bables) I should saie Bugles, and Bugled clokes. other kinde of glasse, and all to shine to the eye. Besides al this, thei are so faced, and withal B, E, F.

E, F. <sup>2</sup> for not in F. <sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> of our sauiour F. <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> filthy poyson F. <sup>7</sup> confusion B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> they F. 1 however E, F. 5 sucked E, F. † leaf 29, back. Great excesse, in Boote hose. B. Heading in F: Boothose 10\_10 not in E. 11 shirt of F. in England. 13 all too F. 14 oh not in F. 15 sumptuous B, E, F. 12 would to E, F. 16 yea and of late, imbroydered with Golde and Siluer very costly added in F.

17 of not in E.

## 62 Swoords, Rapiers and Daggers. The Anatomic

those geugawes wherwith you say they be blaunched and trimmed, they serue to no end but to feade the wanton eyes of gazing fools, & planly argue the vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

[1 E 7] Swords and daggers guilt & damasked. [2 leaf 30. B.†]

[Scabbards and sheaths of velvet.]

[Why gilt swordes, and daggers be worne. E, F]

Lucc. 16.

<sup>1</sup>Phil. To these haue they their Rapiers, Swoords and Daggers, gilt twife or thrife 2 ouer the hilts, with 3 [good Angell golde, or els argented ouer with filuer both within and without, and if it be true as I heare fay it is, there be fome hiltes made all of pure filuer itself, and couered with golde. Othersome at the least are Damasked, Vernished, and ingrauen marueilous goodly: and least any thyng flould be wantyng to fet forthe their pride, their]3 fcaberds and fheathes of Veluet or the like; for leather, though it be more proffitable and as feemely, yet wil it not carie fuch a 5 porte or countenance like6 the5 other. And wil not thefe golden fwoords & daggers almoste apale a man 7 (though otherwise neuer so stout a Martialist) to haue any deling with them? for either to that end they be worne, or els other fwoords, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and steele were as hanfom as they, & much more conducible 8 to that end whereto fwoords and rapiers should ferue, namely,9 for a mans lawful and godly defence against his adversarie in time of necessitie. But wherfore they be fo clogged with gold and filuer I know not, nor yet wherto this excesse serueth I see not; but certain I am, a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greeuous offence to God, fo prodigallie and licentiouslie 10 to lauish foorth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of Iudgement, when it shall be faide to euerie one, Redde rationem Vilicationis tuæ. Come, giue accounts of thy Stewardship.

1 Heading in F:—Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilte in Englande.

† leaf 30. Swordes, Rapiers, and Daggers. B.

3—3 in B, E, F.

4 are of B, E, F.

5—6 Maiesty or glorious shewe as the F.

6 as B, E.

7 thinke you added in F.

8 auaileable F.

9 that is F.

10 wastfully F.

\* A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens 2 Li E 7, back; leaf 30, back. B.] apparell in Ailgna.

THus havinge geuen thee a3 fuperficiall4 viewe, 5 or fmall taft5 (but not discouered the hundreth part) of the guyses of Ailgna in mens apparel, and of the abuses contained in the same, now wil I, with like 6 celeritie of matter,6 impart vnto thee the guyfe and feuerall Abufes [The abuses in of the apparell of wemen there vied also: wherfore, geue attentiue apparel.] eare.

Sp. My eares be prest to heare: begin when you wil, and truely herin you shal pleasur me much, for I have greatly defired to know thorowly the state of that Land, even a crepundiis (as they say) from my tender yeres, for the great prayfe I have hard therof. Wherfore I pray you proceed to the fame, & though I be vnable with any benefit to counteruail your great pains,7 yet the Lord, I doubt not, wil supplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, & a bountiful Rewarder of euery one that trufteth in him; but yet (fuch is the magnificency 8 & liberalitie of that gentle fex) that I trust I shall not be The rewarde of vnrewarded at their hands, if 9 to be called a thousand knaues be a B, E.] fufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe 10 a corrofiue 11 to their hautie 12 ftomacks, & a nippitatum to their 13 tender brefts 13 to heare their dirtie dregs ript vp and cast in 14 their dia 15 mond faces, yet [15 leaf 31. B.+] hope 16 ing that they, feeing the horrour of their impieties, and tragical [16 E 8] abuses laide open to the world (for now they sleep in the 17 graue of obliuion) wil at the last, like good Conuertes and 18 Penitentiaries of Christe Iesus, leave of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpose.

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<sup>2</sup> Womans F.
                                 3 a taste or B, E, F.
                                                                4 not in F.
    5_5 not in B, E, F.
                                  6_6 expedition F.
                                                              7 curtesie F.
      <sup>8</sup> munificencie B, E, F.
                                                9 if at the least B, E, F.
      10 maie bee perhappes B, E, F.
                                                          11 corrasiue F.
                     13__13 haughty minds F.
      12 tender F.
                                                               14 into F.
   † leaf 31. Colouryng of faces in Ailgna? B. E has a new head-line here,
                                        17 dust of silence and added in E, F.
Abuse of the female sex.
             18 become faithfull B, E; become the faithfull F.
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#### Colored faces, abhord of God. The Anatomie 64

Coloring of faces with oyntments and waters.

Adulteration

of the Lord his workmanship in his Creatures.

[8 E 8, back]

They that colour their faces, deny the Lord of glory to bee true God, and so no God at all.

<sup>1</sup>The Women of Ailgna<sup>2</sup> vfe to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, vnguents and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored: but who feethe not that their foules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the difpleafure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and at whose presence the heavens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his woorkmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is Zelotipus,3 a ielous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, other wife then he hath commaunded4?

Yf an Artificer or Craftsman shoulde make any-thing belonging to his art or science, & a cobler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him felf abused, and judge him 5 woorthy of reprehension?

And 6thinkest thou (oh Woman!) 6 to escape the Judgement of God, who hath fashioned thee 7 8 to his glory, when thy 9 great, and [11 leaf 31, back. more then prefumptuous, audacitie 10 dareth to alter, & 11 chaunge his B.\*] woorkmanship in thee 12?

> 13 Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self 13 fairer then God, who 14 made vs all? These must needes be their inventions, 15 or els they would neuer go about to coulour their faces with fuch fibberfawces. And these beeing their inventions, 15 what can derogate more from the maieftie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly conuince the Lord of vntrueth in his word, who faith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terreftiall 16 Creatures. If he be thus faire, then what need they to make them fayrer? Therfore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable coniecture may be presupposed) that they think them felues not faire enough, 17 and then must God needs be vntrue in his woord.

1 Heading in F:-Collouring of womens faces in England.

<sup>2</sup> (many of them) use B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> deus added in B, E, F. 4 made them B, E, F. 5 the reproduer F.

6-6 doe these women thinke B, E, F. 7 them B, E, F. 9 their B, E, F. \* leaf 31, back. Coloured faces abhord of God. B. 10 audacicitie A. 12 them B, E, F.

13\_13 Doe they suppose that they can make themselues B, E, F. 14 that B, E, F.

15 intentions B, E, F: (suppositions for the 1st word F.) 16 terrestriall F.

17 els why doe thei goe about to make themselues fairer added in B, E, F.

And also they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almightie, or bothe, and so confequently no God at all; for if hee could not haue made them faire, then is hee not almightie; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and so euery way they 1 fall in to the finck1 of offence, 2 beeing 2 ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but 3 it is to be feared least at the day of Judgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, & in his wrath 4denounce [4 F 1] this heavie and ineuitable fentence con5demnatorie against them: "Departe from mee, you curfed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the deuil and his Angels: I knowe you not: (I fay) departe, for you were their faces. ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you. 6"

[5 leaf 32. B.+]

Spud. Wherof doo they make these waters, and other vnctions wherwith they befmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I<sup>8</sup> am not fo skilful in their <sup>9</sup> matters of pride, <sup>9</sup> but I holde this for a Maxime, that 10 they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded 11 fimples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched 12 together, and 18 tempered with many goodly condiments and holfome confections, I warrant you; els you may be fure they woulde not applye them to their amorous 14 faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the same.

[Materials of waters, &c. for women's faces.]

[Spud. I praie you shewe me the 15 judgements, and 15 opinions of the Fathers, concernyng these colourynges 16 of faces 17 with ointmentes and waters, that I maie the better know, what to judge of it 18 my felf. 17 B, E, F; part inserted with the pen in A.

Philo. S. Ciprian, amongst all 19 the rest, faith, a Woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, sheweth her self to be more then whorish. For (faith hee) shee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie strumpet or brothel) the woorkmanship of God in her: what is this els but to turne trueth into falshood with painting and fibber-

Inuectiues of the Fathers against paynting and coulouring of

#### 1\_1 stumble at the stone of B, E, F.

2-2 whiche one day will crushe them all to peeces, excepte they repent. And as they be B, E, F. 3 so B, E, F. 6 in you not in F.

† leaf 32. Harlottes vse painted faces. B. 7 other not in B, E, F.

8 Truly I, F. 9-9 dealings.

11 compounde B, E; not in F. 10 that not in E.

12 mingled B, E, F.

13 and artificially B, E, F.

15\_15 not in A, pen. 14 amiable F. 17\_17 not in A, pen. 18 them E, F.

16 this colouringe A, pen. 19 all not in B, E, F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

[r leaf 32, back. B.\*] [3 F x, back] [St Cyprian against facepainting.] fawces, wheras the Lord faith, "Thou canst not make one haire white or black." In an other place hee faith, Qui ¹se pinguunt² in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit ³Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis venerit, artisex creaturam suam non recognoscat. Those which⁴ paint or collour them selues in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them seare, least when the day of iudgement commeth, the Lorde wil not know them for his Creatures. Againe, Feminæ crines suos insciunt malo præsagio, capillos enim stammeos auspicari⁵ non metuunt. Whoseuer doo color their saces, or their haire, with any vnnaturall collour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose faith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and that they which color their faces doo purchase to them selues the blot and stain of chastitie.

For what a dotage is it (faith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hippocrittically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing less? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his cursse vpon their backs for euer, make thee to seeme fayrer? I could show you the sharp Inuections, and grounded reasons of many moe, as of Aug[u] stine, Hierome, Chrisostome, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Gualter, and of an infinite number moe; 7yea, of all generally since the beginning of 8the world, against this 9 whorish and brothellous painting and coulouring of faces; but to auoid prolixitie I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunitie, for pauca sapienti, 10 To a wiseman few woords are sufficient.

No painting can make any to seem fairer, but fowler.

[7 F 2] [8 leaf 35 B.+]

t Colouring of faces, the deuils net. Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coulouring of faces with artificiall colours, and vnnaturall Oyntments, is moste offensive to God, and derogatorie to his Maiestie: [And when thei have doen all that thei can, and the cumningest artist that ever lived besides, yet shal thei never be able to make so splendent, so orient, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> pingunt E. \* leaf 32, back. Colouryng of faces detestable. B. <sup>4</sup> that F. \* auspicare F. \* which comes before that in F. † leaf 33. Painted faces, the Deuilles nets. B. \* those E. <sup>10</sup> sapientia B, E, F.

fo naturall a colour, as dame Nature hath given to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath imprinted suche an excellent colour in the [God's own graffe of the feeld, which to-day 1 is standing,1 and to-morrow is cut of man.] doune; how muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the excellentest creature of all others?? Therefore ought enery one to content himself with the shape that God hath given hym, without fekyng of alteration or change. B, E, F.] for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the Sun, the Moon, the Starres, and all the hoaft of heaven with vnfpeakable glorie, and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their sibbersawces? And [ side-note, what are they 3 els then the Deuils inuentions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

<sup>4</sup> Philo. Then followeth the trimming and tric<sup>5</sup>king of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frisled and crisped, laid out (a World to see!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other. And least it should fall down, it is vnder propped with forks, wyers, & I can not tel what, rather 6 like grime 7 sterne monsters, then chaste christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolftred heir (for it ftandeth crefted round about their fron- Laying out of tiers, & hanging ouer their faces like 8 pendices 9 with glasse windowes an 10 euery fide) there is layd great wreathes of gold and filuer, curiouslie wrought & cunninglie 11 applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to fet foorth their pride withal, at their heyre, thus wreathed and crefted, are hanged bugles (I dare not fay bables) ouches, rings, gold, filuer, glasses, & fuch other 12 gew- Gewgawes gawes and 13 trinckets befides, which, for that they be innumerable, and their Frontiers. I vnfkilfull in wemens termes, I can not eafily recount.14 But God give them grace to give over these vanities, and studie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue & true Godlynesse.

Trimming of their heds. [5 leaf 33, back. B.+]

Simia erit simia, etiam si aurea gestat, insignia.

their haire. [8 F 2, back] Gold wreathes, circumgyring the temples of their heads.

hanged about

Spud. The Apostle Paul (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cherish their heyre, saying that it is an ornament to them; &

1-1 standeth E. 2 other F. 3 but F. \* heading in F :- Attiring of womens heades in England. + leaf 33, back. Laying out of coloured haire. B. 6 rather comes before than in F. 7 and added in F. 9 or vailes added in B, E, F. 10 on F. 11 cunning = (sic) F. 12 other childishe B, E, F. 13 and foolish B, E, F.

14 expresse B, E; recompt F.

### 68 Laying out of coloured haire. The Anatomie

therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out1 (if eyther were lawfull) is muche more tollerable than dying their faces.

[2 leaf 34. B.\*]

Curling and crisping and laying out of heyre.

Bought heyre and colored vsed to be worn.

[Children's hair cut off by women in London.]

[10 F 3]

[Women dye their hair.]

[16 leaf 34, back. B.†]

<sup>2</sup>Philo. If curling, & laying out of<sup>3</sup> their own naturall heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, 4 notwithftanding for 4 it is the 5 enfigne of Pride, and the stern 6 of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the leffe matter; but they are not fimply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre,7 dying it of what color they lift themselues: [And if there be any poore women (as now and then, we fee God doeth bleffe them with beautie, as well as the riche) that hath faire haire, these nice dames will not rest, till thei haue bought it. Or if any children haue faire haire, thei will intice them into a fecrete place, and for a penie or two, thei will cut of their haire: as I heard that one did in the citie of Munidnol8 of late, who metyng a little child with verie faire haire, inuegled her into a house, promised her a penie, and so cutte off her haire. B, E, F.] & this they were 9 in the fame order as you have 10 heard, as though it weare their owne 11 natural heir: and vppon the other fide, if any haue heyre 12 which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into 13 dyuerfe colors, almost chaunginge the fubstance into accidentes by their dyuelish, & more than thrife curfed deuyfes. So, wheras their heire was geuen them as a figne of fubicction, and therfore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now have they made 14 (as it were) a Metamorphofis of it, making 14 it an ornament of Pride, and deftruction to them felues 15 for euer, 15 except they repent.

<sup>16</sup> Spud. This is a ftyfnecked People, & a rebellious, I fee well, that thus dareth, in euerie refpecte, to peruert the ftraight wayes of the Lord, digginge vp to them-felues cefterns of iniquity, <sup>17</sup> & pittes of aduerfity, <sup>17</sup> which in th'end, without the great mercy of God, will be their ytter confusion.

+ leaf 34, back. Capitall ornamentes for heads. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> forth F. \* leaf 34. Bought haire & coloured, worne. B.

<sup>5</sup> of not in B, E, F. <sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> beyng as B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> an B, E; and F.

<sup>6</sup> standerd F.

either of Horses, Mares, or any other straunge beastes added in E, F.
 London F.
 weare F.
 haire of her owne naturall growyng B, E, F.
 not in B, E, F.
 not in F.

<sup>1</sup> Philo. Than, on toppes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true Philosophie now and than) fland their other capitall ornaments, as french hood, hat, cappe, kercher, and fuche like; wherof fome be of veluet, 2 fome of taffatie, Capitall ornafome (but few) of woll,2 fome of this fashion, some of that, 3 and some head. of this color, fome of that,3 according to the variable fantafies of their ferpentine minds. And to fuch exceffe 4 is it growen, as 4 euery artificers wyfe 5 (almost) wil 6 not stick to goe in her hat of Veluet [6 F 3, back] euerye day, euery marchants wyfe and meane Gentlewomen in her Hattes of french-hood, and euerye poore Cottagers Daughter in her taffatie hat, faty worn in or els of woll at leaft, wel lined with filk, veluet or taffatie. But how they come by this (fo they have it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them felues and others it 7 dooth bring, 7 they feare not, But runne daylie a malo ad peius (as they Trahit sua fay) from one mischiefe to an other, vntill they have 8 filled vp the voluptas. mefure of their euill9 to their owne 10 perdition at that day.10

ments for the

veluets: taf-

common

11 They have also other ornaments befydes these to furnish foorth [11 leaf 35. B.+] their ingenious heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made Netwyfe, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of filuer, or Cawles made els tinfell, (for that is the worst) wherwith their heads are couered and attyred withall 12 vnderneath their cawles maye 13 appeare, and shewe it felfe in the brauest maner. Soe that a man that seethe them (there heads glifter and fhine in fuche forte) wold 14 thinke them to have golden heads. [And fome weare Lattice cappes with three hornes, three corners I should faie, like the forked cappes of Popishe Priestes, with their perriwincles, chitterlynges, and the like apishe toyes of infinite varietie. B, E, F.]

Thus lauishe they foorth the goods of the Lorde, which are none Golden heads of their owne (but lent them for a tyme) vppon Pride and naughti- leaden wit. neffe, delighting (as it feemeth) in nothing fo 15 muche as in the ftinck- [15 F 4] ing puddle of vanitie and finne, which will be their owne decay 16 at the

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1 heading in F :- French Hoodes in England.
                                                        2-2 not in F.
                                                          5 wyse A.
  3_3 not in F.
                         4-4 it is grown that F.
                        8 haue not in F.
                                                   9 iniquitie B, E, F.
  7-7 bringeth F.
10_10 confusion at the last F. † leaf 35. Golden heads with leaden wit. B.
                     13 may the better B, E, F.
                                                      14 he would F.
  12 not in F.
                            16 in the end F.
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Making of holes in their cares to hang rings and Iewels by.

[2 leaf 35, back. B.\*]

A people who cut their skin to set precious stones in them selues.

[7 F 4, back]

Great ruffes, Neckerchers, and partlets vsed of Women.

[Starche the deuils liquor. E, F.] Supportasses the pillers of pride.

[14 leaf 36. B.†]

last. 16 Another forte of dissolute minions & wanton Sempronians (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other Iewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hould my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of People in the Orientall parte of the World (as Writers affirme), that are suche Philautoi, louers of them selues, and so prowde with all, that, having plentie of precious Stones and Margarits amongest them, they cut and launce their skinnes and slesse, setting therin these precious Stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these Women weare minded to tread their pathes, and solowe their direfull wayes in this cursed kind of 4vnhard of 4 Pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so muche frequented amongest Women as Men, I will say noe more thereof, vntill further occasion be offred.

Spud. Except it weare a People wedded to <sup>5</sup>the deuills eldeft Daughter <sup>5</sup> Pride (for I thinke chaftitie <sup>6</sup> amongeft them maye dwell <sup>7</sup>a Virgin for any that wil marry her), and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am perfwaded <sup>8</sup>neither the Libertines, the Epicures, nor yet the vile Atheists, euer <sup>9</sup> exceeded this people in pride, <sup>10</sup>nor <sup>11</sup> the wickednes of them might euer counterpease with the wickednes of these people <sup>10</sup>: God be merciful vnto them!

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able fo wel to discribe it, as the eye is to discry 12 it. The Women there vse great ruffes, & neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then, 13 least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the deuils liquore, I meane Starch; after that, dryed with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed 14 very nicely, and so applyed to their goodly necks, and, withall, vnderpropped with supportasses (as I tolde you before) the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they

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* leaf 35, back. Wearyng of eare-ringes. B.

3 and to F.

4—4 not in B, E, F.

6 humilitie B, E, F.

8 that neither B, E, F.

9 that euer liued F.

11 nor that B, E.

12 discerne F.

13 and E, F.

14 leaf 36. Great ruffes and minor ruffes. B.
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haue a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the reft; as, namely, three or foure degrees of minor ruffes, placed gradatim, 1 ftep by ftep, 1 one Minor ruffs. beneath another, and all vnder the Maister deuil ruffe. the skyrts, then, of these great ruffes are long and fide euery way, pleted and crefted ful curioufly, God wot. Then, last of all, they are either clogged with golde, filuer, or filk lace of ftately price, wrought all 2 ouer with needle woork, speckled and sparkled heer & there with [2 F 5] the fonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities3 straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woork down to the midft The great of the ruffe and further,4 fome with purled lace fo cloyd, and other rufs and gewgawes fo peftred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it felf. Sometimes they are pinned vp to their eares, fometimes they are fuffered to hang ouer their shoulders, like 6 windmil fayles fluttering in the winde; and thus every one pleafeth her felf with7 her foolish devices, for fuus cuiufque crepitus fibi bene olet, as the prouerb faith : euery one thinketh his own 8 wayes beft 8, 9 though they leade to diffruction of body and foule, which I wish them to take heed of.9 MO And 11 amongest many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe against Pride,12 to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of 13 God, shewed upon a gentlewoman of [13 leaf 36, back. Eprautna 14 of late, euen the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull found where- [Antwarpe, E.] of is blowen through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in euery mannes memorie. This gentlewoman beeyng a very riche Merchaunte mannes daughter: vpon a tyme was inuited 15 to a Bridall, or Weddyng, whiche was folemnized in that Toune, againste whiche daie she made [A fearfull greate preparation, for the plumyng of her felf in gorgious arraie, that as her body was moste beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in woman in euery respecte might bee corespondent 16 to the same. For the accomplishment whereof, she curled her haire, she died her lockes, and laied them out after the best maner, she coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes: But in no case could she gette any (so curious and daintie she was) that could starche, and sette her Ruffes, and Neckerchers to her mynde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses,

neckerchers.

example against pride shewed vpon a gentle-Antwarpe, E,F ]

(Womens lubricious mindes neuer content with anythinge when it is well, E.]

<sup>1</sup>\_1 not in B, E, F. 3 antiques B, E, F. 4 some with close woorke, added in B, E, F. 6 flagges or added in F. 7 in B, E, F. 8-8 foist the sweetest F. 10 added in B, E, F. 9\_9 not in F. 12 I would wish them added in F. + leaf 36, back. No head-line, B. 16 answerable F. 14 Antwerpe F. 15 inuited A; inuited F.

[The fearful end of the proud Antwerp lady.]

[3 leaf 37. B.\*]

[The deuil pleaseth women better then any bodie els. E, F.]

[The deuil found setting of great Ruffes. E.] [8 leaf 37, back. B.†]

who did the best thei could to please her humors, but in anywise thei could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curste and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wishyng that the Deuill might take her, when she weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the fufferaunce of God) the Deuill, transformyng himfelf into the forme2 of a young man, as braue, and proper as the in euery poincte in outward appearaunce, came in, faining hymfelf to bee a woer or futer vnto her. 3 And feyng her thus agonized, and in fuche a peltyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vppon their ftomackes) how she was abused in the fettyng of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promifed to please her minde, and thereto 4 tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffes, whiche he performed to her greate contentation, and likyng, in fo muche as the lokyng her felf in a glaffe (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kiffed her, in the doyng whereof, he writhe her necke in fonder, fo fhe died miferably, her bodie beyng 5 Metamorphofed, into blacke and blewe 5 colours, most vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was fo amorous) became moste deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knowen, 6 preparaunce 6 was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearfull bodie was laied therein, and it 7 couered verie fumpteoufly. Foure men immediatly affaied to lifte vp the corps, but could not moue it, then fixe attempted the like, but could not once stirre it from the place, where it stoode. Whereat the ftanders by marueilyng, caufed the Coffin to bee opened, to fee the cause thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte verie leane and deformed sittyng in the Coffin, fetting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and 8 wonder of all the beholders. This wofull spectacle haue I offered to their viewe, that by looking into it, in flead of their other looking Glaffes

<sup>1</sup> shee did F. <sup>2</sup> shape F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 37. No head-line B. E has head-line, A fearfull example agaynst Pride.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> so F. <sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> straight waies changed into blew and black F. <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> in the cittie, great preparation F. <sup>7</sup> it not in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 37, back. Women wearyng Dublets. B. E has The deuil found setting of ruffes.

thei might fee their own filthinesse, & auoyde the like offence, for feare of the fame, or worfer judgement: whiche God graunt their maie doe 1.]

Spud. As in a Camelion are faid to be all coulours, faue white, fo I think in these people are all things els2, saue Vertue and christian fobrietie. Proteus, that Monster, could neuer chaunge him felf into Proteus. fo many fourmes & shapes as these women doo: belike they have made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement3 with the deuil, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God or refpect to their weak Bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

<sup>4</sup> Philo. The Women also there have dublets & Ierkins, as men women werhaue heer, buttoned vp the 5 breft, and made with wings, welts, and ing dublets and lerkins. pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is 6 for all the world 6; & though 7 this be a kinde of attire appropriate 8 onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it; and if they could as wel chaunge their fex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel affigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, fober women, in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

[5 F 5, back]

It is written in the 22 of Deuteronomie, that what man fo euer A curse to weareth 9 womans apparel is accurfed, and what woman weareth weare contrary apparell to mans apparel is accurfed alfo. Now, whether they be within the 10 bands their sex. and lymits 10 of that curffe, let 11 them 12 fee to it them felues 12. 11 Our Apparell was given vs13 as a figne diffinctive to difcern betwixt fex and fex, & therfore one to weare the Apparel of another fex is to participate with the fame, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called Hermaphroditi, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half Hermaphromen.14

[9 leaf 38, B.+]

Spud. I neuer read nor heard of any people, except drunken with

1 added in B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> els not in E. 3 a league F. 4 heading in F :- Doublets for Women in England. 6\_6 in all respectes F. 7 although F. <sup>8</sup> proper F. + leaf 38. A curse for Apparell. B. 10\_10 compasse F. 11\_11 they themselues iudge F. 12\_12 take heede B, E. 13 us not in E, F.

14 Who if thei were naturall women, and honest matrones, would blushe to go in suche wanton and leude attire, as is proper\* onely to man added in B, E, F. (\* incident F.)

#### The great excesse in gownes. The Anatomie 74

[ F 6]

Cyrces cups, or poyfoned with the exorcifms of Medea, that famous and renoumed Sorceresse, that euer woulde weare suche kinde of attire as is not onely 1 ftinking before the face of God,2 offenfine to man, but also 3 painteth out to the whole world the 4 venereous inclination 4 of their corrupt conversation.

The diversity of Gounes.

<sup>5</sup> Philo. There Gownes be no leffe famous also <sup>6</sup>; for some are of filk, fome of veluet, fome of grogram, fome of taffetie, fome of fcarlet, and fome of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie shillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or veluet, then the fame shall be layed with lace, two or three fingers broade, all ouer the gowne, or els the moste parte.

Simise in purpuris.

[8 leaf 38, back.

Costly gownes.

Diners fashions of Gounes.

Or, if not fo (as lace 8 is not fine enough fometimes 9), then it must be garded with great gardes of veluet,10 foure or fix fingers broad at the leaft, and edged with coftly lace; and as these gownes be of divers and fundrie colors, fo are they of diuers fashions, changing with the Moon, for fome be of the new fashion, some of the olde, some of this fashion, and some of that, some with sleeues hanging down to their fkirts, trayling on the ground, and cast ouer their shoulders, like Cowtayles.

Some haue fleeues much fhorter, cut vp the arme, 11 and pointed with filk-ribons very gallantly, tyed with true-looues knottes (for fo they call them).

[13 F 6, back]

Petticots.

Some haue Capes reaching downe to the middeft of their backs, faced with Veluet, or els with fome fine wrought filk 12 Taffatie 13 at the leaft, and fringed about very brauely; & (to flut vp all in a word) fome are pleated & ryueled 14 down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare. 15 Than have they Petticots of the best cloth that can be bought, and of the fairest dye that can be made. And fometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to bafe, but of scarlet, grograin, taffatie, filk, and suche like, fringed about the

2 and added in B, E, F. 3 such as added in F. 4—4 dissolutenesse F. 5 heading in F :- Womens Gownes in England. 6 then the rest for also B, E, F. 7 must F. 9 now and then F. † leaf 38, back. The great excesse in Gownes. B. 10 euery gard added in B, E, F. 11 drawne out with divers and sundry collours added in F. 14 creasted F. 12 silk not in F.

15 expresse F.

fkirts with filk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatfoeuer their petticots be, yet must they have kyrtles Kyrtles. (for fo they call them), eyther of filk, veluet, grograin, taffatie, faten, or fcarlet, bordelred with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what [1 leaf 39. B.\*] befydes. So that when they have all thefe goodly robes vppon them, women feeme to be the fmallest part of themselues, not naturall women, but artificiall Women; not Women of flesh & blod, but Women the rather puppits or mawmets of 2 rags & clowtes compact together. themselves. So<sup>3</sup> farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that euery poore Yeoman his Daughter, euery Husband man his daughter, & euery Cottager his Daughter, will not spare4 Poore Mens to flaunt it out in fuche gownes, petticots, & kirtles as thefe. And excesse. not withflanding that their Parents owe a brafe of hunndred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they have it, quo iure quaue iniuria, eyther 5 by hooke or 6 crooke, by right or wrong, as they [5 F 7] fay, wherby it commeth to paffe that one can fcarfly know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worshipfull Woman, from them of the meaner forte.

Spud. Their parents & Freinds are muche to be blamed for fuf- Parents to fering them to go in fuche wanton attyre. They should not allowe them fuch large pittance, nor fuffer them to measure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of felfe will, and wicked defires.7

9 leaf 39, back.

Philo. Than shall they 8 be fure neuer to have good day with them, For they are fo impudent 9 that, all be it their poore Parents haue but The impudone cow, horse, or sheep, they wil neuer let them rest til they be harlots. fould to maintain them in their braueries, 10 past all tongue can tell. 10 B.11 And, to fay the truth, fome Parents (worthie to be inaugured 11 with the lawrell Crowne of triple follie,) are fo buxome to their shameleffe defires, and fo exorable to their profitute requests, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can 12 defire

· leaf 39. The impudencie of Harlottes. B. <sup>2</sup> consistyng of B, F. 6 or by F. 3 Yea, so F. 4 stick E, F. 7 then should thei not rage + so farre as thei doe added in B, E, F; but E F have could; †F has exceede, which comes after far.

8 theyr Parents F.

I leaf 39, back. What makes youth wicked. B. 10\_10 beyond all measure B, E, F. 11 for fooles added in E, F. 12 do E, F.

Our remisse leuitie of Parents to their Children.

themselues, taking a fingular felicity &1 furmounting pleasure in f[ce]ing them 2 to go plumed and decked2 in the Feathers of deceiptfull vanity.

[5 F 7, back]

Sp. This ouer great lenitie & remiffe libertie in 3 the education of youthe, in respect of the euent and successe in the end, maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly 5 pitie 6 of them towards their children; For what maketh them fo foone whores, ftrumpets,7 and bawdes, as that cockering of them doth?

8 what maketh whores and strumpets.8

What maketh them apt & prone to all kind of naughtyneffe but this? Nothing in the World foe muche; For, giue a wild horfe the libertie of the head neuer fo litle, and he will runne headlonge to thyne and his owne destruction also.

So long as a fprigge, twift,9 or braunche, is yong, it is flexible and bowable 10 to any thing 10 a man can defire; but if we tarie till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and vnbowable. If wax be taken whyleft it is hote, anye character maye be eafilye imprinted 11; but tarying till it [12 leaf 40. B.\*] be hard, it re12ceiueth no printe at all.

So, correct Children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them to what good lore you will your felfe; but tarie till they be old, than <sup>13</sup> is it <sup>13</sup> to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

Netherstocks of gernsey or silk,

<sup>14</sup> Philo. Their neitherftockes, in like maner, are either of filke gearnfey,15 worsted, crewell, or, at least, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is possible to be had, [yea thei are not ashamed to weare hose of all kinde of chaungable colours, as greene, red, white, russet, tawny, and els what,16 whiche wanton light colours, any 17 fober chafte Christian 18 (except for necessitie fake)18 can hardly, without any 19 fuspition of lightnesse, at any tyme weare; but whatsoeuer is a deformitie or shame in 20 others is an ornament to them that be past all shame. Then these delicate hosen must bee, B, E, F] cunningly knit and curi-

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2-2 decked and plumed B, E, F.
  1 and farre B, E, F.
                                      4 that it bringeth added in F.
  3 of theirs in B, E, F.
                                             7 Harlots added in F.
  6 loue or pittie B, E, F.
                          8_8 not in E, F.
                    10_10 which way F.
                                                11 in it added in F.
  9 a twist F.
                                                     13_13 it is F.
  * leaf 40. New fashions euery daie. B.
       14 heading in F :- Netherstockes of women in England.
                                                  18_18 not in F.
                  16 what not F.
                                    17 no F.
15 Iarnsey F.
                                                    20 to F.
        19 any not in E, F.
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oufly indented in euery point1: wherto they have korked shooes, pinfnets, pantoffles, and 2flippers, fome of black veluet, fome of Corked shoes, white, fome of greene, and fome of yellowe; fome of fpanish leather, and fome of English lether,3 stitched with filk,4 and imbrodered with Gold and filuer all ouer the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which, if I should 5 endeuoure my selfe 5 to expresse, I might 6 with more 7 facilitye 6 number the fands of the Sea, the Starres in the fkye, or the graffe vppon the Earth, fo infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For weare I neuer soe experte an Arithmeti<sup>8</sup>cian 9, 10 or 11 Mathematician 10, I weare neuer 12 capable of 12 The mnumerthe 13 halfe of them, the deuill brocheth foe many new fashions every day.

pinsnets, pantoffles, & such like, for women.

Wherfore to their Author I leave them, not omittinge to tell [8 leaf 40, back you by the way (14 as an interim 14) of a certen kynde of fweete Pride vfed amongeft 15 Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in Ailgna.

able fashions of womens attire.

Spud. I have learned out of the Booke of God, that all Pride is flincking before the face of GoD; wherfore I greatlye defyre to of God. knowe what abortyue Miscreant this is,16 for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am 17 perswaded.

Pride stinking before the face

<sup>18</sup>Philo. Is not this a certen <sup>19</sup> fweete Pride to haue cyuet, muske, fweete powders, 20 fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, & fuch like, wherof the fmel may be felt and perceived, not only all ouer and other the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stones cast of almost, yea, the bed wherin they have layed their delicate bodies, the places where they have fate, the clothes, and thinges which they have touched, shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the Prophet Efaias telleth them, instead of their Pomaunders, Esai, Cap. 3. musks, ciuets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall haue ftench and horrour in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked liues.21

[20 F 3, back] The hauing of ciuet, musk, perfumes, a sweet kind of Pride.

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1 with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly added
in B, E, F.
                                             3 lether not in B, E, F.
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with silke repeated in F. 5-5 take vpon me F. 6-6 as easily F. 7 like B, E. + leaf 40, back. Costly Perfumes and Muskes. B.

<sup>10</sup>\_10 not in F. 11 never so skilfull a added in B, E. 9 Arithmetrician A. 12\_12 able to recompt F. 13 the one B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> amongest the B, E, F. 14\_14 comes after you in B, E, F. 16 may be B, E, F. 17 am fully B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> heading in F:-Muske, Ciuet, and sweet powder in England. 19 certen not in E. F. 21 in tyme added in B, E, F.

[ leaf 41. B. .] Nosegayes & posies of flowers worn and

caried abrod.

Beware the Spanish pip.

[8 G 1]

These \*\* curious smelles obnubilat the spirits & darken the sences.

Sweet smells of musks, cyuet, and such like, do 21 anoy the spirits.

[22 leaf 41, back. B. +1

The vain gestures & coynes of women in the middest of

And in the Sommer-time, whilft floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not haue any 1 Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the Cuntrey, but they will carye in their hands nofegayes and posies of floures to fmell at; and which is more, two or three Nofegayes2 flicked in their brefts before, for what cause I cannot tel. except it be to allure their 3 Paramours to catch at them, 4 wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a flabbering kiffe, and, paradeuenture, more freendship befides: they know best 5 what I mean.

Spud. You wil be thought very ftraight laced to speak against these thinges, for I have heard it said, that these weet smels are bothe corroborative to the fences, and confortative 8 to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.7

Philo. They are fo far from comforting the braines, or lightning 10 the spirits of men 12, that as mystes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawen vp by-the attractive power of the Sun, Moon, and starres, doo rather 13 obnubilate 14 and darken the beames of the Sun, 15 not fuffering his radiations to disparcle abrode 15; So these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours 16, smells of these 17 musks, cyuets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, & suche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate 18, darken, and obscure the spirit 19 and fences, then either lighten them, or comfort them 20 any manner of way. But howfoeuer it falleth out, fure I am they are enfignes of pride, allurements to 22 sinne, and prouocations to vice. After all this, when they have attired them felues 23 in the midst of their pride, it is a world to confider their coynesse in gestures, their minsednes in woords and fpeaches, their gingerlynes 24 in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babifhnes, and withall their

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* leaf 41. Sweete smelles, hurtfull. B.
                                              3 their amorous B, E, F.
      2 nosegayes not in B, E, F.
                                                       5 best not in E, F.
    and to smell at their breastes added in F.
                 6 these not in B, F; the for that these in E.
   7-7 doe corroborate the sences, comfort the spirits, and recreate both the
body & mynd of man greatly, doe they not so? B, E, F. B braine F.
                                           11 The F.
                                                               12 man F.
    10 illuminating E; reuiuing F.
                                                     14 obnubilate not in F.
  13 doo rather not in B; rather not in E, F.
                                             16 vapours and B, E, F.
        15_18 not in F.
                                18 denigrate not in F.
                                                               19 spirites F.
  17 these not in B, E, F.
                                                      21 do not in F.
        20 by any B.
           + leaf 41, back. Looking glasses, the deuils spectacles. B.
                                             24 gingernesse B, E, F.
        23 thus added in B, E, F.
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hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. their their pecok fingers are 1 decked with gold, filuer and precious ftones, their Fingers clogged with wriftes with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other preciouse 2 Womens

Womens Iewels: their hands are 3 couered with their fweet washed gloues, imbrodered with gold, filuer, and what not; & to fuch abhomination is it 5 grown, as they must have their looking glasses caryed with them wherfoeuer they go. And good reason, for els how cold they fee the deuil in them? for no doubt they are the deuils spectacles to allure vs to pride, & consequently to distruction for euer. 6 and aboue al things they muft 6 haue their filk fearffes caft about their faces, & fluttering in the winde, with great taffels at Silk skarfes. euery end, either of gold, filuer, or filk. But I know wherfor they wil fay they weare these scarfes; namely, to keep them from Sunburning; But I wold aske these Nicelings one question, wherin if they can resolue mee, then I will say, as they say, that scarsfes are A question to skarse werers. necessary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moste glorious & fair of it felf, make any thing foule or ilfauored? the fun is a most glorious & fair creature, & therfor cannot make them fowler then they are of their own nature. From whence then is it 8 that the Sun burneth them, & altereth their orient colour into woorfer hue? The cause therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection9; for no more is their fowlenes to be afcribed to the stelliferous 10 beames of the glistering 11 Sun, then the ftench of a dead carcasse may be faid to 12 come of 12 the sun, & not rather of it own corruption & filthines. They busie themselues in

trinckets. Sweeted gloues. Loking glasses, the deuills specta-[4 G r, back]

1 must be B, E, F. 2 costly B, E, F. 3 are not in B, E, F. 6-6 Spud. The deuill could neuer haue found out a more pestilent euill then this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being naturally given to flatter hymself too muche, is easely drawen to thinke well of hymself: and yet no man seeth the true proportion of his face, but a counterfaite effigie, and false image therof in the glasse, whiche the Deuill suffereth hym to see, that thereby he maie rise into Pride, and so [so not in E, F] offende the Divine Maiestie. Therefore maie these lookyng glasses 7 be called the deuils bellowes, wherewith he bloweth the blast of Pride into our hartes: and those that looke in them may be said to looke bellowes. E, F.] in the Deuilles arse, whilest he infuseth the venemous winde of Pride into their [7 leaf 42. B. +] soules. Philo. \* Then must thei B, E, F. \* Heading in F :- Scarffes and Maskes in England.

† leaf 42. Silke Scarffes in Ailgna, B. 8 it is F. 9 prauitie F. 10 splendent F. 11 glistering not in F. 12\_12 proceed of B, E, F.

[<sup>1</sup> G 2] [<sup>3</sup> leaf 42, back. B.\*]

Visors or inuisories of veluet to ride abrode in.

Sues volutabris versantur.

[† side-note here in B.]

† The first finders and inuentors of new fashions are culpable of all the euil that commeth by them. [19] leaf 43. B.‡]

[20 G 2, back]

A vaine excuse.

preserving the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, & in time <sup>1</sup> is cause of his <sup>2</sup> own corruption, & which, <sup>3</sup> in effect, is nothing els then <sup>4</sup> putrifaction it self, & a duughil couered with white & red; but for the beautie of the soule they care nothing at all. When they vie to ride abrod, they have <sup>5</sup> inuisories, <sup>6</sup> or <sup>5</sup> <sup>7</sup> visors made of veluet, <sup>8</sup> wherewith they couer all their faces, having holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a deuil; for face hee can see <sup>9</sup> none, but two brode holes against her <sup>10</sup> eyes with glasses in them. Thus they prophane the name of God, & live in al <sup>11</sup> kinde of voluptuousnes & pleasure, wursse then ever did the hethen.

Sp. What think you, are not the inuentors & first finders out of these new toyes & dyuelish deuices, in great daunger, and partakers with them of the euill committed?

Philo. It cannot be but the Inuentors of these new toyes are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to god, not only for the inuention of them, but also for the euil committed by them. For whosoeuer is author of any euil must needs answer for the euil. And surely the authors 12 of these newsangles are 13 not vnworthy 13 to be canonized saints when the yeere of Iubilie commeth (I meane saincts of sathan); for 14 there is no 14 deed so flagicious, no 15 sact 16 so dangerous, 17 nor any 17 thing 18 so hainous, which 19 with alacritie is not plausibly committed for the 20 maintenance of these Diuelish toyes and deuices: And albeit that the Persons themselues who offend this way shal dye in their sinnes, their owne bloud being powred vppon their owne heads, yet the Authors of these new toyes, wherthorow they offended, shalbe giltie of their deathes, and surely answer for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

Spud. But fay they, 'if I make them not, an other wil, & it is as good for me to make them as an other; & it is my lyuing; wherfore

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<sup>2</sup> it B, E, F. * leaf 42, back. Veluet Visours to ride with. B.

<sup>4</sup> but E, F. * b—5 not in B, E. * 6 masks F. * 7 and F.

<sup>8</sup> (or in my judgement their maie rather be called invisories) added in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> shew F. * 10 their E, F. * 11 all in B, E. * 12 author F.

13—13 worthy F. * 14—14 what B, E, F. * 15 what B, E, F. * 16 attempt F.

17—17 or what B, E, F. * 18 fact F.

‡ leaf 43. A Caucat for Artificers. B.
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I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with fweat of my face, and with trauaile and paine to get my lyuing.'

Philo. We are commaunned (sic), indeed, to get our lyuing with the fweate of our face; but how? Not in doing those things which are We are bound euill of themselues, and also drawe and intice others to euill, but in lyuing in well things lawful and good, which induce to goodnesse. And to fay euill doing. 'others will make them, if I3 do not,' no more excuseth them of offence,4 than for a Murtherer or 5 Thief to fay, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, dischargeth him from the penaltie of the iudiciall 6 lawe 7 to be inflicted against 8 him. 7 Is it lawfull for vs A caucat to to do euill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other inuent new delyuer me9 from blame, if I 10 commit the fame offence? no, nothing leffe. Wherfore let Taylers and Artificers be11 ware how 12 they [11 leaf-43, back. B.+] eyther inuente or make these new deuyces and Dyuelish fashions [12 G 3] euery day: And being requested to make them, if they perceive them 13 tende to vice, and 14 allure to finne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the faluation of many, than the prinat com- [A caucat for Tailours and modytie of themselues alone: which thing, if euery one wold do, he Artificers. F.J should delyuer his own foule, & support an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of finne; and fo in fhort tyme these new toyes, fond deuyces, and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold foone vanish away and come to naught 15: which God graunt may 16 once be seene 16!

<sup>17</sup>Spud. Did the women of the former world attire themselves in fuche forte as these women do?

Philo. The Women of the former age, you may be fure, neuer appareled themselues like one of these. But least you should thinke that the Godly onelie lyued thus aufterly, you shal heare how litle the very hethen and barbarian Women haue, and do at this prefent, [Heathen women efteeme of apparell; as Stuperius witneffeth, whose words are these,

Artificers that

fashions.

despise dress.]

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<sup>2</sup> godlinesse E, F.
    1 honest F.
                                                3 they B, E, F.
                                                       6 not in F.
  4 before God added in F.
                              5 or a F.
7-7 or guilt of the fact F.
                            8 upon B, E.
                                              9 vs E, F.
                                                           10 we E, F.
        † leaf 43, back. Mans saluation to be regarded. B.
  13 to added in E, F. 14 and to F.
                                                15 naughe (sic) F.
                    16_16 come to passe E, F.
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17 heading in F: The meane attire of both Heathen and other Women in olde time.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

## Wommens habit, in other cuntries. The Anatomie

[Egyptian and other heathen women are modest in dress.] speking of the Egiptian women: "Vestimenta sciunt nec noua pristinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congredi, quascunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent; Which may be thus turned into English verse:

[ G 3, back]

[3 leaf 44. B.\*]

<sup>1</sup>The Egiptian Matrones neuer vfe Their fashion 2 of attyre to change, But ever keep one forme to chuse, Although they vifite Nations strange.

AND as all Writers doo affirme, all the Women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat vppon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the reft, foo farre are these People from Pride, and hunting after ftrange fashions as our Women doo.

The meannes of other Nations in attire. B, E, F; with maners for meannes.]

The Women of Affrica are witneffed, by the same Stuperius, and others, to be fo farre from affecting 4 ftrange fashions, or curiofity in aparel, that they cloth themselues, in a manner, all ouer ferinis pellibus, with beafts skinnes, furres, and such like. And this they think fo riche attire, as they vse it altogether when they celebrat their feftiual folemne daies, or when they go abrode to be feene.

The Brafilian Women effecte fo litle of apparell alfo, as they rather chose to go naked (their secret partes onely being couered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or defirouse of such vanities.5

[German women dress plainly.]

[7 G 4]

B.+]

The Cantabrian Women likewyse, with many others,6 do the same. In High Germany, the Women vie in effect one kind of apparel or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other Nations delighting in new fangles, 7 yea, the wives there are fo far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their househould stuffe, and other trinckets,8 about with them vppon their backs in tyme of extremitie.9 Thefe 10 Mayds & Virgins go very plain, with kerchers [11 leaf 44, back. only on their heads, their 11 haire hanging down behinde, in token of Virginitie.

Thus, you fee, euery Nation, how barbarous foeuer, are much inferiour to the people of Ailgna in pride & excesse of apparell; and

<sup>2</sup> fashions F. \* leaf 44. Womens habit, in other Countries. B. 5 vanity F. 6 other F. 4 affecting of E, F. ,10 Their B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> supellectiles E, F. 9 necessity F. † leaf 44, back. Brutish Attire not commendable. B.

yet these examples I alledge not to th' end I wold wish all others to vie the same, or the very like brutish 1 kind of auster 2 habite, but to fhew how farre they be from Pride, & how much the other be wedded to the fame. And as for the vertuous, & godly christian women: from the beginning of the world they have fo litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, & fo litle (or rather nothing at al) were [The contempt they acquainted therwith, as they hunted for nothing els fo much as the former for the ornaments of the mind, as wifdom, continency, chaftitie, & true godlynesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with fumpteous apparel, & their minds to be naked, & voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold feek after the bewtie of the mind, they wold not affect apparell fo much; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeous apparel to make them fairer: & if they be deforme3 in body, it is not the apparell 4 that can make them fairer. And either [4 G 4, back] their bewtie confifteth in them, or in their apparel: If in them, than not in the Apparell, & fo it is meere foolery to were them; And if in apparel, than not in them, and fo cannot the garments make them fayre whome God & na5ture hath made otherwise: wherfor look in [5 leaf 45. B.f] what fhape, forme, or condition, euerye one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

of apparell of age. B, F.]

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God fo muche hateth and deteffeth.

Philo. It is verye true that God punisheth the pride of the heart Pride of the with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he will be ferued and obyed either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he punish the pride of the heart with euerlasting damnation, he must needs (in iuftice) punish the pride of Apparell with the like, being Pride of appabooth ioyned in one predicament of finne, and the pride of apparell with Pride of much more hurting before the world than the other.

the heart.

Also it is manifest that the pride of apparel riseth first from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cause, the fruite from the roote of the tree: than, if the pride of the heart which, notwithflanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is fecret betwixt God and him-

> 2 not in F. 3 deformed F. † leaf 45. Pride of the harte, and of Ap[parell]. B.

#### Gods punishments for pride. 84 The Anatomie

[ G 5]

[Pride of apparel more damnable than pride of heart.]

[2 leaf 45, back, B.\*]

<sup>1</sup> felfe, be damnable in it owne nature before God, than must it needs be that the Pride of apparell (which sheweth its selfe to the world, both offensive to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruite of the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as behold it, at least as many as followe it, into the deep dungion of hell,) is 2 much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this finne of pride with any notable torture 3 or punishment euer from the beginning of the World vnto this day, or hath he 4 omitted the reuenge therof 4 as a thing of small force, or 5 importance?

<sup>6</sup> Philo. Most fearfull plagues and dreadfull judgements of God haue in all ages beene powred vppon them that offended herein, as all Histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For proofe wherof I will geue you a tafte but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, & peoples, hath punished those that thorow pride (like wicked recusants and backflyders from God) haue rebelled against his maiestie. The deuill, who before was an Angell in Heauen, arrogating to himfelfe the imperial throane of the maiefty of God, was cast downe into the deepth8 of Hell, burning with fire 9 and fulphur for euer.

Examples of God his punishments executed vppon them that offended in Pride in all ages.

[" G 5, back]

[The Tower of

Adam, defiring to be a God (for the ferpent 10 tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good & euill), was for the fin of Pride throwne downe to the bottome of Hell, & not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the World. The hoast of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, for their exceding pride in ftirring vp mutenie, 11 12 rebelling against their lawfull Magistrate, were swallowed vp 13 quick into hell, [14 leaf 46. B.+] the earth opening her mouth & deuouring them, 14 with all their complices whatfoeuer. The People of Babylon, intending to builde a tower, whose top should 15 tutche the Skye, 15 thinking that if God should drown the world againe with water, they would be fure inough on the toppe of their high turrets; yea, they intending16 to

> \* leaf 45, back. Gods punishments for Pride. B. 4\_4 passed it ouer F. 5 force or not in F. 3 plague F. 6 heading in F:-Pun[i]shments of pride in all ages. 11 mutinies F.
> 13 up not in E. 8 lake E, F. 9 brimstone B. 7 runnagats F. 12 and rebelling B; and rebellion E; and rebellions F. † leaf 46. Punishments for Pride. B. 15\_15 reach the heavens F. 16 intended F.

fit with God himfelfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diuerfe language put into euery mans mouth, that none knew what an 1 other spake. And thus were they forced to leave there building, and dispersed themselves abroad vppon the face of the earth, wherof<sup>2</sup> fprang the first diversitie of languages in the world. Wherfore when we heare any language fpoken we3 know not, it may be a memo- A memoranrandum to 4 vs to put vs in minde of our Pride, which was the cause therof.

Goliah, the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and fworne enemy to the Children of Ifraell, for his pride against the Lord was slaine by Dauid, the fait[h]full Seruaunt of the Lord.

<sup>5</sup> Antiochus, intending to ouerthrowe and facke Ierufalem, to spoile Antiochus. the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of [5 G 6] God, was for his pride ouerturned in his chariet, ryding thetherward, his belly bruft,6 and filthy wormes crawled out most lothfomly; and, in fine, beganne fo to stinke and fwell,8 as neither his Seruants, nor he himfelfe, cold abide his owne fauoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miferie and wretchednesse.

Nabuchodonofor 9 was for his pride caft out of 10 his Kingdom, and 11 forced to eat graffe with wild beafts in the wilderneffe.

Nabuchodonosor. Daniel 4-[10 leaf 46, back B.+] K. [Saul.]

King Saule, for his pride and disobedience, was deposed of his principallitie and Kingly regimente, and in the end flewe him felf on mounte Gelboe most desperately.

Sodoma and Gomorra were both deftroyed with fire & brimftone from heauen for their fin of pride & contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of Noah was drowned with 12 vniuerfall deluge for pride & contumacy of heart.

King Hezekiahs 13 for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadors of 2 Reg. Cap. 20. the king of Babylon all his treasure (for he sent Messengers vnto him with gifte 14 & lettres, congratulatorie 15 for the recouerie of his helth) loft al his iewels, trefures, & riches, with his owne 16 fonnes alfo, being transported captiues into Babilon. K. Dauid, for his pride in numbring the people contrary the wil of god, 17 was greuouslie pun- [17 G 6, back]

<sup>1</sup> an not in E, F. <sup>2</sup> and hereof F. 3 that we B, E; that me (sic) F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> vnto F. <sup>6</sup> bursting B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> crawling B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> smell E, F.

<sup>9</sup> Nabuchadnezar F. † leaf 46, back. Proude Kynges punished. B. 11 and and (sic) F.

e) F. 12 with an B, E, F. 13 Ezekiah F. 15 reioycing added in F. 16 owne not in B, E, F. 14 giftes F.

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2 Samuel 1, C. 24, Ver. 15.

ished, and threescore and ten thousand of his People slaine with a greeuous pestilence for the same.

King Pharao, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him felfe a God vppon the Earth, and therfore asked he Moyfes, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the read Sea with all his hoaft. The proude Pharifey, instifying himselfe, for his pride was reproued of the Lord, and reiected.

The proude Pharisey.

K. Herode.

[1 leaf 47. B.\*]

King Herode, for attiring himfelfe in fumpteous aray & not afcribing glory to the 1 Lord, was ftrucken 2 dead by an Angel, and wormes confumed his flesh immediatly. Al these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, haue perished thorow pride; and therfore let not this people think that they shall escape vnpunished, who drinke vp pride as it weare fweet wyne, feede vppon it as vppon delicious meats, and wallowe in it as a 3 filthie fwyne doth in the dirtie 4 myre. will the Lord punish his peculiare people and elect vessels, and let them goo free ?

God his Plagues are prepared, if we repent not.

[6 G 7]

[9 leaf 47, back. B.†]

Wherfore I wold wyshe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of God, who is a confuming fire & a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of judgements are drawen to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, & ready to be powred vppon the contemners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; prouoke not 6 his wrath, exasperate not his iudgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth from him, fo doth iuffice alfo; And, be fure of it, he payeth home at the laft. For as in mercie he fuffreth no good deed to be vnrewarded, fo, in his iuft iudgmente, there is no wickednes which he leaueth vnpunished. And yet, notwithftanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the Enemies to blaspheme and fpeake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for, fay they, the men of Ailgna are wicked & licentious in all their wayes, which eafily appeareth by their apparell & 9 new fangled fashions euery day inuented. The beaftly Epicures, the Drunkards & fwilbowles, vppon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxicat with new wine, 10 wil

<sup>3</sup> a not in E, F. \* leaf 47. Gods iudgementes for Pride. B. 2 striken F. 7 without repentance added in F. 4 dirtie not in F. <sup>5</sup> iudgement F. † leaf 47, back. Our lives, a slaunder to the Gospell. B. 8 dissolute F. 10 and strong drinke added in F.

not flick to belch foorth and fay, that the inhabitantes of Ailgna go brauelye in Apparell, chaunging fashions euerie daye, for no cause so much as to delight the eyes of their harlots 1 withall, and to inamoure the mindes of their fleshly paramours. Thus be this People a laughing flock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of Our lyuing a God & to their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonor the truth. and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themselues in wasting and confuming their goods and treasures vppon vanyties & trifles.

Our new fangles and toies are occaand floute vs.

[2 Spud. I perceive these are nice dames, I pray you what exercises followe thei, for the moste parte beyng thus clothed in their robes, and how doe thei spende the tyme? For I stand in doubte thereof?3

> [The great paynes that these gentlewomen take, E.]

Philo. You neede not to doubt. For thei fpend their time very well, I warrant you, and to their owne contentation.4 For fome of them lye in bed (I will not faie with whom) till nine or tenne of the clocke every mornyng; then, beyng rouzed forthe of their dennes, thei are twoo or three howers in puttyng on their Robes, which beeyng 5 doen, thei go to dinner, where no delicates either of wines or meates are wanting. Then their boodies beeyng fatiffied, and their [6 leaf 48, B.+1] heades pretely mizzeled with wine, thei walke abrode for a time, or els confer with their familiars (as women you know are talkative enough, & can chat like Pies) all the world knoweth it. Thus fome fpende the daie till fupper tyme, and then the night, as before. Other fome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in fittyng at the doore, to fhewe their braueries, to make knowen their beauties, to beholde the paffengers by, to viewe the coaft, to fee fashions, and to acquainte [Exercises and themselues with the brauest fellowes: for if not for these causes, I see no other causes why thei should fitt at their doores, from Mornyng till Noone (as many doe) from Noone to Night; thus vainly fpendyng their golden daies in filthie idlenesse and finne. Againe, otherfome being weary of that exercise, wil7 take occasion (aboute vrgent affaires you must suppose) to walke into the Towne; & least any thing

practises of the gentlewomen of Munidnol, B, E.]

1 whorish mates F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> From here to p. 89, l. 24, is from B: it's not in A. Heading in F:- The dayly exercises of the Women of England.

<sup>3</sup> they scarse spend it wel instead of thereof F. 4 contentments F.

<sup>5</sup> beeyng not in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 48; no head-line B. E has Hand baskets clokes to sinne. 7 wil not in E, F.

# 88 Horrible whordome, in Ailgna. The Anatomie

[This page is not in A.] [Hand baskets clokes to sinne, E.] [might bee gathered, but that thei goe about fereous matters indeede, thei will 1 take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes; vnder which pretence, pretie conceites are practized, and yet maie no man saie blacke is their eye. But if al other waies saile them, yet haue thei one which be sure will speede.

Spud. What waie is that, I praie you declare vnto me.

[3 leaf 48, back. B,\*] [Garden in the fieldes no better then the Stewes. E.]

<sup>2</sup> Philo. Seyng you are fo defirous to knowe I will tell you. In the Feeldes and Suburbes 3 of the Cities thei haue Gardens, either palled, or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit for the purpose. And least thei might bee espied in these open places, they have their Banquetting houses with Galleries, Turrettes, and what not els therin fumpteoufly erected: wherein thei maie (and doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie persons. And for that their Gardens are locked, some of them have three or fower keyes a peece, whereof one they keepe for themselues, the other their Paramours have to goe in before them, leaft happely they should be perceiued, for then were all their fporte dasht. Then to these Gardens thei repaire when thei lift, with a basket and a boy, where thei, meeting their fweete hartes, receive their wished defires. These Gardens are exelent places, and for the purpose; for if thei can speak with their dearlynges no where els, yet there thei maie be fure to meete them, and to receive the guerdon of their paines: thei know best 6 what I meane. But I wishe them to amende, for feare of Gods heavie wrathe in the daie of vengeaunce.

[Gardens, places of baudry. B, E.]

Spud. Why? doe you condemne the vse of Gardens 7 and houses 7 then altogether?

Philo. No nothyng lesse. For I knowe they bee very healthful, comfortable, and holsome for mans bodie, and suche thynges, as the vse whereof we can not lacke. But I condemne these abuses, these corruptions, and enormities there vsed, and I pray God thei maie be reformed. There is no thyng so good but it maie be abused: yet I am not so precise that I would have the thyng removed for the abuse, but the abuse to be taken awaie, whereby the thyng it self is made

[9 leaf 49. B.+]

[Euery thing abused, is not to be remoued, but the abuse to be taken away onely. E.]

will not in E, F. heading in F:—Gardens in Englande. leaf 48, back; no head-line B. E has Gardens places of baudrie.

<sup>4</sup> might F. 6 the F. 6 best not in E, F. 7-7 and garden houses F.

<sup>8</sup> can we F. + leaf 49; no head-line B. E has Women good and badd.

[worse. Nor I speake not against the good and Godly women, for I [This page to 1. 24, is not in A.] knowe there bee a greate number, - and the Lorde increase the number of them that are chaft, wife, fober, continent, and verteous Ma trones, and voyde of all these corruptions!-But against those light, leaude, and incontinent Harlottes (as it is well knowne there bee too many) that runne to those places, as fast as euer did the brothelles to the Stewes. And truely I thinke some of these 2 places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houses were in tymes past: I befeeche the Lorde to make3 them cleane, either with the Oliue braunch of his mercie, or with the broome4 of his iudgement, that this wickednesse maie be doen 5 awaie.

[I denounce the lewd Harlots, not the virtuous Matrons.]

Spud. Are these 6 nice Dames, gentle, sober and discrite, or otherwife, giuen to chiding, braulyng, and vnquietnesse: For thei shewe themselues abroade (by reporte) as though butter would not melt in their mouthes.

Philo. There are fome, fober, wife, gentle, difcrite, and verteous Matrones, as any be in al the worlde. And there be other fome (yea maior numerus) that are neuer well, but when thei be, either brawl- [Women good yng, fcoldyng, or fightyng with 7 fome 8 of their houfholde 9: and fuche deuilles, as a man were better to be hanged then to dwel with them. But because I have small experience hereof 10 my self; 11 but onely by 11 reporte of them that have made triall thereof themselves, I will saie no more, committyng them ouer to the Lorde, to whom thei either stand if thei doe well, or fall if thei doe euill. B, E, F.]

and bad, but the greater number naught. E, F.] [8 leaf 49, back. B.\*]

Spud. Seeing that by diuyne affiftance you 12 haue now finished [12 G 7, back] your tractation 13 of the Apparell of Ailgna, 14 shew me (I pray you) what other abuses be there vsed; for I am perswaded that pride, the Mother of all 15 finne, is not without her Daughters of finne 16 femblable to her felfe.

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1 lewd F.
              2 those F.
                             3 sweepe E; purge F.
                                                        4 sharpe rod F.
                          6 those F.
   5 put F.
                                                     7 eyther with F.

    leaf 49, back. Horrible whordome in Ailgna. B.

     9 or some others added in F.
                                                    10 therof E, F.
     11_11 saue onely by the E, F.
                                                    13 discourse F.
 14 This is always printed England in F.
                                                 15 all not in B, E, F.
                      16 of sinne not in B, E, F.
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# The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Whordome in Ailgna too too rife.

Philo. The horryble vice of Whordome also 1 is ther too too much frequented, to the great dishonor of God, the prouoking of his judgements against them, the staine and blemish of their profession, the euill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for euer, except they repente.

Spud. I have heard them reason,2 that mutuall coition betwixt

man and woman is not fo<sup>3</sup> offenfiue before God; For do not all

Creatures (fay they) as wel reptilia terræ as volatilia Cæli, the creping

things vpon the earth, as the 4 flying 5 Creatures 6 in the aire, and all

other Creatures in generall, both fmall & great, ingender together?

hath not nature and kynd ordained them fo? & geuen them members incident 7 to that vse? & doth not the Lord (fay they) (as it were with a stimule or prick, by his mandat, faing crescite & multiplicamini & replete terram: increase, multiplie & fill the earth,) stirre them <sup>8</sup>vp to the fame? Otherwyfe the World wold become barren, and

foone fall to decay: wherfore they conclude that whordome is a

badge of loue, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a frendlie daliance, a redintegration of loue, and an enfigne of vertue,9 rather meritorious than damnable: thefe, with the like, be 10 the 11 exceptions 10 12 which I have hard them many times to object 13 in

Vain and vngodly reasons pretending that whordome is no sinne.

[5 leaf 50. B.+]

Oh wicked

Lybertynes! [8 G 8]

defence of their carnal pollutions. Philo. Curfed be those mouths that thus 14 blaspheme the mightie God of Israell and his facred word, making the fame, clokes to couer their finne withall: 15 worfe are they 15 than Lybertines who thinke all things lawfull, or Atheistes who denie there is any God. The diuells themselues neuer finned so horribly nor erred so grossely as these (not Christians, but dogges) do, that make whordom a vertue and meritorious: but because you shal see their deceptions displayed & their damnable abuses more plainly discouered, I will reduce you to the

[Those that make whoredome lawfull, are worser then Deuills. E.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> reason thus B, E, F. 1 also not in F. 3 so much F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 50. Libertines defend whordome. B. 4 the not in F. 7 proper F. 6 Creatures not in F. 9 good will B, E, F. 11 their childishe B, E. 10\_10 their ridiculous reasons F.

<sup>12</sup> and friuolous objections added in B, E. 13 pretende B, E; alleadge F. 14 dare to added in B; care in E; do in F. 15\_15 Thei are much worser B, E, F.

first institution 1 of this Godly ordenance of matrimony. The Lord our God, having created all things in Heauen, earth or Hell whatfoeuer, created of euery fex two, male & female 2 of both kindes2; and last of al other creatures he made man after his own likenesse & fimilitude, geuing him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his 3 companion, & comforter 4; & lincking them together in the honorable state of 5 venerable wedlocke, he blessed them both, faying 'crescite, multiplicamini & replete terram'; Increase, multiplie, & replenish the earth: wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is Iehouah, the mightie God of Ifraell, is the Author of Godly matrimony, inftituting it in the tyme of mans innocency 6 in Paradice; and that, as mee feemeth, for foure causes. First, for the auoydaunce of whordom; Secondly, for the mutuall comforte & stituded for confolation that the one might have of the other in all adverfities & calamities whatfoeuer: Thirdly, for the 7 procreation and Godly 7 pro- 3. [Procreation.) pagation of Children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increased therby, and the Lord also 8in them glorified.8 And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Christ and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congression, and mutuall copulation, of those that be thus ioyned together in the Godlye state of blessed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man, 9 as an action wherto the Lorde [9 leaf 51. B.f] hath promised his bleffing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, ex opere operato, as fome fhame not to fay. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, peftiferous, and execrable. So, now you All mutuall fee that wheras the Lord faith 'increase, multiplie, & fill the earth,' he alludeth to those that are cheyned 10 together 11 in the 12 Godly state [11 H 1] of 12 matrimonie and wedlock, and not otherwyfe: For to those that go together after any other forte, he hath denounced his curse and wrath for euermore, as his alfauing word beareth record. And wheras they How all fay that all creatures vppon the Earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; But how? in fuo genere, in their owne kinde. There is no

matrimonie. [1 leaf 50, back.

Gene. 2. Mat. 19. Marc. Luc. 16. r Cor. 6. Ephe. 5.

[5 G 8, back]

Mariage in-

4. [As type of Christ and his

creatures do goe togither in their kinde.

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* leaf 50, back. Gods curse for Whordome. B.
 2-2 not in E, F.
                                                 3 a for his E, F.
4 vnto him added in E, F.
                             6 inconcency A; innocencie B, E, F.
                     8_8 be glorified in him E, F. (be not in F.)
7-7 not in B, E, F.
              † leaf 51. Fidelitie in maried couples. B.
    10 linked F.
                                       12-12 state of godly F.
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### 92 The Heathen detest whoredome. The Anatomie

creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationable foeuer, that dooth1 degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the fame ftate and order wherein they were made at the first; 2 and so 2 if man did, he should not commit<sup>3</sup> abhominable whordom and filthie finne as hee dooth. It is faid of those that write de natura animalium, that (almost) all vnreasonable beasts and flying fowles, after they have once linked and vnited them felues togither to any one of the fame kinde, and after they have once espoused them selves the one to the other, wil4 neuer after5 ioyne them felues with any other, til the one be diffolued from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of matrimonie inuio<sup>6</sup>lable to the end. And if any one<sup>7</sup> chaunce to reuolte, and go togither with any other, during the life of his first mate, al the rest of the same kind assemble togither, as it were in a councel or parliament, and either kil or greeuoufly punish the adulterer or adulteresse, whether [so]euer8 it be; which lawe I 9 would God were amongst Christians established. By all which it may appear how horrible a finne whordome is in nature, that the very vnreafonable creatures doo abhorre it. The Heathen people, who know not God, fo much lothe this flinking finne of whordome, that fome burne them quick, fome hang them on gibbets, fome cut off their heds, fome their armes, legs and hands; fome put out their eyes, fome burne them in the face, fome cut of their nofes, fome one parte of their bodye, fome another, and fome with one kind of torture, and fome with another; but none leaueth them vnpunished: fo that we are fet to schoole to learn our 10 first rudiments 10 (like yung Nouices or Children scarce crept out of the shel 11) how to punish whordome, euen by the vnreasonable creatures, and by the heathen people 12 who are ignorant of the deuine goodnes. 13 God be merciful vnto vs /13

vnreasonable creatures in mariage one towards an other. [6 leaf 51, back. B.†]

The fidelitie of

[9 H 1, back]

How much the Heathen haue detested whordome.

Sundery punishments of whordome amongst the Heathen.

Spud. I pray you rehearse some places out of the woord of God, wherin this cursed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better instruction.

Philo. Our Sauiour Christe, in the eight of Iohn, speaking to the

doeth so B, E, F.

whiche thing B, E, F.

commit such E, F.

thei wil B, E, F.

after not in B; follows themselves in E, F.

tleaf 51, back. The Heathen detest whoredome. B.

soeuer B, E, F.

soeuer B, E, F.

people themselves B, E, F.

not in B, E, F.

woman whom the mali<sup>1</sup>cious Iewes had apprehended in adulterie, bad Testimonies her go her way, and fin no more. If it had not been a moste greeuous woord of god fin, he would neuer haue bid her 2 to fin therin 2 no more.

<sup>3</sup> In the fift of Mathew he faith, 'Who fo lufteth after a woman in [3 H 2] his hart, hath committed the fact alredy, and therfore is guiltie of Mat. 5. death for the fame.' To the Pharifes, asking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occasion? Christe answered, 'for no cause, saue for whordome onely'; inferring that whordome is so hainous a finne, as for the perpetration therof it shalbe lawful for a Mat. 19; Mat. 10; Luc. 16. man to fequester 4 him self from his owne wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apostle Paul fayth, 'know you not that your bodyes are the members of Christe? shall I then take the mem- 1 Cor. 6. bers of Christe (faith he), and make them the members of an whore? God forbid! knowe yee<sup>5</sup> not that he who coupleth him felf with a<sup>6</sup> harlot is become one body with her?' 'flee7 fornication (faith he), therfore, for every finne that a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication, finneth against his owne body.' And [The Bible in an-other place: 'knowe you not that your Bodyes are the temples against whoreof the holy ghoft, which dwelleth within you? And who fo deftroyeth the Temple of God, him shall God destroy.'

In an other place he faith: 'be not deceived, for neither Whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornica8tor, inceftuous person, nor such like, shall [8 leaf 52, back. euer enter into the kingdome of heauen.' Again, 'Coniugium honorabile eft inter omnes: 9 Mariage is honorable amongst all men, and the [9 H 2, back] bed vndefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers, God shall judge.' In the Reuelation of Saint Iohn it is faid, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite vpon the Lamb, whetherfoeuer he goeth. The Apostle Paul willeth vs to be so far from fornication, that it 10 be 11 not once named amongst vs, as becommeth Saints; with infinit fuch places, which for breefnes 12 I omit, referring you in the olde Testament to these and such like 13 places, namely, the 20 of Exodus, 20 of Leuiticus, 14 Deutronomie 22, Deutro. 27, 2 Reg. 14 11,

\* leaf 52. Examples against whoredome. B. 2-2 sin F. 4 deuide F. 5 you F. 6 an F. 7 Flie F. † leaf 52, back. The rewarde of chast liners. B.

wherin whordome is forbid. [1 leaf 52. B.\*]

<sup>10</sup> it maie B, E, F. 11 be comes after once in 2.

12 13 13 14 22. Deuteronomy. ‡ 27. 2. Kinges F. (‡ 22 Deuteronomie for Deutronomie 22, Deutro. in B, E.)

#### 94 Punishmentes for Whordome. The Anatomie

[Bible bits against whoredom.] Leuit. 18,1 Exodus 22. Num. 5, Eccle. 9, Pro. 23, Pro. 72 verse, 24. Spud. As you have now prooued by inuincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew mee the greeuousness thereof by some severe & rare examples of Gods iust iudgement, executed vppon the same from the beginning.

Genesis 7, 8.

Punishments of whordom in all Ages.

[6 leaf 53. B.†] Genesis 19; Genesis 24. Genesis 20. [7 H 3]

G. 26. Ge. 18.

2 Reg. 16.

[Absalon, Ge. 29.

STATE OF THE STATE

Reuben,]

Iudi. 20, 2 Reg. 13, 12.

[David,

Solomon,]
[1 Reg. 11. B, E, F.]

<sup>4</sup> Philo. The whole world was destroyed with water, not any liuing thing left vpon the erth (faue in the Ark of Noath 5) for the fin of whordom, incest, & brothelry, vsed in those daies. Sodoma and Gomorra, two famous Cities, were confumed with fire and brimftone from heaven for the like fin of whordom, adul6terie, and fornication. The citie of the Sichemits, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the <sup>7</sup>fwoord for the rauishing of *Dina*, the daughter of *Iacob*. The Lord also tolde Abimelech that if he did not let go vntouched Sara, Abraham his 8 wife, bothe he and all his housholde should 9 dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorauntly. The very same hapned to Ifaac alfo. Iudah, 10 vnderftanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she should be burned without any further delay.11 Was not Abfalon, king Dauid his fonne, plagued all his life for going into his Fathers Concubines? And did not Achitophel, who gaue councel fo to do, hang himself? Was not Ruben, the first borne some of Iacob, accurfed for going vp to his Fathers bed; and loft he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his 12 primacie, ouer his Bretheren for the fame? Were there not aboout threefcore and fiue thousand men flain for the adulterie doon with one Leuits wife? Was not king Dauid punished all the daies of his life for his adultery doon with Berfabe, Vrias his wife? Was not his fonne Amon, for lying with 13 Thamar, flain? Was not Salomon, beeing peruerted with 14 hethen women, caft out of the fauour of God, notwithstanding being otherwise

1 Leuiticus II B, E, F.

the wifeft Prince in all the world? 15 Did not 15 Achab, at the perfwa-

15\_15 not in F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 2 Prouer. 7 B, E. <sup>3</sup> poured forth E, F.

<sup>4</sup> heading in F:-Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Noah F. † leaf 53. Punishmentes for Whordom. B.

<sup>8</sup> Abrahams F. <sup>9</sup> shall F. <sup>10</sup> Iudas A. <sup>11</sup> de-delay (sic) F.

<sup>12</sup> and B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> his Sister added in F. <sup>14</sup> with many F.

fions of Iefabel, his curfed wife, falling 1 to Idolatrie and woorshiping 3 Reg. 21. of Idolles 2 and deuils, fuffer 3 moste cruel punishment in this life all [1 leaf 53, back. his dayes; befides, what he fuffereth now, God onely knoweth. Were [2 H 3, back] not the Ifraelite and Madianitish woman both flain 4 by that woorthy Num. 25. man Phinees, who ran them both thorow the priuy members with Iud. 16. his Iauelin or fwoord? Was not Sampson brought to a miserable end, [Sampson, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing stock to all men, thorow his too much fauouring of wanton women? Was not king Pharao wunderfully plagued, but for intending euil in his hart Pharaoh,] towards Sara, Abraham his wife? Did not the Lord flay (with a moste greeuous mortalitie) foure & twentie thousand of the Ifraelites in [24,000 Israelites one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the Moabites and Madianits?

Gene. 12.

By these, and such like fearful Examples of the instice of God were all punpowred vpon these whoremongers & adultrers, we may learn to mongering.] know the greeuousnes of the same, and the punishment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the World 6 to come, or els in both: for if the Lord deferre the punishment of whordome in this life, hee referueth it for the world to come, fuffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil vp the measure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be iuft. And if the Lord left not fin vnpunished, no, not in 7 his most deer Saints, 8 what he wil 9 doo in [7 leaf 54 B.1] them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world 10 iudge.

[8 H 4]

Spud. Now am I fully perfwaded, by your inuincible reasons, that there is no fin greater before the face of God then whordome; wherfore, God graunt that all his may avoid it.

Philo. You have faid true, for there is no finne (almost 11) comparable vnto it; for befides that it bringeth euerlasting damnation to all that liue therin to the end without repentance, it also bringeth these What enils inconveniences, with many mo: vidilicet, it dimmeth the fight, it im- bringeth to paireth the hearing, it infirmeth the finewes, it weakneth the iovnts, it this life. exhausteth the marrow, confumeth the 12 moisture and supplement of the body, it riueleth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth

mans body in

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* leaf 53, back. Examples for Whoremongers. B.
   3 should be suffer'd in F.
                                      4 for Whoredome added in F.
                                                6 life E, F.
         5 their B, E, F.
† leaf 54. Many euils come by whordome. B
                                                9 wil B; shall E, F.
                                                  12 the radicall F.
                      11 almost not in F.
10 godly E, F.
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## 96 Causes of Bastardie in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

the spirits, it hurtest the memorie, it weaknest the whole body, it bringesth 1 it into a 1 consumption, it bringesth 2 vlcerations, 3 scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles; it maketh hoare haires & 4 bald pates; it inducest olde age, &, in fine, bringest death before nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age require 5 it.

Sp. Seeing that whordome bringeth fuch foure fauce with it, namely, 6 death euerlasting after this life, and fo many discommodities besides in this life, I wunder that men dare commit the same so fecurely as they doo now a dayes.

[7 leaf 54, back. B.†] [9 H 4, back] The small care to auoid whordome in Ailgna. Philo. It is so little feared in Ailgna, that, vn7till 8euery one hath 8 two or three Bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man 9 (for that they call a mans deede); insomuch as 10 euery scuruie boy of twelue, sixteen, or twenty yeeres of age, wil make no conscience of it to haue two or three, peraduenture half a dosen seuerall women with childe at once; and this exploite beeing doon, he showes them 11 a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, Euro 12 velocius, as 13 quick as a Bee 13 (as they say) into some strange place where he is not knowen, where, how he liueth, let the wise 14 iudge, for, cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine stil. Then, hauing estraunged them selues thus for a small space, they returne againe, not to their pristine cursed life, I dare say, but vnto 15 their cuntrey, and then no man may say black is their eye; but all is wel, & they as good christians as those that suffer them vnpunished.

Whormongers runagates.

Spud. The state and condition of that Cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that everye one had his lawful wise, and every woman her lawfull husband, as the Apostle commandeth, then thus to be 16 drowned 17 in the filthie fin of whordome.

Mariage an antidotarie against Whordome. Philo. That is the only falue and foueraine remedy which the lord ordained against whordome, that those who have not the gift of

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3 vlceration F.
                              <sup>2</sup> causeth B, E, F.
1_1 not in B, E, F.
                                                  6 as namely B, E, F.
                            5 constraine F.
4 and not in B, E, F.
        + leaf 54, back. Causes of bastardie in Ailgna. B.
                                                      10 that E, F.
    8_8 one hath had F.
                                                        12 pilo F.
    11 all added in E, F.
                                                             15 to E.
                                     14 world F.
  13_13 round as a hall F.
                           17 and immerged added in E; plunged F.
  16 lye B, E.
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#### Causes of many beggers in Ailg na . 97 of Abuses.

continencie might mary, and fo keep their veffels 1 vndefiled to the [1 H 5, A; leaf Lord. But, notwithstanding, in Ailgna there is ouer great libertye permitted therin; for litle infants in fwadling clowts, are often maried by their ambicious Parents and frends, when they know neither good nor euill; and this is the origene of much wickednesse, & directlie against the word of God, and examples of the primityue age. And befydes this, you shall have every fawcy boy of x, xiiij, Every Boy snatcheth vp a xvi, or xx yeres of age, to catch vp a woman & marie her, without Woman to any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wisdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any respecte how they maye lyue together with sufficient maintenance for their callings and eftat. No, no; it maketh no matter for these things: so he have his pretie pussie to huggle withall, 2it forceth not,2 for that is the only thing he defireth. Than build they vp a [Cottages in cotage, though but of elder poals, in euery lane end, almost, wher E, F.] they lyue as beggers al their life.3 This filleth the land with fuch ftore of poore people,4 that in fhort tyme (except fome caution 5 be prouided to preuent the fame), it is like to growe to great pouertie and fcarfnes,6 which, Gop forbid!

Maring of infants in swadling

Sp. I canot fee how this geare shold be holpen.

Philo. What if a restraint were made that 7 none (except A restraint of vppon speciall and vrgente causes) should marie before they come to xx or xxiiij 8 yeeres, or, at the 9 leaft, before they be xiiii or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now [8 H 5, back] there are?

[7 leaf 55, back.

Sp. But if this were established, than should we have moe Baftards; and of the two, I had rather we had many 10 legittimats than many illegittimates.10

Philo. The occasion of begetting of manye Bastards were soone How whorcut of, if the punishment which either 11 God his lawe doth allowe, or suppressed.

\* leaf 55. Causes of many beggers in Ailgna. B. 2-2 not in B, E, F. 3 life after B, E, F.

4 Mendicantes, or to speak plainely §, of Beggers as wee call them B, E. § E has plainlyer. For 'of poore people,' F has of Beggers as we call them F. 5 remedy F. 6 extream misery F.

† leaf 55, back. Remedies to suppresse whordome. B. 9 the not in E. F. 10\_10 children lawfully begot than many Bastards F.

11 either not in F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

# 98 Due punishment for whordome. The Anat omie

els which good pollicy 1 doth conftitute, 1 were 2 aggrauated and executed 2 vppon the Offenders.

The punishment for whordome ouer remisse.

[5 leaf 56. B.+]

[6 H 6]

[Whoredome ought not to be punished by the purse. E, F.]

[Let the Archdeacons look to it!]

For the punishment appointed for whordom now is fo light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a left of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete3 before the congregation, and that fomtymes not past an howre or two in a day, having their vfuall garments vnderneth, as commonly they haue?4 This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishement, which that <sup>5</sup>vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte, than feare them from it. In fo much as I have heard fome miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beast that for such white lyuered punishment would abstaine from suche gallant pastyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it fuche fweet meate here, shall find the fawce fowre 6 and ftiptick 7 enough in Hell. [8 And yet as light and as easie as this punishment is, it may be, and is daiely dispensed9 with-all for monie: and this is thought to be the best kinde of punishment, to punishe them by the purse. Then the whiche, what can be a greater diforder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thyng els then to buye and fell the bodies and foules of Christians for monie? Can the Pope himself doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenance of the Stewes? Yea, fo long as this is vfed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Ailgna. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclefiaftical Hierarchie (for to them I fpeake) take heede that thei be not maintainers of Stewes and whoredome, whereof thei would fo faine bee thought to bee suppressors. For this kind of dispensing with Whoredome, Adulterie, and Fornication for monie, and fettyng of them free a culpa, rubore, 10 & pæna, 11 in this worlde, 11 from the falte 12 it felf, 13 from the shame, 13 and punishment due for the fault? What is it els then not onely a maintenaunce, but also a

<sup>1—1</sup> hath constituted F. 2—2 executed and aggravate B; inflicted F.

or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishmente) added in B, E, F.

[And truely I can not a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore the \*

(\* that F.) wickednesse of the Ecclesiasticall Magistrates, in not punishing more greeuously, this horrible sinne of whoredome: for to goe in a sheete with a white wande in their handes, is but a plain mockyng of God, and of his Lawes.

Added in B, E, F.] † leaf 56. No head line. B.

<sup>7</sup> bitter F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> suspensed in E.

<sup>12</sup> falte B, E; fault F.

<sup>8</sup> From this, to p. 99, 1. 16, not in A.

<sup>10</sup> not in F. 11\_11 not in E, F. 13\_13 not in F.

[stirryng of them vp to commit whoredome, when for a little monie [To L 16 15 not in A.] thei 1 maie be discharged of all gilte? And this beyng certaine, or at least very likely, that whosoeuer getteth one with child, of what reputation or degree soeuer she be of, (if he be single) he shall be forced to marie her, and that 2 for a little peece of monie, thei may both haue a Bull of dispensation. This beyng so, who, I saie, will not seeke to aspire as high as he can,3 and assay4 to deflower (in hope of further gaine) as many as he maie.5 This filuer punishment is it, that defileth honest Matrones, polluteth chast Virgines, and dishonesteth poore Maides, to their vtter shame and vndoyng for euer. I saie nothyng, how the monie received for these dispensations is bestowed, how fpent, nor wherevpon6 imployed. The Lord for his mercies fake, giue them grace to punishe vice seuerely, as the worde of God doeth commaunde, and not after their owne fenfuall defires,7 and licencious luftes, that God maie be glorified, and their confciences difburdened 8 at the greate daie of the Lorde. Added in B, E, F.]

Spud. What punishment would you have inflicted vppon such as commit this horrible kinde of finne?

Philo. I would wish that the Man or Woman, who are certenlye What kind of knowen, without all fcruple or doubte, to have committed the horryble fact of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther should 9 drinke a full 10 draught of Moyfes cuppe, that is, tast of present death [as Gods word doth 11 commaunde, and good pollicie allowe B, E]; or els, [11 leaf 57. B.+1] if that be thought too feuere (for 12 in euill, men will be more mercifull than the Author of mercie him felfe, but in goodnesse, fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and feared with a hote yron on 13 the cheeke, forehead, or fome other parte of their bodye that might be feene, to the 14 end the honest and chast Christians might be difcerned from the adulterous Children of Sathan.14 But (alas!) this vice (with the rest) wanteth such due punishement as Gop his Word doth commaunde to be executed 15 theryppon. 16

\* leaf 56, back. Due punishment for whordome. B. 2 thus F.

4 assay not in E, F. 3 may in E, F. 5 can in E, F.

6 whereunto in E, F. 7 appetites F. 8 discharged F.

10 full not in F. 9 eyther comes after should in F.

† leaf 57. A late example for whordom, in Ailg. B.

12 as in E, F. 13 vppon F. 14\_14 end that the adulterous children of Sathan, might be discerned from the

honest and chast Christians B, E, F. 15 inflicted F. 16 vppon them E, F.

[To dispence with whoredome for money, is a playne maintenance of whoredome. E, F.] [1 leaf 56, back. B.\*]

whordome ought to haue.

# 100 Two adulterers burned in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

[Magistrates wink at whoredom.] The Magistrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they see it, and will not see it.

<sup>1</sup>And therfore the Lorde is forced too take the fword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him felfe, because the Magistrates will not.<sup>2</sup>

[3 H 6, back]

<sup>3</sup> For better proof wherof, marke this ftrange & fearful iudgment of god, shewed vpon two adulterous persons there, <sup>4</sup> euen the last day in effect, the remembrance wherof is yet green in their heds.

[A most dreadfull example of two notorious whoremongers. E.]

[5 W. Brustar.]

[6 leaf 57, back. B.†] [Bridewell.]

[Whoremongers members of the Deuill, E.]

[9 H 7]

[The punishment of whordome by the Lord himself from heauen, E.]

There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb<sup>5</sup>, being certenly knowen to be a notorious vferer (and yet pretending alway a fingular zeale to religion, fo that he wold feldom tymes go without a byble about him: but fee the judgements of God vpon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyue cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to couer their 6 finne and naughtynesse withall 7); who, vppon occasion of busines, visiting Lewedirb, a place appointed for the correction of fuch that 8 be wicked lyuers, faw there a famous whore, but a very proper Woman, whom (as is faid) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyuery from thence, bayled her, &, having put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, vfing her at his pleafure. Whyleft thefe two members of the deuil were playing the vile Sodomits together in his chamber, & hauing a litle pan of coles before them, wherin was a very litle fire, it pleafed God, euen in his wrath, to strike these two perfons dead in a moment. The Woman, falling ouer the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was founde lying by, his 9 cloths in fome partes being fcorched and burned, & fome partes of his body alfo. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt fleeue and dublet not once perished, nor tutched with the fire. Wherby may be thought, & not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was euen the fire of God his wrath from Heauen, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull & fearfull maner weare thefe cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document 10 to all that

<sup>1</sup> From here to p. 101, end of line 3, not in F.
<sup>2</sup> not do it added in E.
<sup>4</sup> in Munidnol, for there E.

† leaf 57, back. Two Adulterers burned in Ailgna. B.

7 as many do in these daies added in E. 8 as B, E.

10 or lesson admonitorie added in B, E.

heare or read the fame, to avoyde the like offence, and to all Magif-¹trates an Example to fee the fame punished with more feueritie, to [\* leaf 58. B.\*] the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre 2 are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible finne, that they get good maintenance with practifing the fame. For shall you not 3 have fome, yea many thousands, that live vppon nothing els, and yet go clothed Gentlewomenlike, both in their filks,4 and otherwyfe, with 5 their fingers clogged with rings, their wrifts with bracelets & Iewels, and their purfes full of gold and filuer. And hereof they make no confcience, fo their Husbands know it not. Or [Many gette if they doo, fome are fuch peafants, and fuch maycocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not, reproue them for it. But & if the Husband once reproue them for their mifde6meanour, [6 H 7, back] than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe because the punishment therof is 7 no extremer, as it ought to be7; And fome, both Gentlemen and others (wherof fome I know) are fo nufled herein, that having put awaye their owne wyues, do8 keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it; and [Putting away hauing beene conuented before the 9 magistery, and there beene 9 deposed vppon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them foorth at one doore, and taken them in at the other.

honest wives, and retaining of 10 whores. E, F.]

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe 11 with rubrum argentum, 12 wherof they have store [11 leaf 58, back. to bestowe vppon such wickednesse, but 13 haue not a mite 13 to give towards any good purpofe.

Wherfore, in the name of God, let all men that have put away their honest wyues be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to tafte of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the fword of 14 right iudgement 14; For as long as this immunitie and impunitie is permitted amongest vs, let vs neuer looke to please God, but rather prouoke his heuie iudgements against vs. And the reason

[Lawe ought to be executed without par-tialitie. E, F.]

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* leaf 58. Knowne whores kept openly. B.
                                                          <sup>2</sup> Yea so farre of F.
    3 not omitted in F.
                               4 and Veluets added in F.
                                                                   5 not in F.
    <sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> so easie and gentle as it is F.
                                                                  8 they E, F.
           9-9 magistrates and there F.
                                                            10 of not in F.
   † leaf 58, back. Great excesse and belly cheere. B. E has Whoredome:
                                                           12 vnguentum F.
Honest wives put away.
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14\_14 iustice F.

13\_13 not a peny F.

#### Great excesse in delicate fare. The Anatomie 102

[3 H 8]

is, for that there is no finne in all the World, but these whores and whoremaifters will 1 willingly attempt and atcheiue for the 1 inioying of their whordome. 2 And Hell, deftruction, and death euerlasting, is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot 3be aware3 of it. The Lord <sup>4</sup>remooue it from all his Children, <sup>4</sup> and prefent them blameles before his tribunall feate, without spotte or wrincle at that 5 great day of the Lord!

Spud. What 6 memorable thing 6 els haue you feen there frequented? for feeing you have begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

#### Gluttonie and drunkennesse in Ailg na].

Daintie fare, gluttony and gourmandice vsed in Ailg. [9 leaf 59. B.\*]

Philo. I Haue feene that which greeueth mee to report. People there are marueilously given to daintie fare, gluttonye, bellicheer, & many also to drunkennesse & gourmandice.

<sup>9</sup> Sp. That is a manifest argument of good hospitality, which both is commended in the word of God, & which I know you wil not reprehende.

Godly hospi-talitie to be commended.

Ph. Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wife worthy of reprehen-

[12 H 8, back]

Varitie of

dishes and meats, with their curious sawces.

Excesse of meats.

fion, but rather of great commendation; for many haue received Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the same, as Abraham, Lot, Tobias, & many others. Yet if hospitality flow ouer into superfluitie & riotous excesse, it is not tolerable: for 10 now adaies, if the table be not couered 11 from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, 12 with delicat meats 13 of fundry forts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery difh a feuerall fawce appropriat to 14 his kinde, it is thought there vnworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, fo many dishes shal you have pesteruing the table 15 at once, as the infaciablest Helluo, the deuouringest glutton, or the greedieft cormorant that is 16, can scarse eat of euery one a litle. And these many shall you have at the first course; as many at the second; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; befydes other fweet condyments, 17 and delicat confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these

3\_3 beware B, E, F. 1-1 gredily commit for F. 6\_6 notable abuses F. 5 the F. 4\_4 keep all his children from it F. 8 excesse B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> The Gluttonie B, E, F. 10 and B, E. 11 pestered F. \* leaf 59. Great excesse in delicate fare. B. 16 ever was B, E, F. 17 iunkets F. 13 meat F. 14 in F. 15 thereon F.

dainties, all kind of wynes are not wanting, you may be fure. Oh, what nifitie 1 is this! what vanitie, exceffe,2 ryot and fuperfluitie is The austerity heare! Oh, farewell former world! For I have heard my Father fay that in his dayes, one dish or two of good wholsome 3 meate was thought fufficient for a man of great worship to dyne withall; and if [3 leaf 59, back. they had three or four kinds, it was reputed a fumptuous feaft. A good peece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the best; but now it is thought too grosse, for their tender stomacks are not able 4 to difgeft 5 fuch crude and harsh meats 5: For if they shold, (their flomacks being fo queafie as they be, and not able 6 to concoct it) Nice, tender they should but 7 euacuat the same againe, as other filthie excrements, 8 stomacks. [not in F.] their bodies receiving no noorifh9ment therby, or els 10 they should 10 lye [9 I 1] stincking in their stomacks, as dirte in a filthie finck or pryuie. If this be fo, I marueile how oure fore-Fathers lyued, who eat litle els but cold meats, groffe and hard of difgefture. Yea, the 11 most of them fead vppon graine, corne, roots, pulse, herbes, weeds, and such other baggage, and yet liued longer then wee, 12 helthfuller then we, were 12 of The faraginie better complection then we, and much stronger then we in euerie of our Fore-fathers. respect: wherfore I cannot perswade my self otherwise, but that our nicenes and curioufnes in dyet hath altered our nature, diftempered our bodies, and made vs more 13 fubiect to millions of 14 difcrafies and 14 diseases then euer weare our Forefathers subject vnto, and consequently of fhorter life then they.

simplicity of World in meats and drinkes.

our bodies and chaunged our nature.

Spud. They wil aske you again, wherfore god made such varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what answere give you to that?

15 Philo. The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the vie of meat 16 and [15 leaf 60. B.f] drinks for man to fustain the fraile, caduke, 17 and brittle estate 18 of his mortall body withall 19 for a time; But he gaue 20 it him not 20 to 21 delight and 22 wallow therin continually 22; for as the olde Adage faith, Non

1 what prodigality added in F. 2 what excesse F. \* leaf 59, back. Hard fare holsomest. B. 4\_4 and 5\_5 not in, B, E, F. From such to pryuie, line 13, not in F. 6 so vnable for not able B, E. 7 but not in B; might happely E. 8 crude and indigest B, E. 10\_10 it would B; might E. 11 the not in F. 12 were before helthfuller B, E, F. 13 more not in B, E, F. 14\_14 not in F. † leaf 60. How meates bryng destruction, B. 16 meates B, E, F. 17 not in F. 18 state F. 19 withall not in F. 20-20 them not unto him B, E, F. 21 for F.

22\_22 pleasure onely, but for necessitie and neede F; as the swine do in ye mire added after continually in B, E.

#### 104 Small releefe for the poore. The Anatomie

Medietie to be observed in meats.

[7 I z, back]

When meats and drinks are Instruments of destruction vnto vs.

Ge. 24.

1 Reg. 2.<sup>14</sup>
[15 leaf 60, back. B.\*]

[Bible instances of the evils of Gluttony.]

Daniel 5, verse 5.16

[18 sign, I 2]

Luc. 16.

Mat. 4. [The Devil tempted Christ through Gluttony.]

viuendum1 vt edamus, fed edendum2 vt viuamus: Wee 3 must not liue3 to eat, but wee must 4 eat to live; wee must not swill and ingurgitate our 5 ftomacks fo ful,6 as no more can be crammed 7 in. The Lord willed8 that they fhould be ordinarie 9 meanes to preferue 10 the flate of 10 our bodyes 11a time, whilste we liue and soiourne in this vaste wildernes of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to vs bothe of body and foule. And truely they are no leffe when they are taken immoderatly without the feare of God. And 12 dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks prouoke luft? as Hiero faith, Venter Mero estuans spumat in libidinem, the belly enflamed with wine burfteth foorth into luft. Doth not luft bring foorth finne, and fin bring 13 foorth death? The Children of Ifrael, giving themfelues to delicat fare & gluttony, fel to Idolatrie, facriledg & apoftafie, worshipping stocks, stones, and deuils, in-sted of the liuing God. The fonnes of Hely the Prieft, giuing themselues to daintie fare & bellycheere, fell into fuch fin as the Lord flew them all, & their fa15ther alfo, for that he chaftifed them not for the fame. The Children of bleffed Iob, in midft of all their banquetings & ryot, were flain by the lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifully. Balthafar, king of the Chaldeans, in midst of all his good cheer, faw a hand writing vpon the wall these woords, mene 17 techel upharsin, fignifiing that his kingdome should be taken from him; and fo it was, and he flain the fame night by the 18 hand of the lord. The rich glutton in the Gospel, for his riotous feastings & proposterous 19 liuing, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our Father Adam, with all his of-fpring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to fatisfie his glotonus defire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefest canons wherwith the deuil affailed Chrifte, thinking therby to batter his kingdome & to win the feeld for euer; yet not withstanding the greeuousnes heerof, the same is thought to be a coutenance & a great credit to a man in Ailg[na]. But true hospitality confisteth not in many dishes, nor in fundry forts of meats

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> viuimus F. <sup>2</sup> edimus F. <sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> liue not F. <sup>4</sup> must not in F.
<sup>5</sup> so much into our B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> so ful not in B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> prouided them E, F.
<sup>9</sup> as F. <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> not in F. <sup>11</sup> for a B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> Besides that B, E, F.
<sup>13</sup> bringes F. <sup>14</sup> 3 Reg. 2. in B, E, F.
<sup>14</sup> 3 Reg. 2. in B, E, F.
<sup>15</sup> verse 5. 25. in B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> mene added in B, E, F. <sup>19</sup> inordinate F.

(the fubstance wherof is chaunged 1 almoste into accidents thorow their curious cookries, & 2 which doo help to 2 rot the 3 bodies & shorten wherin hostheir daies) but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent4 pitalitie consisteth. members of Iefus Chrifte, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, 5 & fuch other necessaries wherof they stand in need.

[5 leaf 6r. B.\*]

But fuch is their hospitality, that the poor haue the least part of it: The small you shal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C li. spent in some one house in ban- poore. queting & festing, yet the poor shall have litle or nothing: if they haue any thing, it is but the refuse 6 meat, scraps & parings,7 such as a dog would fcarfe eat fomtimes; & wel if they can get that too: infted wherof, 8 not a few haue whipping cheer to feed them 9 withall. 10 it is counted but a fmal matter for 11 a man that can fcarflie difpend [11 I 2, back] fortie pound 12 by the yeer, to bestow against one time, ten or twentie pound 12 therof in fpices. And truely, fo long & fo greeuoufly hath this excesse of gluttonie and daintie fare surffeted in Ailgna, as I feare mee, it will fpue out many of his Maisters out of dores before it be long. But as fome be ouer largeous, 13 fo other fome are spare enough; for Locking vp of when any meat is ftirring, then lock they vp their gates, that no man meat is stirmay come in. An-other forte 14 haue fo many houses that they visit them 15 once in vii yeer 16; many Chimnies, but little fmoke; faire houses, but small hospitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in processe of time, wil eat vp the whole common Welth,17 if Three deuourfpeedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and fumptuous Apparel; which three Abuses 18, 19 especially, yet [19 leaf 61, back.] not without their cofin germanes, doo florish there. God remooue them thence, for his Christes Sake.

ing Cankers.

Spud. I had thought that dainty fare & good cheer had both noorished the body perfectly, and also prolonged life 20; & dooth it not so think you? Philo. Experience, as [by] 21 my former intimations you may

1 changed E. 2-2 impotionate slibber sawces which B, E, F; (sibber in B.) 3 their B, E, F. 4 needy F. \* leaf 61. Small hospitalitie in Ailgna. B. 6 refuge A; refuse B, E, F. 7 patrings A; parings B, E, F. 8 now and then not B, E, F. 9 themselues B, E, F. 10 yea it B, F. 12 poundes F. 13 and profluous herein added in F. 16 yeares F. 14 forte A; sorte B, E, F. 15 not once B, E, F. 17 of Ailgna added in B, E, F. 18 three deuouryng Cankers B, E, F. + leaf 61, back. Diversitie of meates hurtfull. B. 20 life greatly B, E, F. 21 by F; in B, E; both by and in wanting in A.

## 106 The decay of daintie feeders. The Anatomie

Who more subject to infirmities then they that fare best? [I sign. I 3. A.]

Eating of diuers meats at one time hurtful. [10] leaf 62. B.†]

The spedy decay of those that geue themselues to daintie fare. [14 I 3, back] gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is ficklier then they that fare deliciously euery day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wursie, who is weaker 1 and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour,2 flegme, and putrifaction (repleat3 with groffe humors) then they? and, to be breef, who dyeth fooner then they? Doo wee not fee the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof fome is made of Rye, barlie, peafon, beans, oates, and fuch other groffe graines) & drinketh fmall drink, yea, fometimes water, feedeth vpon milk, butter, and cheefe; (I fay) doo wee not fee fuch a one helthfuller, ftronger,4 and longer liuing,5 then the other that fare6 daintily euery day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of divers and fundry kindes of meats, of divers operations and qualities (at one meale) engender diftemperance in the 8 body? And the body diftempered, wil it not fall into fundry defeafes? one meat is 9 of hard difgefture, another of light 9; & whilft the meate of hard difgesture is in concocting, the other meat 10 of light disgesture dooth putrifie and flink: & this is the very mother of all difeases. one is of this qualitie, another of that; one of this operation, another of that; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties & discripancies 11 agree togither in one body at one & the fame time? wil not one contrary impugne his contrary 12? one enemy refift an other? Then, what wifeman is he that wil receive all these enemies into 13 the castle of 13 his 14 body at one time? Doo we not fe, by experience, that they that give themselves to dainty fare and sweet meats are never in helth? dooth not their fight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot & fall out? dooth not their breth stink, their stomack 15 belch foorth filthy humors, and their memory decay? doo not their spirits and sences become heuie & dul by reason of 16 17 exhalations & impure vapors, which rife vp in 1817 their gingered brefts & spiced stomacks? &,

<sup>2</sup> choller E, F.

<sup>3</sup> together E, F.

<sup>4</sup> fairer complectioned added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> liued F.

<sup>6</sup> fared F.

<sup>7</sup> contrary B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> the not in F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> hard of disgestion, another light F.

† leaf 62. The decay of daintie feeders. B.

<sup>11</sup> repugnacies F.

<sup>12</sup> eontrary A.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> not in F.

<sup>15</sup> stomackes F.

<sup>16</sup> of the B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup>—<sup>17</sup> the filthy vapours and stinking fumes which rise from F.

18 from B, E.

fumyng vp to the hed, they mortifie the vitall spirits & intellective powers. 2 dooth not 2 the whole body become 3 purfie & corpulent, yea, fomtimes decrepit therwith,4 & ful of all filthy corruption? The Lord keep his chosen from the tasting therof.5

<sup>6</sup> Sp. You spake of drunkennes, what say you of that?

<sup>7</sup> Phi. I fay that it is a horrible vice, & too too much vsed in [7] leaf 62, back. Ail[gna]. Euery cuntrey, citie, towne, village, 8 & other,8 hath 9 abundance of alehouses, tauerns, & Innes, 10 which are so fraughted 10 with mault-wormes, night & day, that you would wunder to fe them. You The beastly fhal haue them there fitting at the wine and goodale all the day long, nees frequented yea, all the night too, 11 peraduenture 12 a whole 12 week togither, fo long as any money is left; fwilling, gulling, & carowfing from one to another, til neuer a one can fpeak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttery they are thus possessed, a world it is to confider their geftures 13 & demenors, 14 how they flut and flammer, flagger & reele too & fro like madmen: 15 fome vomiting, spewing, & dif- [15 sign, I 4, A.] gorging their filthie flomacks; other fome 16 (Honor fit auribus) 16 The spirite of piffing vnder the boord as they fit, & which is most horrible, some drunknes and fall to fwering, curfing, & banning, interlacing their speeches with curious tearms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly eares 17 prefent.18

vice of drunkin Ailg[na].

excesse.

Sp. But they wil fay, that god ordained wines & ftrong drinks to cheer the hart & to fustain the body 19; therfore it is lawful to vse them to that end.

Philo. Meats (moderatly taken 20) corroborate 21 the body, refresh The lothsome the arteries, & reuiue the spirits, making them apter, euery member, to qualities of those that be doo his office as god hath appointed 22; but being immoderatly taken [22 leaf 63. B.+]

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1 they not in B, E, F.
                                            2-2 in so much that F.
  3 becommeth F.
                                                       4 withall F.
 <sup>5</sup> A new chapter-heading in B and E here: - Drunkennesse in Ailgna.
             6 heading in F :- Drunkennesse in England.
         * leaf 62, back. The beastly vice of drunkennesse. B.
    8_8 and other places B, E, F.
                                                       9 haue F.
  10_10 in them, which are haunted F.
                                                    11 too not in F.
  12_12 all the F.
                                  13 their countenances added in F.
14 one towardes an other, and towardes every one els, added in B, E, F.
16_16 not in F.
                  17 hearers B, E, F.
                                            18 present not in E, F.
  19 body withall B, E, F.
                                      20 by the blessing of God F.
          † leaf 63. The discommodities of drunkennes. B.
                       22 them added in E, F.
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#### 108 Drunkards wurffe then Beafts. The Anatomie

The transfiguration of those that be drunke.

[" I 4, back]

The discommodities of drunkennes

[13 leaf 63, back. B.†]

Drunkerds wursse then Beasts.

(as commonly they be), they are instruments of damnation to the abusers 1 of the same, 1 & noorish not the body, but corrupt it rather, 2& cafteth2 it into a world3 of defeafes. And4 a man once drunk with wine or ftrong drink, rather refembleth a brute beafte then a christian man; for doo not his eies begin to flare & to be red, fiery & blered, blubbering foorth feas of teares? dooth he not frothe & fome at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faulter and ftammer in his mouth? dooth not his hed feeme as heuie as a milftone, he5 not being able 6 to bear it vp? Are not his wits & spirits, as it were, drowned? Is not his vnderstanding altog[et]her decayed? doo not his hands, & all his body<sup>7</sup>, quiuer <sup>8</sup> & shake, as it were, with a quotidian feuer? <sup>9</sup> Besides these,9 it casteth him 10 into a dropsie or plu11 resie, nothing so soon; it infeebleth the finewes, it weakneth the natural ftrength, it corrupteth the blood, it diffolueth the whole man at the length, and finally maketh him forgetful of him-felf altogither, fo that what he dooth being drunk, he remembreth not, being fober. The Drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, reuileth his louer, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either 12 expelleth all feare 13 of god out of his minde, all looue of his freends &14 kinffolkes, all remembrance of honeftie, ciuilitie, & humanitie; fo that I will not feare to call drunkerds beafts, and no men; and much wurffe then beafts, for beafts neuer exceed in 15 fuch kind of excesse or superfluitie, but alway modum adhibent appetitui,16 they measure their appetites by the rule of necesfitie; which, would God wee would doo.

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you show me some testimonies of the holy Scripture against it; for whatsoeuer is euil, the woord of God, I doubt not, reproueth the same.

Philo. It feemeth you have not read the holy fcripture very much, for if you had, you should have found it not only spoke against, but also throwen down even to hel: for proof whereof, of infinit places I

```
1—1 thereof E, F.

2—2 castyng B, F.

3 sea F.

4 besides E, F.

5 he not in E, F.

6 beeing not able F.

7 euibrate added in B, E; tremble F.

8 quauer F.

9—9 not in E, F.

10 also added in E, F.

12 vtterly E, F.

† leaf 63, back. Drunkardes worse then Beasts. B.

14 and not in B.

15 in any B, E, F.

16 appetitui F; appetitum A, with m altered by the pen to i.
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wil recite a few. The Prophet Esaias thundereth out against it, saying, ve qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam: '1Wo be to Esais 5. them that ryfe earlie to followe drunkennesse, wallowing therein from [r sign. I 5. A.] morning to night, vntill they be fet on fire with wyne & ftrong drinke. Therfore gapeth hell, & openeth her mouth wyde, that the Testimonies glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin, may go downe into it,' faith the Prophet. The prophet Hofeas faith, fornicatio, God. vinum et mustum auferunt 2 animum. Whordome, wyne, 3& ftrong [3 leaf 64. B.\*] drinke, infatuat the heart of man.

against drunkennesse out of the word of

The Prophet Ioel biddeth all Drunkards awake,4 faying, 'weepe Ioel 1.5 and howle, you winebibbers, for the wickednesse of destruction that fhall fall vppon you.'

The Prophet Habacuck foundeth a most dreadfull alarme not only to all Drunkards, but also to all that make them drunken, faying, 'wo Habacuck 2. be to him that geueth his Neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayft fee his priuities.' Salomon faith, 'wyne maketh a Man to Prouerb c. 20. be fcornfull, and ftrong drinke 6 maketh a Man vnquiet: who fo taketh [Solomon against drunkenness.] pleafure in it, shall not be wife.' In an other place, 'keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous Perfons, for fuch as be Drunkards shall come to beggerie.' In the xxiij 7 of his Prouerbes he faith: 'To whome is woo? To whome is forow? to whome is strife? to whome is mur- Prouerb 23. muring? to whome are wounds without cause? and to whome are red eyes? Euen to them that 8 tarie longe at the wyne, to them that [8 I 5, back] go and feek mixt wyne.' And, againe: 'Looke not thou vppon the wyne when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, or [Solomon against drunkenness.] gooth downe pleafantlie, for in the end it will bite like a ferpent, and hurt like a Cockatrife, or Bafilicock, which flay 10 or kill men with the poifon of their fighte.' Again, 'it is not for Kings to drinke wyne, Prouerb 31. nor for Princes to drinke ftrong drinke.' Our Sauiour Chrift, 11 in the B.+1

11 leaf 64, back.

gospell of S. Luke, biddeth vs take heed that we 'be not ouercome Luc. 21.

Paule 13 to the Ephefians, biddeth beware that we 'be not drunk 14 Ephe. 5.15

with furffeting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, leaft the day of the

Lorde come vppon vs vnawares.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> auferent F. • leaf 64. Testimonies against Drunkards. B. 4 wayle E, F. 5 Joel 2 E. 6 wine F. 7 twenty and three F. 10 slea F. † leaf 64, back. Drunkennesse forbidden. B. sule B. E. F. <sup>14</sup> drunken F. <sup>15</sup> not in E. F. 9 any B. 13 S. Paule B, E, F. 14 drunken F. 15 not in E, F.

[St Paul against drunkenness.]

with wine, wherin is excesse, but to be filled with the spirit.' The same apostle, in an other place, faith, that 'neither whoremonger, adulterer, Drunkard, glutton, ryotous person, nor such like, shal euer enter into the kingdome of Heauen.' By these few places, out of many, you may fee the inormitie 1 of this vice, which is fo much 2 euery where 2 frequented.

Spud. Let me intreate you to flew me fome examples withall, wherby I may fee 3 what euill it hath done in all ages.3

Gene. 19.

[7 sign. I 6. A.]

<sup>4</sup> Philo. Drunknes <sup>5</sup> caused Lot to commit <sup>6</sup> most shamefull <sup>6</sup> incest with his owne two Daughters, who got them both with Child, 7he not perceuing it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rose vp. See how drunkennesse assorteth a man, depriving him of all sence, reason, and vnderstanding.

Examples against drunkennesse.

Drunkennesse caused Noah to lye with his priuities bare in his Tabernacle, in fuche beaftlie forte as his wicked Sonne Cham iefted and fcoffed at the fame.

[8 leaf 65. B.t]

[Luc. 16. F.]

Luc. 16.

Luc. 16.

[12 I 6, back] How farre Drunkards are estranged from themselues.

Thorow drunkennesse, Holophernes, that 8 great and inuincible Monarche of the Affyrians, was ouercome by a Woman, having his head cut from his fhoulders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkennesse, King Herode was brought to fuche ydiocie and foolishe dotage, that he caused the head of good Ihon Baptist to be cut of, to satisfie the request of a dauncing strumpet. That riche Epulo, of whom 9 Luke maketh mention, was for his drunkennesse and ryotous excesse, condemned to the fire of Hel for euer; with many moe examples, which for fhortnes I omit. Now, feeing than that drunkennesse is both offenfiue to God, and bringeth fuch euills in this lyfe prefent, let vs, in the name of God, auoyde it as a most wicked thing and prenicious euill. For euery Drunkard is fo farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extafie of mind,10 or rather in a playne Phrenfie, he maye not be faid to be fui animi compos, or 11 a man of founde wit, but rather a 12 very Bedlem, or muche worfe, no Christian, but an Antichristian; no

1 vnlawfulnes F.

2\_2 not in F.

3-3 the effectes thereof, and what punishment hath been shewed vpon the offendors herein in all ages. B, E, F; (but F has therein.)

4 heading in F :- Punishment of Drunkardes.

<sup>5</sup> Drunkennesse B, E, F.

6\_6 not in F.

† leaf 65. Examples against Drunkennesse. B. 10 of mind not in F.

9 Sainct added in B, E, F. 11 or not in B, E, F.

member of Christ Iesus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the Deuill. Wherfore, in the name of God, let vs auoyd al excesse, imbrace temperancie and fobrietie, & receive fo much 1 meats and drinks 1 as may fatisfie nature, not the infaciat appetits of our fleshly 2 defires; Knowing that, except the Lord bleffe our meats and drinks within our bo<sup>3</sup>dyes, and giue them power & ftrength to nourish and feede the fame, and our bodyes their naturall powers, euery member to doo his meats. [meat F office and dutie, our meates shall lye in our stomacks, stincking, smell- [3 leaf 65, back. ing, and rotting, like filthie carion in a4 lothfom finck.5 So farre of ought we to be from abufing the good creaturs of God by ryot, drunkneffe, or exceffe, that we ought neuer to take 6 morfell of bread, nor fope of drinke, without humble thankes 7 to the Lord for the fame.8 For we neuer read that our Sauiour Christ euer eat or dranke, but he gaue thankes (or, as we call it, faid grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed he not to have done in respect of himfelfe, but for our erudition 10 & learning, according to this faying, omnis Christi actio nostrà est instructio: Euery action of our Saujour Christe is our example and inftruction, to follow as neere as 11 we are able. 12 And thus much of drunkenesse, which god graunt may every wher be auoided.12

What if God blesse not our

Gening of thanks befor meat &

[13 Or if all that hath been saied hetherto, 14 bee not fufficient to withdrawe vs from this beaftly vice of dronkennesse: yet lette vs sette before our eyes this moste fearfull judgement of God, executed vpon a forte of dronkardes, the storie whereof is this. The eight day of February 1578 in the countrey of Swaben, there were dwellyng eight menne Citezens, and Citezens, fonnes, very riotoufly and prodigally inclined,15 the names of whom, for the better credite of the ftorie, 16 I haue fett doune, viz. Adam Giebens, George Kepell, John Keifell, Peter Herfdorfe, Jhon Waganaer, Simon Henrickes, Herman [16 leaf 66. B.t] Fron, Jacob Hermans,18 all whiche would needes goe to the Tauerne, vppon the Sabboth daie in the mornyng verie earely, in contempt of

[A terrible example of Swabian drunkards.]

[A most dreadfull example of Gods iudgements shewed vpon certeine Dronkardes abusing the good God. E, F.]

1\_1 not in B, E, F. 2 greedy F. \* leaf 65, back. Examples of thanksgiuyng. B. 4 all E, F. 5 stinke F. 6 a added in F. 7 thankes geuing E; thankes giving F. 8 before added in F. 9 need B, E, F. 10 example F. 12\_12 not in B, E, F. 11 are (sic) F. 14 heretofore F. 15 giuen F. 13 From here to l. 23, p. 114, added in B, E, F. + leaf 66; no head-line B. E, F have The propertie of a good hoste. 18 Harmans F.

#### The propertie of a good hoste. The Anatomie II2

Tthe Lorde and his Sabboth. And commyng to the house of one

[This page not in A.] [The propertie of a good Hoste. E, F.]

[A caueat for cursers and banners. E, F.]

[4 leaf 66, back. B.+]

[The desperate sccuritie of Dronkerdes. E,

[The deuilles rewarde to his darlinges the Dronkardes. E, Anthonie Hage, an honest, godlie man, who kepte1 a Tauerne in the fame Toune, called for burnte Wine, Sacke, Malmetie,2 Hipocras, and what not. The hofte tolde them, that thei should have none of all these, before the diuine seruice and the 3 fermon tyme were paste, and councelled them to goe heare the facred woorde of God preached. But thei (faue Adam Giebins, who aduifed them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods wrathe) denied, faiying: That thei lothed that kind of exercife. The good hofte, neither giuyng them any Wine hymfelf, nor fufferyng any other, went to the Sermon, as duetie did binde hym, who beyng gone, thei fell to curfyng, bannyng, and fwearyng, wifhyng that he might breake his necke, or euer he came againe from the Sermon; and bruftyng forthe into these intemperate speeches, "the Deuill breake our neckes, if wee departe hence this daie, either quicke or dedde, till wee haue had fome wine!" Straight waie, the Deuill appered vnto them, in the likenesse of a yong manne, bryngyng in his hande, a Flagon of wine, and demaundyng of them, why 4thei caroufed not, he dranke vnto them, faiying: "Good fellowes, bee merie, for ye shall have wine inough, for you seeme lustie laddes, and I hope you will paie me well," who inconfiderately answered, that thei would paie hym, or els thei would guage their neckes, yea their bodies and foules, rather then to faile. Thus thei continued fwillyng, gullyng, and caroufyng fo long, as till one could not fee an other. At the last the deuill their hoste, tolde them, that thei must needes paie the shotte, whereat their hartes waxed cold. But the Deuill comfortyng them, faied: "Bee of good cheare, for now muste you drinke boilyng Lead, Pitche, and Brimftone with me in the pit of helle for euermore": Herevpon 6 immediatly he made their eyes like flames of fire, and in bredth as broad as Saucers. Then beganne thei to call for mercie, but it was to late. And ere thei could call againe for mercie and grace, the Deuill preuented them, and brake their neckes a fonder, and threwe moste horrible flames of fire, flashing 8 out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seuen dronkardes, their miserable daies, whose Iudgement I leave to the Lorde. The other Adam Gibiens, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Malmsie F. 1 keep F.

<sup>+</sup> leaf 66, back. No head-line. B.

<sup>7</sup> and not in E, F. 6 Heeeupon (sic) F.

<sup>3</sup> the not in F.

<sup>5</sup> scarsely in E, F.

<sup>8</sup> flashing not in F.

councelled them before, to go to 1 heare the Sermon, hauyng fome fparkes of faith in hym, was preserued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praife vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus have I in fempiternam rei me-2 moriam, faithfully recorded the Storie of these eight dronkardes, and [2 leaf 67. B.\*] of their fearfull ende, taken out of the3 Dutche coppie printed at Amfterdam, and at Straesburche,4 for a caucate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous persones throughout the whole worlde, that thei offende not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

This page not in A.] god in sauing of Adam Gibiens.

[An example of Godes wrathe and seuere iustice executed vpon 2 Drounkardes in Almaine. E, F.]

An other like example of Gods Diuine Juffice, shewed vpon twoo blafphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toune of Nekershofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as followeth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, traineilyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hofte with speede brought them verie good; but thei diflikyng the Wine, for the newnesse thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; so in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good ftore. Thus fatte thei fwillyng, and caroufyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.5 Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroufed to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he should drinke: quothe this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne God. E, F.J alfo,6 and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God should pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He answered "of whether thou wilte." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reachyng forthe his arme, as high as he 7 could, as though God should have pledged hym in deede, [7 leaf 67, back. faied these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou louest beste: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddeft 8 fent better, thou fhouldeft haue had better; but fuche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery sope, as I have this deuill, and doen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus stretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe these wordes, the Lorde proceadeth in Judgemente againste

[A caucat to blasphemers, and contemners of the maiestie of

blasphemie of feare. E, F.]

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

<sup>1</sup> to not in F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 67. No head-line. B. E, F have An example of God's wrath. 4 Straesburcht F. 3 a in E, F.

also not in E, F. + leaf 67, back. No head-line. B. 8 hadst F.

[This page, to I. 23, not in A.] [The Lord strikes the blasphemous drunkard.]

was not able to pull it to hym, nor to ftere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,1 his countenaunce not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceived to come forthe of hym, nor yet to fpeake one worde he was 2 able: and yet for all that, feemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people affaied to remoue hym from that place, but3 could not by any ftrength. In the ende thei tyed Horses to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once stere hym. Then thei affaied to burne the house, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the house: wherefore, when thei fawe all their waies and deuifes to be frustrate, perswadyng themselues, that God had made hym a spectacle to all dronkards, thei surceased 4 their attemptes, 4 and wished the wil of the 5 Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the fame pitifull cafe you have heard, ftandeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vnremoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose bleffyd will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beaft his companion, thei hanged vppon a Gibbette, before the dore of the fame house, as he well deserved! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkennesse, which God graunte euery true Christian maie auoide, for feare of Gods ven-

[hym: caufyng his arme to ftande ftedfaft and vnmoueable, fo as he

mente, E, F.]

[Oh fearefull iudgement of God, yet most

iust punish-

[5 leaf 68. B.+]

[7 sign. I 7. A.]

<sup>7</sup> Spud. <sup>8</sup> Shew mee I pray, <sup>9</sup> the state of that Cuntrey a litle further: is it a welthie Countrey with-in it-felfe, or otherwyfe poore and bare?

geance. Added in B, E, F.]

[England,] Ailgna a fa-mous Yland. 10

Philo. It is a most famous Yland, a11 fertile Cuntrey, & 12 abounding with all maner of ftore, both 13 of riches, treasure, & 14 all things els whatfoeuer; but as 15 it is a 15 welthie and riche Countrey, 16 fo are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the populare 17 forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to couet-

1 a long time after B, E, F. 2 was not F. 3 but they F. + leaf 68. No head-line. B. 4\_4 their enterprises any further F. 6 man added in E, F.

<sup>8</sup> In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed: - Couetousnesse in Ailgna. 10 This side-note not in B, E, F. 9 pray you B, E, F.
 10 This side-note not in B, E, F.
 11 and E; and a F.
 12 & not in E, F.
 13 as well F.
 14 as of F. 15\_15 the countrey is E, F. 16 Countrey not in E, F. 17 inferiour F.

oufnes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can neuer [Englishmen be fatisfied, for, crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more increase, by how much more the monie it 1 felfe doth increase; and the nature of a couetous man The nature of is fuch that tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet: as well that man. thing which he hath, as that which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. B.\*] A2 couetouse man may3 wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawneth for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, fo a couetous man, drowned in the The insaciable quagmire or plash of auarice and ambition, having his fummam voluptatem reposed in momentaine 6 riches, is neuer content with inough, but still thirsteth for more, much like to a man sicke of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thurf7teth; 8the more he thurfteth, [7 I 7, back] the more he drinketh<sup>8</sup>; the 9 more he drinketh, the more his difeafe increaseth. Therfore I hould it true which is writ, burfa auari os est diaboli; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, The purse of a riche Man. which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue.

I leaf 68, back.

desire of a couctouse

Spud. But they will eafily wipe away this blot, 10 namely in faying, 10 are we not bound to prouyde for our felues,11 our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apostle hold him for an infidell and 12 a deneger of the faith, who prouydeth not for his Wyfe and Family? 13 Is it not good to lay vp fomthing against a stormie day? wherfore they wil rather deeme themselues good husbands,13 than couetous or ambicious perfons.14

to prouide for their 17 houshould & Family, but yet so as his immoderat every Man is bound to pro-15 Philo. Euery Christen Man is bound, 16 in conscience before God, [15 leaf 69. B.+] Godlynes. His chiefest trust & care is to rest onely in the Lord, who

uyde for his

\* leaf 68, back. The nature of a couetous man. B.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore may a E, F. 3 may not in E, F. 4\_4 quauemire of auarice and plashe of B, E, F; after and F adds plunged in the.

8\_8 not in E, F. 5 summum F. 6 momentary F.

<sup>9</sup> and the E, F. <sup>10</sup>\_10 for B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> (saie thei) added in B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> or F. 13\_13 And therefore herein we shew ourselves rather good housbandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

14 This I have heard them pretend for themselves added in B, E, F; E has This exception have I; F has have I, and alleadge for pretend.

† leaf 69. Moderate care alowable. B. 16 bound indeed B. E. 17 his B, E, F. 18 boundes F. 19 yet not in B, E, F. 20 not the B, E. Immoderate care for riches reproued.

[3 sign. I 8. A.]

Land-Lords racke their tenantes. [8 leaf 69, back. B.†]

Inclosing of commons from the Poore.

[12 I 8, back]

[Take heed you Rich, who poll and pill the Poor!]

giueth liberally to euery one that asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse fuch ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed 1 to the performance 1 of the fame. But so farre from couetouines, & from immoderate care, wold the Lord have vs,2 that we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) fufficient to the day is the trauail of the fame. After all these 3things (with a diffruftfull & inordinat care) do the heathen feek, who know not God,' faith our Sauiour christ; 'but be you not like to them.' And yet I fay, as we are not to diffrust the providence of God, or despaire for any thing, fo are we not to prefume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vie fuch 4 fecundary 5 and inftrumental 4 meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to that end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing thefe Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetoufnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & affaying al meanes, possible to 6 exaggerat &6 heap vp riches, 6 that 7 thick clay of damnation, to themselues for euer. 6 So (likwife) Land8lords make marchandife of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raifing their fines & incommes, & fetting them fo straitely 9 vppon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Befides that, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to have all their forrage 10 and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them felues to lyne vppon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of 11 whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and inceffant <sup>12</sup>clamors haue long fince pearced the Skyes, and prefented them-felues before the Maiesty of God, saying, 18 how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of 14 thy poore Sainctts and vnworthie 15 members uppon the earth? Take heed, therfore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister 16 oppres-

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1—1 for the getting F.

2 to be added in F.

4—4 ordinary F.

5 causes added in E.

6—6 not in F.

7 the B, E.

7 the B, E.

9 straight B, E, F.

10 prouision F.

11 of many B, E, F.

12 criyng B, E, F.

13 criyng B, E, F.

14 doen to B, E, F.

15 seelie E; silly F.

16 biting F.
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fions, and indirect dealings, shall be 1 powred vppon your heads 1 at the great daye of the Lord. Curfed is he (faith our Sauiour Christ) that offendeth one of these litle ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged about his neck, & he cast into the middest of the sea. Christ <sup>2</sup> fo entierely loueth his poore members vppon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himfelfe, and will reuenge it as done to himfelfe. wherfor God give them grace to lay open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their 3 poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, the whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mischiese be not met withall, Inclosures and incountred with verie shortlie. For these inclosures be the causes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beafts doo eat graffe: Thefe, I fay, are the 4 Caterpillers and denouring locustes that massacre the 5 poore, [5 sign. K r. A.] & eat vp the whole realme to the destruction of the same: The Lord remooue6 them!

Iniurie to Christ his members is [2 leaf 70. B.\*]

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they 7 goe rufling 7 in their filks, veluets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, 8 fumptuous A.] poore Mensriches. [† ruffle F.] edefices,8 and flately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they have 9 bands and retinewes of men attendant vppon them daylie; they purchaie castels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vppon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They have fo good confciences that all is fifh that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients cause, 10 the Lorde kno11 weth, and one day they shall finde it. If you have argent, or rather rubrum vnguentum, Oyntment to I dare not fay Gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fift with- greese lawiers all, than your fute shall want no furtherance; but if this 12 be wanting, than farewel clyent; he may go shooe the goose for any good successe he is like to have of his matter: without this, sheriffes & Officers wil returne writs with a tarde venit, or with a non est inventus, smally to the poore mans profit. 13 So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

[II leaf 70, back. withall.

1-1 required at your hands F. \* leaf 70. Inclosures vndoe the Poore, B. E also has Lawyers ruffling in. <sup>3</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> the not in F.

<sup>6</sup> amende B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> ruffle it out B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> not in F.

<sup>9</sup> there bandes E; (their F.) 10 causes B, E, F. 

‡ leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawyers, in Ailgna. B. 13 But so B, E, F. 12 this liquor B, E, F.

#### What maketh things deere. 118 The Anatomie

[I K I, back] The pretensed excuse of Lawers when their cliants haue loost their plees.

The slaightie practises of lawers.

[7 leaf 71. B.+]

The fraudulent dealing of marchant Men.

Artificers.

Great dearth in plenty of all things.

they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and iuft; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one aske them 1 why they tould not their clients so in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this prefident & that prefident,2 turning al the fault vpon the fuggefter; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can beare him witnesse. In presence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flaightes wold thinke they would go together by the eares3); this is4 to draw on their clients withal; but immediatly after, their clients being 5 gon, they laugh in their fleeues to fee how pretily they 6 fetch in fuch fom7mes of money; and that, vnder the pretence of equitie and inflice. But though thei can for a time (prestigiatorum instar8), like cunning deceivers, cast a mist before the blind world, yet the Lord, who feeth (9 fuborned by none 9) the fecrets of all harts, shall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The 10 marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfait balances & vntrue waights, and by their furprifing of their wares, heap vp infinit treafures. 11 The Artificer 11 & Occupyers, euen all in generall, will not fell their wares for no 12 reasonable price, but will 13 sweare & teare pittifully, [14 sign. K 2. A.] that such a thing cost them so much, & such a thing so much, wher 14 as they fwear as false as the lyuing Lord is true. But one day let them be fure that the Lord (who faith 'thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceive thy Brother in bargaining') will revenge this villanie done to his Maiestie.

> 15 Into fuch a 15 ruinous eftat hath couetousnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great 16 fcarfitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might have been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie shillings, is now

<sup>2</sup> this Writing and that Writing added in F. 3 earers (sic) F. instead of a shoyng horne added in E, F. 5 bee B, E, F. + leaf 71. What maketh thynges deare. B. 6 they can E, F. 9\_9 not in F. 8 more for instar B, E, F. 11\_11 Artificers B, E, F. 10 Vpon the other side, for the F. 12 any F. 13 will not in E, F. 15\_15 Yea, into such F. 16 great not in F.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.1 That which than was worth twentie pound is now 2 worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the [2 leaf 7x, back. rich Men haue fo balaunced their chefts with Gold and filuer, as they cracke againe. And to fuch excesse is this couetousnes growne, as euery one that hath money will not flick to take his neighbors house ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Wherthorow 3 many a Taking of poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to Mens heads. begge their bread all 4their dayes 4 after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther house or Land, they will neuer rest vntill they have purchased it, giving him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Befides all this, fo desperately given are many, that for The desperat the acquiring 5 of filuer and Gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew to get money. their hands, and both 6 their armes, in the blood of their 7 owne Parents [7 K 2, back] and Freends most vnnaturally. Other some will not make any confcience to fweare and forfweare themfelues 8 for euer,8 to lye, diffemble, and deceive the deerest frends they have in the world. Therfore the heathen Poet, Virgill, faid very well, O facra auri fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis: Oh curfed defire of gold, what mifchief is it but thou forcest Man to attempt it for the loue of thee! This immoderat thirst of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end; Many brought 9 fome as homicides 9 for murthering and 10 killing; fome 11 as latrones, 11 to rufull end for robbing & 12 stealing: some for one thing, some for another; 13 So meanes of Gold and silver. that furely I think 14 maior est numerus Hominum, 14 quos dira auaritiæ [13 leaf 72. B.+] peftis abforpfit, quam quos gladius vel enfis perforauit: 15 the number of those 15 whom the pestilence of auarice hath swallowed vp, 16 is greatter 16 than the number of those whom the sword hath destroid. The Lord affwage the heat 17 hereof with the oyle of his grace, 18 if it be his good pleafure and wil!

Spud. If I might be fo bold, I wold request you to shew me, out of the word of god, where this fo deteftable a vice is reproued.

pounds F. \* leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesse in Ailgna. B. <sup>3</sup> Whereby E; Wherby F. <sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> the dayes of their liues F. 5 getting F. 6 bathe B, E, F. 8\_8 not in F. 9-9 as we see dayly, some are hanged F. 10 some for instead of and F. 11\_11 not in F. 12 some for instead of & F. † leaf 72. Testimonies against Couetousnes. B. 14 \_14 the number of men is greater B, E, F; F has to be for is. 15\_15 not in B, E, F. 16\_16 not in B, E, F. 17 raging heate F. 18 gracious mercy for grace F.

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Math. 6. Testimonies out of the word of God against couetousnes. [2 sign. K 3. A.]

Luc. 6. Math, ix.3

[Bible bits against covet ousness.]

[5 leaf 72, back. B.+]

r Timo. vi.

Psalm 39. Prouerb 1. Proue. xxvii.

[9 K 3, back]

Mat. 5. Luc. 6.

Philo. Our Sauiour Christ Iesus, the 1 Arch-doctor 1 of all truth, in his Euangely, the fixt of Mathew, faith, 'Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.'

Againe, 'be not carfull for Apparell, what 2 you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteousness therof, and all these things shal be given vnto you.' He charged his Disciples to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneys, nor yet any money in their puries. He tould his Disciples another time, stryuing which of them should be the greattest, that he who wold be the greattest, must condescend 4 to be servant of all. When the people wold have advaunced him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we 'cannot ferue two Maisters, God & Mammon': he biddeth vs 'not to fet our minds vppon couetousnes'; inferring that 'wher 5 our riches be 6, there will our harts be also. He faith, 'it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.' The Apostle biddeth vs, 'if we have meat &8 drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (faith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.' Dauid faith, 'Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall possesse them.' Salom on compareth a couetous man to him that murthereth & sheadeth innocent bloud. Againe, 'Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be 9 fatisfied.' The Apostle S. Paule faith, 'neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shal euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.' And faith further, that 'the loue of monie is the root of al euil.' Chrift biddeth vs 'be 10 liberal & lend to them that have need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from vs.' By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes the lord wold have al christians 11 to be.

1-1 teacher F. 3 E has Math. 9; F has no figure. 4 humble F. † leaf 72, back, Punishment of Couetousnesse. B. 7 in his F. 8 & not in F. 10 to be F. 6 is B, F. 11 his children F.

Spud. Be their any examples in 1 fcriptures 2 to 3 flew foorth the punishmentes of the same, in flicted vpon the Offenders therin?2

[4 leaf 73. B.\*]

Philo. The Scripture is full of fuch fearful examples of the iuft iudgements of God powred<sup>5</sup> vpon them that have offended herein; Wherof I will recite three or four, for the fatiffying of your Godly 6 mind. Adam was cast out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. Giese, the Servant of Elizeus the Prophet, 4 Reg. 5. was fmitten with an incurable leprofie, for that he, to fatisfie his couetous defire, exacted gold, filuer, &8 riche garments, of Naaman, the K. of Siria his feruant. Balaam was reproued of his affe for his Num. 22. couetousness in going to curse the Children of Israel at the request of Bible examples K. Balac, who promifed him aboundance of gold & filuer fo to doo. for covetousness. Achab, the K., for couetousnes to have pore Naboth his viniard, slew him, and dyed after himfelfe, with all his progeny, a shameful death. [9 sign. K 4. A.] The Sonnes of Samuel were, for their infaciable couetoufnes, deteined 10 Sa. viii. from euer injoying their Fathers kingdome. Iudas, for couetoufnes of mony, fould the Sauiour of the world, and betrayed him to the Iewes, but afterward dyed a miserable death, his bellye bursting, & his bowels gushing out. Ananias and Saphira his wife, for couetous- Act. v. nes in concealing part of the price of their 11 lands from the apostles, [11 leaf 73, back B.t] were both flain, & died a fearful death. Achan was ftoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetoufnes in ftealing 12 gold, filuer, & Iewels at the facking of Iericho, & al his goods were burned prefently. Thus you fee how for couetouines of mony, in all ages, Men haue made shipwrack of their consciences, and in the end, by the [God's judgiust iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whose iudgments I ous men.] leaue to the Lord.

The punishment of couetousnes shewed by exam-

of punishments

ments on covet-

Spud. Seeing that couetousnes is so wicked a fin, & so offensive both to God & Man, & pernicious to the foule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the fame 13 as they doo.

Ph. Two things 14 moue men to affect mony fo 15 much as they

1 in the holie E, F. (holy F.)

2-2 of the Iustice of God, inflicted vpon them that have offended herein F.

\* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse. B.

5 executed F. 6 Godly not in F.

8 and other F. 10 restrained F. 7 Gehesie F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maister and E] worship in Ailgna. B. 13 so much added in F.

in my iudgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.)

What make Men to affect money.

[> K 4, back]

Euery Begger almost is called Maister at cuery word.

[11 leaf 74. B.+]

[Titivillers, that is, flattering fellows. E, F.]

Refusing of vaine Titles. [not in E, F.]

do: the one, for 1 feare leaft they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous2 infidelitie!) the other,3 to be advanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei fee the world is fuch, that he who hath moni enough shalbe rabbied & maistered at euery word, and withal faluted with4 5the vaine title of6 'worshipfull,' 7 and 'right worshipfull,' 7 though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vie to terme them. And to such outrage8 is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,9 Hufband-man, 10 and other 10; yea, euery Tinker, pedler, 11 and fwinherd, euery Artificer and other, gregarii ordinis, of the vileft forte of Men that be, must be called by the vain name of 'Maisters' at euery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, 'worshipfull' and 'maister,' (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the Godly wyfe, for fome speciall vertue inherent 12, either els 13 in respect of 13 their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but fuch Titiuillers, flattering Parafits, and glofing Gnatæs as flatter them, expecting fome pleafure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might eafily perceive. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter 14 them with these titles, knowing that 15 they deferue nothing 16 leffe. 17 Wherfore, like good 18 Recufants 19 of that thing which is euill 19,17 they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembring the words of our fauiour Christ, faying,20 'be not called Maister,' in token there is but one onely true [21 sign. K 5. A.] Maifter and Lord in Heauen; 21 which only true Maifter & Lord, God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, until they come to 22 perfect men in Iefus Christ.

> Spud. The people beeing fo fet vpon couetoufnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

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1 a for for F.
                                             <sup>2</sup> distrustfull B, E, F.
3 other for desire B, E, F; (F has a for for)
                                                    4 by for with E, F.
  6 Gentleman and added in F.
                                                7_7 not in B, E, F.
  8 extreme madnesse B, E, F.
                                               9 cobler and B, E, F.
                        10_10 not in B, E, F.
                                            12 in them added in F.
    + leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.
                                                15 that not in E, F.
                           14 floute E, F.
  13_13 for B, E, F.
                17_17 And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.
16 no F.
                                                    20 saying not in F.
                    19_19 not in B, E, F.
18 wyse E.
                            22 to be E, F.
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vsurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? 1 for vsurie followeth couetouf2nes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

[2 leaf 74, back. B.\*1

# Great Vsurie in Ailgna.

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there 3 (for the most vsury. part), without vsurie 4 & loane, or with-out some good hostage, guage,5 or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

Spud. I have heard fay that the positive and statute lawes there The possitive doo permit them to take vsurye, limitting 6 them how much to 7 take for euery pound.

Philo. Although the ciuile 8 lawes (for the auoiding of further inconueniences) doo permit certain fommes of money to be giuen 9 ouerplus, beyond or 10 aboout the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the viurers no more 11 discharged from the gilt of viurie before God [11 K 5, back] therby, then the adulterous Iewes were from whordome, because Moyses gaue them a permiffiue law, for euery man 12 to put away 13 their wives 13 that would, for 14 every light trifle. 14 And yet the 15 lawes there The lawes of giue no libertie to commit vsurie; but feeing how much 16 it rageth, no vsurie. left it should exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reason and godlynes, - As couetousnes is a raging sea and a bottomlesse pit, and 17 neuer fati[f] fied nor contented,—they have limited them 18 with 19 in certain meeres and banks 20 (to bridle the infatiable defires of [19 leaf 75. B.+] couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but this permission of the lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vsury no more (I fay) then the permission of Moyses argued that whordome & adulterie is 21 lawfull & good, because Moyses permitted them to put away their wives for the avoiding of greater euil 22: for, as chrift faid to the Iewes, 'from the beginning it was not fo,' fo fay I to thefe vfurers, from the beginning it was not fo, nor yet ought 23 fo to be.23

1 I thinke not, added in B, E, F. · leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B. 3 in England F. 4 interest added in E, F. 5 pawne added in F. 6 appointing F. 8 Statute F. 9 & taken added in F. 7 they shall E, F. 13\_13 his wife E, F. 10 and E, F. 12 one F. 14—14 any light offence E, F. 15 positive lawes E, F. 16 farre F. 17 and not in E, F. 18 it E, F. † leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. B. 20 boundes F. 21 was then E, F. 22 euils F. 23—23 to be so F. Spud. If no interest were permitted, then 1 no man would lend, & then how should the poor doo? wherfore the lawes, that permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.2

[4 sign. K 6. A]

The lawes permit some ouerplus, but commaund it [not].6

[8 leaf 75, back, B.+]

Forbidding to outrage in mischeef § is not ‡ permission to comit mischeef. [§ mircheef A. ‡ no F.]

[16 K 6, back]

Philo. <sup>3</sup> Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum: we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting <sup>4</sup> certain reasonable gain to be received for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaile <sup>5</sup> (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) have not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended, <sup>7</sup> which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for <sup>8</sup> the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vsurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therfore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of vsury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo ssaunder the lawes, & are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, 'thou shalt not take abooue ij.s. in the pound, x.li. in a hundred,' and so so so footh, Dooth this prooue that it is lawful to take so much, or rather that thou shalt not take more then that? If I say to a man, 'thou shalt not give him abooue one or two blowes,' dooth this prooue that I licence him to give him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not give him any at al, or if he doo, she shall not exceed or passe the bands of resonable mesure? So this law dooth but mitigate the penalty, for it saith that the party that taketh but the x.li, for the vse of an C.li, loseth but the x.li, not his principal.

16 Spud. Then I perceive, if Víurie be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

1 then not in E, F.

<sup>2</sup> in my opinion added in E, F; (F has mine for my)

<sup>3</sup> The Apostle teacheth vs added in B; The Apostle sayth, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> vtterly be distressed F.

<sup>6</sup> not added in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> considered F.

† leaf 75, back. Vsurie vnlawfull by Gods lawe. B.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> &c. F.

<sup>10</sup> so for so so B, E.

11\_11 see a man will needes fight with another, a (sic) I having authority over him, say vnto him F.

12 at the most added in F.

14 bounds F.

13 that added in E, F.
15 aboue B, E, F.

Philo. You may be fure of that; For our Sauiour Christe willeth Math. 5, 6. vs to be fo far from couetoufnes and vfury, as he faith, "giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away." Againe,1 "Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heauen." 2If wee must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, vsurie. no, not fo much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the vsurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fish for so much? Therfore our Sauiour Christe saith, beatius est dare, potius quam accipere: It is more bleffed to giue, then to receive. In the 22. of Exodus, Deut. 24, 23, Leuit. 25, Nehe. 5, Eze. 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vie any kinde of viury, or interest, or to receive again Ezech. 22, 18.4 any ouer-pluss befides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beafts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what foeuer. Dauid asketh a question of the Lord, saying, Lord, who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hil? wherto he 6 giveth Psalm 15.7 the folution him felf,8 faying, 'euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not given his mony vnto vsurie, 9 nor taken reward against the [9 sign, K 7. A.] innocent: who fo dooth these things shall neuer fall.' In the 15 of Deut. the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we have lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful When it is not (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good again our conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare 10 it then the other 11 to pay it,) much leffe is it lawful 12 to demaund any vfury or ouer-plus. And for this cause the Lord saith, 'let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person 13 amongst the Tribes of Ifrael.' Thus, [13 leaf 76, back. you fee, the woord of God abandonneth vsurie euen to hel; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, noued onely by the inftinct of nature and rules of reason, haue alwaies abhord it. Therfore Cato, beeing demaunded what vsurie was, isked againe, 'what it was to kill a man?' making vsurie equivalent Hethen men with murther: And good reason, for he that killeth a14 man, riddeth

God against [2 leaf 76. B.\*]

Deut. 24, 23.

lawfull to aske goods lent.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 76. The word of God against Vsurie. B. 1 And againe F. 5 or B, E, F. 3 potius not in F. 4\_4 not in F. 7 Psalm 25 in A; 16 in F. <sup>6</sup> or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F.

<sup>10</sup> forbear F. 11 other is E, F. 8 him-self not in F.

<sup>12</sup> for thee added in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 76, back. Vsurie equall with Murther. B.

<sup>14</sup> a a (sic) A.

#### 126 Imprifoning for debt cruell. The Anatomie

vsury equall with murther.

[4 K 7, back]

Sute commenced against him that is not able to pay aswel the Vsury as the Principall. [8 leaf 77. B.†]

To prison with him that cannot pay the vsury.

No mercy in imprisoning of poor-men for vsury.

[10 sign. K 8. A.]

No crueltie to be shewed, but mercy and compasion ought to be extended, him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vfury, is long in butchering his pacient, fuffering 1 him by little & little to languish, and fucking out his hart2 blood, neuer leaueth him fo long as he feeleth any 3 vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of 3 him. The Vfurer killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, feruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when foeuer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then fute fhalbe 5 commenced against him; out go butter-flies and writs, as thick as haile; fo the poore man is apprehended and brought coram nobis, 6 and beeing once convented, judgement condemnatorie and 6 diffinitiue fentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the viury & the loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to fatisfie aswel the one as th' other, 8then to Bocardo goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe fure to lye vntil he rotte. one peece from an other, without fatiffaction bee made. Oh, curfed Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel Tartarian and mercilesse Turck / darest thou look vp toward heaven, or canst thou hope to be faued by the death of Christe, that sufferest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & sisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iesus, vessels of faluation, coheirs with him of his fuperiall9 kingdom, adoptive fonnes of his grace, & finally faints in heaven, to lye and rot in prifon for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome shall beare witnesse against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison 10 walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to 11 doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy felfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

<sup>1</sup> causing F.

<sup>2</sup> vitall F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

<sup>5</sup> is B, E, F.

6—6 then presently E, F.
† leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.
11 to not in F.

7 the not in F.
9 supernall B, E, F.

thou art a member of the Deuil, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren in fuch forte for any worldly matter whatfoeuer. Wee 2 ought to shew mercie and not [2 leaf 77, back. crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who faith, Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (faith the LORD).

Beleeue mee, it greeueth mee to heare (walking3 in the streats) the pitiful cryes, and miferable complaints of poore prifoners in durance The petieful for debt, and like fo to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and clothing to their dept. backs, lying in filthie ftrawe, and 4lothfome dung,4 wursse then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable confolation and brotherly comfort 5 in [5 K 8, back] this World, withing and thyriting after death to fet them at libertie, and loofe them from their flackles, gives, and yron bands.

crying of Prisoners in prison for

Notwithstanding, some 6 mercilesse tygers are growen to such bar- A tygerlicke barous crueltie that they blush not to fay, "tush! he shall either paye saying. mee the whole, or els<sup>7</sup> lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones." But Math. xviii, take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man8), left the Lord fay to thee, as he faid to that wicked Seruant (who having great fommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his fmall debte, but, catching him by the throte, faid, 'pay that thou owest'), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall <sup>10</sup> be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

tyrannicall

Marc xi.

An Viurer is worfe than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, An Vsurer the other for coueitousnes and excesse 11: the one stealeth but in the Thief. [not in E.] night commonly; the other daylie and hourely, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

[10 leaf 78. B.+]

An Viurer is worse than a Iew, for they, to this daye, will not An Vsurer take anye vsurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of God.

They are worse than Iudas, for he betraied Christ but once, made

1 brethen (sic) F. 3 as I walk F.

6 these B, E, F.

· leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vsurers. B. 4\_4 stinking litter F.

7 he shal added in F. <sup>8</sup> Christian B, E, F.

9 did F. 11 lucre F.

+ leaf 78. Vsurers worse then the Deuill. B.

worser than a Iew. [tworse B, E, F.] An Vsurer worser § than Iudas. [§ worse B, E.]

#### Scriueners, Instruments of vsurie. The Anatomie 128

restitution, and repented 1 for it1 (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members

[2 sign. L 1. A.] Vsurers wursse then Hel.

An Vsurer wursse then Death,

An vsurer wurse then the Deuil.

The sayings of Godly Fathers and Writers against vsury. [4 leaf 78, back. B.+]

Vsurers punished 6 with sundry tor-tures.6

Scriuiners the Diuels agents to set forward Vserie. [7 L I, back]

daylie and hourly, 2 without any remorfe or restitution at all. They are wursse then hel it self, for it punisheth but only the

wicked and reprobate, but the Viurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it deftroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vfurer deftroyeth both body & foule for euer. And, to be breef, the Vfurer is wurste then the Deuil himfelf, for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his jurisdiction alredy, but euen all other, without permission3 of any. Therfore, faith Ambrose, if any man commit vfurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, and he ought to dye. Alphonfus called vfury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. Cato did the fame. Agestilaus, Generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the Vsurers bookes in the open market places. Claudius Vaspatiannus, and after him Alexander Seuerus made sharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the fame.<sup>5</sup> Ariftotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue fharply inueighed against this denouring canker of viury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, avoid it. And if it be true that I heare 7 fay, there be no men fo great doers in this noble facultie and famous fcience as the Scriueners be: For it is fayd (and I feare me too true) that there are fome to whome is committed 8a hundred or two of poundes,8 of9 fome more, of9 fome leffe, they puttinge in good fureties to the owners for the repayment 10 of the fame againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, 11 defiring them 11 to lende them fuche a fom of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne defires, who making refufall at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate 12 the minds of the poore petitioners withall 13), at last they lend them how much they defire,

3 compassion B, E, F. 1\_1 not in E, F. † leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vsurie. B. 6\_6 sundry wayes F. 5 out of their dominions added in F. 9 to in B, E, F. 8-8 an hundred poundes or two F. 11\_11 with request F. 10 payment F. 13 you must vnderstande added in B, E, F. 12 whette F.

receiving of the poore men what interest &1 affurance they lust2 themselues, and 3 binding them, their lands, 4 Goodes, and all, with [4 leaf 79. B.\*] forfaiture thereof if they fayle of payment: where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrument wherby the Diuell worketh 5 the frame 6 of this 7 wicked woorke of Vfurie, hee beeing rewarded 7 5 with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the The Scrininers Archdiuel 8 who owes the money, for helping him to fuch 9 vent for his fleece or pitcoyne: Secondly, he hath a greate deale 10 more vsurie to himselfe, of him who boroweth the money, 11 than he alloweth the owner of the mony 11: And, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. 12 And thus the poore man is fo implicate 13 [12 sign. L 2. A.] and wrapped in on euerie fide, as it is impossible for him euer 14 to get out of the briers 15 without losse of all that euer hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are inriched,16 the poore beggered, and Christ Iefus dishonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us! 17 De his hactenus 17.

paynes.

### [18Greate Swearyng in Ailgna.

[This chapter not in A.]

Spud.

What is the 19 qualitie, 20 and 19 naturall disposition 21 of this people? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people: For the faiying is, that the woorde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde besides. And I am fullie perswaded, that where the woorde of God is truely prached and his Sacramentes duely ministered (all whiche thei 22 haue) [22 leaf 79, back. B.+] there must all thynges needes prosper, and goe forwarde; wherefore I defire to knowe your judgement, whether all these thinges be so, or not.

[Gods word florisheth in people are wicked still. E, F.] England, but the

1 and also E, F. 2 list B, E, F. 3 both E, F. \* leaf 79. Great swearyng in Ailgna. B.

5\_6 this laudable worke, rewarding his Vassall F. 6 effecte E. 7-7 laudable woorke, rewarding his vassall, B, E. 8 master deuil F.

11\_11 not in B, E, F. such not in B, E, F. 10 deale not in F. 15 againe added in F. 13 intangled F. 14 hardly F.

17\_17 not in B, E, F. 16 inrinched (sic) F. 15 This chapter, not in A, is added in B, E, & F. 19\_19 not in F. 21 dispositistion (sic) F. <sup>20</sup> Inclination, added in E.

† leaf 79, back. Hipocrisie vnder the cloke of Christianity. B. The disposition of Englishmen.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

## The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. The Anatomie

[This page not in A.]

[The naturall disposition of Englishmen. E, F.]

[Great wickednesse committed vnder the cloke of the gospell. E, F.] [5 leaf 80. B.+]

[Papistes suffered in England with too much lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists liuing in prison lyke

[Philo. The worde of God is truely and fincerely preached there, and his Sacramentes duely 1 and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde2; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie3 reformed, according to the prescripte of Gods woorde, sauying that a fewe remnantes of fuperstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the ficcle of Gods woorde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee defirous of newfangles, praifyng thynges pafte, contemnyng thinges prefent, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambicious, proude, light, and vnftable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blafte of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwife, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woorde of God fereouslie, night & daie (a bleffed exercise doubtleffe) flockyng after fermons from place to place, euerie hower almoste: thei receive the Sacramentes duely, and thei behave themselves4 in all thinges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate forte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregiouslie; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of De5uilrie, purchasing to themselves the greater damnation, in that thei make the worde of God, a vizard<sup>6</sup> to couer their abhominations withall. as for Sectes, Schifmes,7 and fundrie factions, thei want none amongeft them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongest them. These sedicious Vipers, and pithonicall Hidraes, either lurke fecretely in corners, feducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward decorum, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man faie 'blacke is their eve,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitours (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in fumpteous attire, and flowing in 8 gold and filuer. And no maruell, for euery one is fuffered to come to

Princes. E, F.]

1 sincerely F. <sup>2</sup> besides added in F, F.

<sup>4</sup> themselued (sic) F. 3 well added in E, F. + leaf 80. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

<sup>7</sup> Errors, added in E. 6 or cloak added in F. 8 aboundance of added in F.

them that will, and to bring them what thei lift. Thei have their [This page not libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themfelues, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will: fo that it were better for them to be in prison then forth. Alas, shall Prisons in Engwe fuffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amongest vs? This maketh them obstinate, and incorrigible 2: this hardeneth their 3 hartes; and [3 leaf 80, back. this 4 maketh many a Papift moe then would be, if due correction 5 were executed.6 But to returne againe to my former discourse. They are alfo inconftant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to fwearyng, in fo muche, as if thei fpeake but three [Great swearing or fower wordes, yet must thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie E, F.J othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

land. E, F.]

Spud. Why fir? Is it so greate a matter to sweare? Doeth not the worde of God faie, thou shalt honour me, and sweare by my name, & those that fweare by me shall bee commended? These places and? the like, me thinke, dooe fufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to fweare at all tymes, doe thei not fo?

Philo. Nothyng leffe: For you must vnderstand that there be two [Two kinds of maner of fwearinges8: the one Godly, the other vngodly: the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly fwearyng, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magistrates, and those that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuerfie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occasion whatsoeuer, and the truthe [When, and how thereof can not by any meanes possible be sifted out, otherwise then sweare. E, F.] by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magistrate, and commaunded vppon thy allegeance to confesse what thou knowest, 9 thou maiest, and oughtest to depose the truthe, by the inuocation and [9 leaf 81. B.+] obtestation of the name of God. And in this doyng, thou honourest God. But beware that those things which thou swearest be true, or els thou makest God a lier (whose name thou callest to witnesse)

swearing.]

it is lawful to

<sup>1</sup> what maintenance F. <sup>2</sup> vnreclaimable F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 80, back. How a man ought to sweare. B.

<sup>4</sup> this not in E. 5 punishment F. 6 vppon them added in F.

<sup>8</sup> or othes added in E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144. + leaf 81. Swearyng forbidden by God. B.

[This page not in A.] [The daunger of a false othe. E, F.]

[A wicked kind of swearing. E, F.]

[thou defireft hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periureft thyfelf, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of fwearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blaspheme, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for every light trifle. This kinde of fwearyng is neuer at any tyme vppon no occation to be vied; but the counfell of our Sauiour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who faieth: "Sweare not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestoole: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou sweare by an heire of thy head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatfoeuer is more then this commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, faieth our Sauiour Christ.

Spud. I perceive by your reasons, that swearing is a thing more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee fuffered in a Christian Commonwealth.

[2 leaf 8r, back. B.+] [Sundry kinds of othes, with their effectes. E, F.]

Philo. A true othe is daungerous, a false othe 2 is damnable, and no othe is fure. To fweare before a lawfull Iudge, or otherwise privately, for the appearing of controuerfies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true feruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuersies and troubles. But the other kinde of fwearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore faieth Salomon: "A man that is given to muche fwearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstandyng this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lashe out the bloudiest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (faie thei) it is a figne of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generoseous, heroicall, and puiffant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgementes will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Daftard, a Cowarde, an Affe, a Pefant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vie whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, fides, harte,

† leaf 81, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B. 1 thine F.

[Swearing taken for a vertue in England E, F.]

nailes, foote, or fome other parte of Christes blessed bodie, yea, [This page not fometymes no parte thereof shalbe left vntorne of these bloudie Villaines. And to fweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon, 2 by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or [2 leaf 82. B. 9] by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothing blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afresh, as the Apostle faieth, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Paffion, and Bloud-sheddyng, as euer was Iudas that betrayed hym, or the cursed Iewes that crucified hym) to vnderstande, that to fweare by God at euery woorde, is the greatest othe that can bee. For in fwearyng by God, thou fwearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghoft, and by all the whole divine Nature, Power, dieitie,3 and effence. When thou fwearest by Gods harte, thou fwearest by his misticall wisedome. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou fwearest by his life. When thou fwearest by his [How dangerous feete, thou fwearest by his humanitie. When thou swearest by his anything. E, F.] armes, thou fwearest by his power. When thou fwearest by his finger, or tung, thou fwearest by the holie Spirite. When thou fwearest by his nosethrells, thou fwearest by his inspirations. When thou fwearest by his eyes, thou fwearest by his prouidence. Therfore, learne this, and beware of fwearyng, you bloudie Butchers, leaft God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you sweare by the Worlde, by S. [To sweare by Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer idolatrie. E] God made, whatfoeuer it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable 4 in it felf. For if it were lawfull to fweare at enery 5 [4 leaf 82, back. woorde for euery trifle, yet it were better to sweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatfoeuer. Because, that, that 6 a man fweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym7 to witnesse, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely confidered, I am fully perswaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then Ailgna, as I heare fay (and I feare me too true), there are many that [False swearers 8 in England for money. 8 E, F.] to fweare an othe. And yet fwearyng is of fuche fmall moment in

[Not lawfull to sweare by any creature. E, F.]

\* leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. B.

8\_8 for money in England F.

<sup>+</sup> leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B. <sup>3</sup> Deity F. s each E, F. 6 which in E, F. 7 it E, F.

[This page not in A.]

[Swearers are very Devils.]

[A lawe for swearers. E, F.] [6 leaf 83. B.+]

[Punishment due for

[for money will not flicke to fweare any thing, though neuer fo false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine 1 denegers of 1 the faithe, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was 2 there euer any Deuilles that would abdicate 3 themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy drosse and muck of the world? Shall wee fuffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not4 punishe it? God graunt there maie fome Lawe be enacted for the suppression of the fame. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any 5 man for fwearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blafpheme bothe Heauen and Earth neuer fo much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe filence, for if thei doe, 6 thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon 7 their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of fwearing is fuffered still to remaine without al controlement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

Spud. What kinde of punishment would you have appointed for these notorious bloudy swearers.

Philo. I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: swearers. E, F.] For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whofoeuer blafphemed the Lord, was prefently ftoned to deathe, without all remorce, which law judiciall flandeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee judged too feuere, I would wishe they might have a peece of their tongues cut of, or loofe fome ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be feared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with fome pretie8 pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too ftrict, that thei might bee banished their native Countrie, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forfaite for euery othe, a certaine fomme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paied. If any of these Godly Inftitutions were executed feuerely, I doubt not, but all curfed fwearing would vanish away like 9 smoke. Then should God be 10 glorified,

> 1\_1 reprobates concerning F. 3 and abandone added in E, F.

2 Were F. 4 not to E. F.

5 a in E, F. 7 on E, F.

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

\* pretie not in F. 10 to be F.

9 like a F.

[and our Consciences made 1 cleane against the 2 greate 3 fearfull daie of [This page not the Lorde appeare.

[2 leaf 83, back.

Spud. If fwearing and blaspheming of God's name be so hainous a finne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the viers therof with fome notable punishment,4 whereof I praie you shew me some examples.

Philo. I could shewe most straunge and fearfull judgements of [God's judgments God, executed vppon these cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages: but for breuite fake, one or two shall suffice. There was a certaine young man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse [Lincolnshire in I my felf penned about two yeares agoe,6 referring you to the faid booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's bloud.' The Lorde will- [A most fearefull yng his conuerfion, chastifed him with ficknesse many times to leaue the fame, and moued others euer to admonish him of his wickednesse: but all chaftifementes and louyng corrections of the Lorde, al freendly admonitions, and exhortations of others, he vtterly contemned, ftil perfeuering in his bloudie kinde of fwearyng. Then the Lord, feing that nothing would preuaile to winne him, arefted hym with his Sargeant Death: Who, with fpeede laied holde on hym, and caft hym vppon his Death bed, where he languished a great while, in extreeme [Death, the miserie, not forgettyng to spewe out his olde vomite of Swearyng. cutioner. B, F.] At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approach, 8 caused the [8 leaf 84. B.‡] Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed vp in his bed A most dreadvery vehemently, faiyng: "Gods bloud, he shall not have me yet:" swearer. E, F.] with that, his bloud gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, fome at his wriftes, fome at his nofe and mouth, fome at one ioint of his body, fome at an other, neuer ceafing till all the bloud of9 his bodie was stremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie Swearer his mortall 10 life, whose Iudgement I leave to the Lord.

on Swearers.]

example of God † vpon a filthy cursed swearer. E, F.] [† gods in

There was also an other, whom I knewe my felf for a dozen or fixteene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichsfehcshire,11 in a Towne

<sup>1</sup> kepte E; kept F. \* leaf 83, back. Examples against swearyng. B.

<sup>4</sup> in all ages added in F. 3 and added in E, F. <sup>5</sup> Lincolneshire F. 6 in verse added in F. 7 exhortation F.

t leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E has: A most dreadfull end of a swearer.

<sup>9</sup> in F.

<sup>10</sup> cursed F.

<sup>11</sup> Cheshire E, F.

# 136 The vie of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. The Anatomie

[This page, to l. 21, not in A.] [Congleton in Cheshire.]

[The fearefull death of another swearer. E, F.]

[4 leaf 84, back. B.t] [London.] [The example of a woman forswearing her selfe. E, F.] called Notelgnoc,1 whose viuall and common oth was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but ftill wranckled2 and festered from daie to daie, and at the last so rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himfelf through anguish and paine thereof dyed shortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the fame thinges wherein thei had offended, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offended through fwearyng by his bloud, fo the Lorde punished hym with bloud. And as the other offended in fwearyng by his armes, fo the Lorde plagued hym in his arme also. As he punished 3 the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the same by taftyng of delicate 4meates. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol 5 in Ailgna, who, commyng into a shoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forfware her felf; and the excrementes whiche naturally fhould evacuate 6 downewarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and the dyed miferablie. With infinite like exampled of God's wrath and heavie iudgementes, executed vppon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leafure, I could rehearfe. But contentyng my felf to have faied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no lesse needefull to be handled.]

Spud. Having (by the grace of Christe) hytherto spoken of sundrie Abuses of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they fanctifie 9 and keepe the Sabbaoth day? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

# The Maner of fanctifying the Sabaoth in Ailgna.

### Philo.

The Sabaoth day, of fome is well fanctified, 10 namely in hearing the 11 Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in privat and publique Prayers, in finging of Godly Pfalmes, in celebrating the facra-

- <sup>1</sup> Congleton F. <sup>2</sup> ranckled F. <sup>3</sup> puninished (sic) F. † leaf 84, back. The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna, B.
- <sup>5</sup> London F. <sup>6</sup> have discended F. <sup>7</sup> the added in E, F. <sup>8</sup> examples in F. <sup>9</sup> sanctisie A.
- 10 santified A; observed E; observed, as F. 11 the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for the poore & indigent; 1 which are the true [ L 2, back. A.] vies and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other fome fpend 2the Sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie [2 leaf 85. B.+] Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of mif-rule (for fo they call a certaine kinde of play which they vse), 3 May-games, Church-ales, feafts, and wakeesses: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, card- Prophane ing, bowling, tennisse playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and fuch like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the fabaoth; In keeping4 Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and fuch other deuilish pastimes; 5 reading of laciuious and wanton bookes, day.1 and an infinit number of fuch like practifes and prophane exercifes vfed vppon that day, wherby the Lord God is dishonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his facraments contemned, and his People merueloufly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. 6 Lord, removue these exercises from thy Sabaot's 16

Spud. You wil be deemed too too Stoicall, if you should restrain men from these exercises vpon the Sabaoth; for they suppose that that day was ordained and confecrate to that end and purpose, only to vie what kinde of exercises they think good themselues: & was it not fo?

Phi. After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therin contained, in 8 fix dayes, in the feuenth day he rested [8 L 3. A.] from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from <sup>9</sup>gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded that the feuenth day should be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect Bt 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount Horeb to Moyfes, & in him to all 10 the Children of Ifrael, faying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the feuenth day, &c. If we must keep it holy, then must we not spend it in such vain exercifes as pleafe ourselues, but in such godly exercifes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my judgement) the Lord our God ordained the feuenth day to be kept holy for foure causes

\* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. 3 in added in E. 4 keepyng of B, E, F. 5 in added in B, E, F. 6\_6 not in B, E, F. 7 is a day of liberty, and added in F.

+ leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.) 10 call E. F.

[Fairs, footballplaying and other profanities on the Sabbath-

Sabaoth was ordained. 9 leaf 85, back.

## 138 Violaters of the Sab[oth] punished. The Anatomie

Wherfore the Sabaoth was instituted.

[6 leaf 86. B.+]

[The 4th cause for the Sabbath.]

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wunderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and 1 creatures befides. Secondly, that his woord (the Church affembling togither) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his facraments ministred finceerly, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages 2 & praiers, bothe privat & publique, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that euery christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might the better fuftain the trauailes of the week to enfue3; and also to the end that all beasts & cattel, which the Lord [4 L 3, back. A.] hath made for mans vie, as helps & 4 adiuments 5 vnto him in his daylie affaires & bufineffe, might reft and refresh them selues, the better to <sup>6</sup>go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, fine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam: Without fome rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to thend it might be a typical figure or fignitor 7 to point 8 (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher 9 foorth 10 and fhadowe 10 vnto vs that bleffed reft & thryfe happie ioye which the faithfull fhall possesse after the day of judgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherfore, feeing the Sabaoth was inflituted for these causes, 11 it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly pastymes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and detefte.

Punishment for violating the sabaoth.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few fmall flickes vpon the Sabaoth, was floned to death by the commaundement of God from 12 the Theator of Heauen.

Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few sticks vppon the Sabaoth day, which in fome cases might be 13 for necessities sake, and 14 did it but once, what shall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue them-felues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both 15 of the Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they have played the lazie lurdens al the

Violaters of the saboth.

[15 L 4. A.]

1 and all other his B, E, F. 3 following (for to ensue) E, F.

7 vnto vs added in F.

9 discipher F.

11 and to these endes added in B, E, F. 13 lawfull added in F.

2 orisons added in E, F. 5 supportes F.

+ leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B. 8 poynt out F.

10\_10 not in B, E, F.

12 soundyng from B, E, F.

14 and yet E, F.

weke before, yet that day of fet purpose they wil toile 1 and labour, in [1 leaf 86, back. contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be fure, as he that gathered flickes vpon the Sabaoth was floned for his contempt of the fame, fo shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

The Iewes very precise in keeping2 sabaoth.

[The English Jew who died in a privy, rather than be pulld out on the Sabbath.]

No work to be done vpon the sabaoth except necessite

The Iewes are verye ftrict in keeping their Sabaoths; in fo muche as they will not dreffe their meats and drinks uppon the fame day, but fet it on the tables the day befor. They go not aboue ij. miles vpon the fabaoth day; they 3 fuffer not the body of any 4 Malefactor to hang vppon the gallowes vppon the Sabaoth day, with legions of fuch like fupersticions. [5 And whiche is most straunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not fuffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chaunced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna,6 by greate7 cafualtie fell into a Priuie vppon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeuouryng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chofing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.<sup>5</sup>] Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too fcrupelous,8 and ouershoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not fo ftrait laced, that 9 I would have no kinde of worke [9 leaf 87. B.+] done vppon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for every light trifle, which may as well be inforce it. done other dayes as vpon that day. And although the day it felf, in respect of the very 10 nature and originall 11 therof, be no better than another 12 day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we 13 become [12 L 4, back. A.] temporizers, all 14 beeing alike good; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be fanctified & kept holy to him felf, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selues to so loouing a Father; for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the stream,

\* leaf 86, back. Strict observation of the Sabaoth. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> keepyng of B, E; keeping the F. 3 the F.

<sup>4</sup> any felone or B, E, F. 5\_5 added in B, E, F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> England E, F. <sup>7</sup> greate not in F. 8 supersticious F.

<sup>+</sup> leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth. B. 10 very not in E, F.

<sup>11</sup> originall not in F. 13 we wil B, E, F. all times B, E, F.

## 140 Stage-playes and Enterludes. The Anatomie

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodilye labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I have said, in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and private prayer, in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes, and breesty, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend upon the other: that is, wee must refrain all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at these spirituall exercises upon the Sabaoth day.

Wherin the true vse of the Sabaoth consisteth.

[1 leaf 87, back. B.\*]

[4 L 5. A

[The abuses whereby the Sabbath is profaned.] <sup>4</sup>This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

Spud. Having shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularly, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first to begin with stage playes and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

# Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

#### Philo.

[Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.] ALL Stage-playes, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuyne or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and fagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therin, and not scoffingly, slowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence, 6 worship, or veneration 7 to 8 the same. 9 the word of

[6 leaf 88, B.+]

- \* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. <sup>2</sup> refrain from B, E. <sup>3</sup> aboute B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> Of not in E, F. <sup>7</sup> honour F.
- † leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B. 7 honour F. 8 at all doen to B, E, F. 9 For it is most certaine added in B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, & the merits of his passion, were not given to 1 be derided and iefted at, 2 as they be in thefe filthie [1 L 5, back. A.] playes and enterluds on ftages & fcaffolds,2 or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry,3 wanton shewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vsed playes. (euery Man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes.4 In the first of Ihon we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherfore, who fo euer abufeth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maiesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking flock of him, & purchafeth to himfelfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the facred word of God, and God himselfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once 5 named, but with great Reuerence to feare, reuerence, and obedience to the fame. All the holy companie God due. of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other 6 powers whatfoeuer, yea, the Deuills themselues (as7 Iames saith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesty, these disfembling Hipocrites, and flattering Gnatoes, think to escape vnpunifhed? beware, therfore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, A warning 8 to you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computiftes, cast your accompts 9 before, what wil be the reward therof [9 1 af 88, back. B.†] in the end, least God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his 10 people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not [10 L 6. A.] his bleffed word with fuch prophane vanities. For at no 11 hand it is Not lawfull to not lawfull to mixt fcurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with fcur- diuynitie with rilitie.

The deriding of the word of God in stage

the maiestic of

scurrilitie.

Theopompus mingled Moyfes law with his writinges, and therfore the LORD stroke him madd. Theodictes began the same practife, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting 12 the like deuyfes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miferably: befids, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other fide, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend What if playes they to the dishonor of God, and norishing of vice, both which matter.

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3 scurrility added in F.
   2-2 not in B, E, F.
4 vpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F.
                                    6 other Ceraphicall B, E, F.
   5 to be added in F.
                                               8 warming A.
      7 as Sainct B, E, F.
        † leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.
        11 any F.
                                           12 attempting A.
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#### Playes and Enterluds vnlawfull. The Anatomie 142

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and fucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therfore they, cariyng the note, or 1 brand, of 2 God his 2 curse vppon their backs, which way foeuer they goe, are to be hiffed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue refifted3 Playes and Enterluds?

[4 leaf 89. B.\*]

The word of God, al Writers, counsels and Fathers haue writ 7 against playes and enterluds.

4 Philo. Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addividg-[5 L 6, back. A.] ing them & the main 5 tainers 6 of them to Hell, but also all holie counfels, and finodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuyne and prophane, euer fince the beginning, haue disalowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

> The learned Father Tertullian, in his booke de Speculo, faith that playes were confecrat to that false ydoll Bacchus, for that he is faid to haue found out and invented ftrong drinke.

Wherfore playes were ordeined.

Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei, faith that plaies were ordeined by the Deuill, and confecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, Pecunias Histrionibus dare vitium est innane,8 non virtus: To give money to Players is a greeuous fin.9

Chrisostome calleth those playes festa Sathani, feasts of the Deuill. Lactantius, an ancient learned Father, faith, Histrionum impudissimi gestus, nihil aliud nist Libidinem mouent: The shamelesse gestures of Plaiers ferue to nothing fo much as to moue the flesh to lust and vnclennesse. And therfore in the .30. Counsell of Carthage & 10 Synode of Laodicea, it was decreed that no Christen Man or Woman should reforte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blafphemie, [11 leaf 89, back. 11 fourrilitie, and whordome maintained. Scipio, feeing the Romaines bente 12 to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehorted them from it

Concilium 3. Cartha. Cap. II. Synode Laodicea, Cap. 54-

B.+1 [12 L 7. A.]

> 3 disliked F. 1 and E, F. 2\_2 Gods F. \* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B. 6 practisers E, F. 7 haue writ not in E, F.

9 and no vertue added in B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> immane B, E, F. 10 in the added in B. E. F. + leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

with the 1 most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. Valerius Writers 2 both Maximus faith, playes were neuer brought vp fine regni rubore, with- prophane out shame to the Cuntrey. Arist. debarreth youth accesse to Playes and Enterluds. & Enterluds, least they, seeking to quench the thirst of Venus, doo quench it with a potle of fire. Augustus banished Ouid for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and fuch other amorous trumperie.

Constantius ordeined that no Player shold be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, feeing that Playes were first 3 invented The ends of by the Deuil, practifed by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat to their Enterluds. false ydols, Goddes and Goddesses, as the howse, stage, and apparell to Venus, the muficke to Appollo, the penning to Minerua and the Mufes, the action and pronuntiation to Mercurie and the rest, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exercyses for a 5 Christen 6 Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them faue this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is 7 anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie, incest, The argumurther, & fuch like, the Perfons or Actors are Goddes, Goddesses, tragedies. Furies, Fyends, Hagges, Kings, Quee8nes, or Potentates. Of Com- [8 leaf 90. B.t] medies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, The ground of Commedies. whordome, adulterie; the Per9fons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, [9 L 7, back. A.] fcullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with fuch like of infinit varietie. If, I fay, there were nothing els but this, it were fufficient to withdraw a good christian from the vfing of them; For fo often as they goe to those howses where Players Theaters and frequent, thei go to Venus pallace, & fathans fynagogue, to worship nus pallaces. deuils, & betray Christ Iesus.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I have hard 10 some hold opinion that they be as good as fermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blasphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes comparable to the word of

1 the not in B, E, F. 3 first not in E, F. 4 dedicated F. 6 men B, E, F. † leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B. 2 Waiters F. 5 a not in B, E, F. 7 is not in E. 10 heard F.

f 'The Theatre' (where Shakspere probably first acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the site of the present Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as 'The Globe' on Bankside, Southwark, in 1599. 'The Curtain' theatre was close by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Gloucester St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577 .- F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, the foode of life, and life it felfe? It is all one, as if they had faid, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, fcurrilitie, and diuelrie it felf, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipolent 1 with the Lord.

He is cursed that saith playes and enterluds are comparable to sermons. [2 leaf go, back.

[3 L 8. A.]

Wherfore so many flock to see playes and enterluds.

The fruits of theathers 6 & playes.

The Godly 7 demeanoures vsed at playes & enterluds. [8 leaf gr. B.+] [9 L 8, back. A.]

The Lord our God hath ordeined his bleffed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with the other? If he be accurfed that calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falshood 2truth, sweet fowre, and fowr fweete, than, a fortiori, is he accurfed that faith that playes & enterluds be equivalent with Sermons. Be3fides this, there is no mischief which these plaies maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and otia dant vitia, ydlenes 5 is the Mother of 5 vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and fermons? for you shall have them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when the church of God shalbe bare & emptie; And those that will neuer come at fermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobat is many; the way that leadeth to life is narow, and few tread that path; the way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauiour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyses they go to visite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, infinuat folery, & renue the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maydenly virginitie and chaftitie? For proofe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to fee Playes and Enterludes; where fuch wanton geftures, fuch 8 bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, fuch clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, 9 and the like, is vied, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done, 10 euery mate forts to his

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1 equivalent F.
                           * leaf 90, back. The fruittes of Playes. B.
                                            5-5 doth minister F.
    4 Playes B, E, F.
           6 Theaters F.
                                              7 goodly F.
                                                     10 ended E, F.
† leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.
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mate, euery one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their fecret conclaues (couertly) they play the Sodomits, or worfe. And thefe be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part. And wheras you say there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie fo there are: if you will learne falfhood; if The goodly you will learn cofenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will Playes and learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,1 and falfifie; if you will learn to ieft, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the vice, to fwear, teare, and blafpheme 2 both Heauen and [2 blaspleme A.] Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuer- What things ginat Mayds, to deflour honest Wyues: if you will learne to murther, flaie,3 kill, picke, fteal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons,4 to confume 5 treasurs, to practife ydlenes, to fing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will lerne to deride, fcoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & fmooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maifter, the glutton, Drunkard, or inceftuous person: if you will learn to become proude, haw6tie, & arrogant; and, Theaters finally, if you will learne to contemne 7 God and al his lawes, to care 8 neither for heaven nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and mifcheef, you need to goe to no other schoole, for all these good Examples may you fee painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherfore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them must needs incurre the 9 damage 10 of 11 premunire, that is, 9 eternall dam- A dyuine nation, except they 12 repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, least wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, & 13 maintain euil to the What it is to diffruction of them felues & many others, but also a maintaining 14 of a great forte of idle lubbers, and 15 buzzing dronets, to 15 fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should live.

Enterluds.

[6 leaf 91, back. B.†] [8 M I. A.]

communicate mens sinnes.

tion to plaiers.

Therfore I befeech all players 16 & Founders 16 of plaies and enter- An exhortaludes, in the bowels of Iefus Chrifte, as they tender the faluation of their

3 flay F. 1 to lye B, E, F. 4 Treason F. 5 comsume A. + leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B. 7 comtemne A. 9-9 ineuitable sentence of F. 10 daunger B, E. 11 of a B; of the deuine E. 13 and to B, E, F. 14 supporting B, E, F. 15\_15 laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E. 16 \_16 founders and maintainers B, E, F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

# 146 Lords of mifrule in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

foules, and others, to leave of that curfed kind of life, and give them felues to fuch honest exercises and godly misteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings withall: for who wil call him a wifeman, that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth the part of a deuil, the fworne enemie of Christe? who can call him a just man, that playeth the <sup>1</sup>part of a diffembling hipocrite? And, to be breef, <sup>2</sup>who can call him a ftraight deling man, who playeth a Cosoners trick<sup>3</sup>? And so of all the rest. Away therfore with this so infamous an art! for goe they neuer fo braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are4 they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speak of such as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought fo to be punished, if they had their deferts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the laft, I wil fay no more of them, befeeching them to confider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heavie displeasure against them selves and others; which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!

Spud. Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it felf <sup>5</sup> caryeth a tafte of <sup>5</sup> fome notorious <sup>6</sup> euil.

### Lords of Mif-rule in Ailgna.

#### Philo.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna. [7 M 2. A.]

[9 leaf 92, back. B.†] THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & fuch as the very heathen people would have blushed at once to <sup>7</sup> have named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil, <sup>8</sup> then, what may the thing <sup>9</sup> it self be, iudge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil showe you as I have seen them

\* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

3 part F.

4 And are F.

5—5 importeth B, E, F.

6 notorious not in B, E, F.

8 as you say added in F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

The ignomy due to Players. [\* leaf 92. B.\*] [\* M 1, back, A.]

Players liue vpon begging.

Players counted Rogues by the lawes of the Realm,

practifed my felf. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conventing 1 togither, chuse them a Graund 2-Captain (of all 3 mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of 'my Lord of Mis-rule', and him they crowne played. with great folemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttes, like to him felf, to waighte vppon his lordly Maiestie, and to guarde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or fome other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should fay, they bedecke them felues with fcarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer with golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheifs4 in their hands, and fometimes laid a croffe ouer their fhoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopsies & loouing Besses, for bushing them in the dark. Thus al things fet in order, then have they their Hobbyhorfes,6 dragons & other Antiques, togither with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike 7 vp the deuils daunce withall. The rablement then, marche thefe heathen company towards the Church and guard. Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their flumps dauncing, their bels iyngling, their handkerchefs fwinging 10 about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horfes and other monfters The behauiour fkirmishing amongst the route 11: & in this forte they go to the band in the Church 12 (I fay) & into the Church, 12 (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & fwinging [t]heir handkercheifs 13 ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, with fuch a confuse 14 noise, that no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to fee these goodly pageants folem[ni]zed in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & fo foorth Receptacles in into the church-yard, where they have commonly their Sommer-haules, or church their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set vp, wherin they feast, deuils agents. banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the 15 night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner how Lords of Mis-rule are vsed to be

The monsterous attyring of my Lord of Misrules Men.

[7 M 2, back. A.] [9 leaf 93. B.+]

of the Deuills temple of God.

the Cemiteries

```
1 flocking F.
                             <sup>2</sup> Ground E.
                                                        3 all not in F.
4 handkerchiefe F.
                              <sup>5</sup> Bessies F.
                                                      6 their added in F.
8 this F.
                        + leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.
                                            12_12 not in B, E, F.
                       11 throng B, E, F.
10 fluttering F.
                                                         15 that F.
                              14 confused B, E, F.
13 handkechiefes F.
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# The L. of mifrules cognifance. The Anatomie

My Lord of mis-rules cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.] [6 leaf 93, back B.\*]

Lord of misrules badges.

Sacrifice brought to this filthie Ydol, my L. of mis-rule.

[21 leaf 94. B.+] [23 M 3, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup>They have also certain papers, wherin is painted some babblerie or other of Imagery woork, & thefe they call 'my Lord of mif-rules badges2': these they give to every one that wil give3 money for them to maintaine them in4 their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunken-<sup>5</sup> nes, pride, and <sup>6</sup> what not.<sup>7</sup> And who will not be <sup>8</sup> buxom to them, and give them 9 money for these 10 their deuil[i]sh10 cognizances, they are 11 mocked & flouted at 12 13 not a little. 13 14 And fo afford 15 are fome, that they not only give them monie to maintain their abhomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are 16 badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuil, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents 17 from the Children of God; And fo long as they weare them, Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem fuam: they fight vnder the banner and standerd of the deuil against Christ Iefus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantasticall fooles bring to thefe hel-hounds (the Lord of mif-rule and his complices) fome bread, fome good-ale, fome new-cheese, some olde, 18 some custards, 19 & fine cakes 19; fome one thing, fome another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing 20 to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer facrifice to the deuil and fathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; which God graunt they may!

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the fabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more peftilent then peftilence it felf. but what? be there any 21 abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

22 23 Philo. As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

1 Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should <sup>2</sup> or Cognizances added in F. saie) added in B, E, F.

> 4 in this B, E, F. 3 giue them F.

\* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

7 els added in F. <sup>8</sup> shewe hym self B, E, F. 9 them not in F. 10\_10 the deuilles B, E, F. 11 shall be B, E, F. 12 at not in F. 13\_13 shamefully B, E, F.

14 Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horriblic abused added in F. 17 vassals F. 18 olde cheese B, E, F. 16 are the B, E, F.

19\_19 some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, 20 thing not in B, E, F. E, F (but F begins with some Cracknels.) + leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

22 B, E, F make a fresh chapter here, with the heading: - The maner of Maiegames in England.

Against May1, Whitforday, or2 other time, 3 all the yung men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding over night to the woods, The order of groues,3 hils, & mountains,4 where they fpend all the night in plefant games. pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing with them birch 5 & branches of trees, to deck their affemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, [\* side-note here prince of hel. But the6 cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, every Oxe having \* A great Lord present in May 8 a fweet nofe-gay of flouers placed 9 on the tip of his hornes; and thefe games as Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this flinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs, 10 bound round about with [10 leaf 94, back. B.+] ftrings from the top to the bottome, and fometime 11 painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, The manner following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with of bringing home their handkercheefs and flags houering 12 on the top, they ftraw the ground rounde 13 about, binde green boughes about it, fet vp fommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to 14 daunce about it, like 15 as the 16 heathen people did at the dedication of the 17 Idols, [16 M 4. A.] wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it felf. I have May-poles a heard it credibly reported (and that viua voce) by men of great granitie 18 pattern of the hethen Ydols. and reputation, that of fortie, threefcore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there have scarefly the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled. Thefe be the frutes which thefe The frute of curfed pastimes bring foorth. 19 Neither the 20 Iewes, the 21 Turcks,

superintendent

May-poles.

1 day added in F. <sup>2</sup> or some B, E, F.

3-3 of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

4 some to one place, some to another, added in B, E, F.

5 bowes added in B, E, F. 6 their B, E, F. 8 May not in F. 9 tyed E, F.

† leaf 94, back. The fruictes of Maie games. B.

12 streaming B, E, F. 11 sometimes F. 13 round not in B, E.

14 banquet and feast, to leape and added in B, E, F. 17 their B, E, F. 15 like not in B, E, F. 18 credite added in F.

20 the not in B, E, F. 19 Assuredly I thinke added in B, E, F. 21 nor B, E, F.

Sarafins, nor Pagans, nor any other nations, 1 how wicked or barbarous foeuer, haue euer vfed fuch deuilish exercises as these; nay, they would have been ashamed once to have named them, much lesse have2 vied them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgiue vs, and remoone them3 from vs!

Spud. What is the manner of their church ales, which you tay they vie; for they feem vn4couth and straunge to mine eares?

## The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

[5 M 4, back. A.]

[4 leaf 95. B.\*]

5 Philoponus.

The manner of Church-ales in Ailg[na].

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken Bachus beares all 6 the fway, against a 7 Christmas, an 8 Easter, Whitfonday, or fome other time, the Church-wardens (for fo they call them) of euery parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide half a fcore or twenty quarters of mault, wherof fome they buy of the Church-flock, and fome is given them of the Parishioners them selves, euery one conferring fomewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very ftrong ale or beere, it 9 is fet to fale, either in the Church, or 10 fome other place affigned to that purpofe.

Then, when the 11 Nippitatum, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is fet abroche, wel is he that can get the foonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he that sitteth the closest to it, and fpends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest 12; but who either 13 cannot, 14 for pinching pouertie, 14 or otherwise, 15 wil not flick to it, he is counted one deflitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In fo much as you shall have many poor men make hard shift for [16 leaf 95, back. money to spend ther 16 at, 17 for it 18 beeing put into this Corban, they are perfwaded it is meritorious, & a good feruice to God. In this kinde of

The filthiest beast, the godlyest man.

2 to haue B. E. 3 them farre F. 1 people B, E, F. \* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

6 all not in B; all the not in E, F. 7 a not in B, E, F. 9 it not in B, E, F. 10 or in F. 11 this B, E, F. 8 and B, E, F. 12 and most in Gods fauour, because it is spent vpon his Church forsoth added 14\_14 not in B, E, F. 13 either for want B, E, F. in B, E, F. 15 for feare of God's wrath added in E, F.

+ leaf 95, back. Churchale money bestowed. B. 18 it not in B, E, F. 17 and good reason added in B, E, F.

practife they continue fix weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer togither, fwillling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke [1 M 5. A.] as Apes,2 and as 3 blockish as beafts.3

Spud. Seeing they have fo good vtterance, it should seeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

Philo. Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they fay: For they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookes for feruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, furpleffes for Sir Ihon, and fuch other necessaries; And they maintaine other How the extraordinarie charges in the 4 parishes befydes. These be their 5 ex- money is spent which is got by ceptions, these be their excuses, and these be their pretended allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themselues away in uifibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

Churchales.

For if it wer fo that they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will have his howfe build with drunkennesse, gluttony, and fuch like abhomination? Must we do euill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stone with the desolastion Wil the Lord and atter ouerthrow of his spirituall howse, 9 clensed and washed in 9 build with the preciouse blood of our Saujour Iesus Christ? But who seeth not that they bestow this money vpon nothing lesse than in building and [8 leaf 96. B.+] repayring of Churches 10 and Oratories? For in most places lye they [10 M 5, back. not like fwyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall 11 downe, the 12 roofe all bare, and what not out of order? Who feeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn, 13 couered in dust, so as this Epitaphe may be writ with ones finger vppon it, ecce nunc in puluere dormio? (Alas!) behold I fleep in dust and oblyuion, not once scarse looked vppon, much lesse red vpon,14 and the 15 least of all preached vppon. And, on the other fide, who feeth not (for 16 this I speak but 17 in way of parenthesis 17 ) in the meane Sumpteousnes

haue his house maintenance

The decay of which are lacerat, rent, and

of their owne mansions

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<sup>2</sup> Rattes B, E; Swine F.
                                                 3_3 mad as March Hares F.
                           5-5 golden reasons, these bee their faire B, E, F.
4 their B, E, F.
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<sup>6</sup> pretensed B, E.

7 builded F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B. 9-9 purchased with F.

<sup>11</sup> fallen B. 12 their B, E, F. 13 yea added in F. 14 on B, E, F. 15 the not in F. 16 for not in B, E. F.

<sup>17</sup>\_17 to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.

# 152 Keeping of wakses in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

tyme, their owne howses and mansion places are curiously build, and sumpteously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money vppon prophane vses and their own privat affaires, than vpon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is well liked of, and no man may say black is their eye1: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they fay; And when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as please themselves.

[2 the A.]

[3 leaf 96, back. B.\*] Sp. Were it not better, & more confonant 3 to the truth, that every one contributed 4 fomewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of 5 templaries & 6 oratories, 5 than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you fay thei do?

[7 M 6. A.]

Churches 8 are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Philo. It weare muche better. And fo we read, the Fathers of the old Testament, every one after his abilitie, did impart some-what to the building gand restauration of the Tabernacle which Moyses erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was such aboundance of all things, as the Artificers, consulting with Moyses, were glad to request the People to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These People made no drunken Churchales to build their edesice withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeel was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, so our zeal is more than frosen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and bestowing it vpon whordom, drunkennesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abhominations: God amend it!

Our zeal waxen cold and frosen in respect of the zeal of the former world. Spud. How do they folemnife their feaftes and wakeffes there; and what order do they observe in them?

# The maner of keeping of Wakesses, and feasts in Ailgna.

[12 leaf 97. B.+]

12 Philoponus.

THis is their order therein: euery towne, parishe, and Village, some at one tyme of the Yeere, some at another (but <sup>13</sup> so that euery

[13 M 6, back.

1\_1 Domine, cur ita facis? F.

\* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B. 6 contribute B. 5—5 Temples and Churches F. 6 or B, E.

8 Churges A. 9—9 and instauration E; not in F. 10 this side-note not in F. 11 house of Prayer F. † leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

1 towne, parish, & village 1 keep 2 his proper day affigned and appropriat to it felf, (which they call their Wak day) vse<sup>3</sup> to make great preparation and ordenaunce4 for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is fuch gluttony, fuch Saturitie in drunkennesse, such faturitie and impletion vsed, as the like was neuer wakesses. feen: In fo muche as the poore men that beare the charges of thefe feafts and wakeffes, are the poorer, and keep the Worfer howfes a long tyme 6 after. And no marueil, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer befides. This makes many a one The great to thripple & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie Wakesses. brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Spud. Wold you not have one freend to visite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disalowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat day more than at another (except busines vrged it); why should one and the same day continue for euer, or be diffinct from Against wakes other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more exceffe of meats and drinks at that day than at another 8? why should they abstaine from bodely labor 9.ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture [9 leaf 97, back. the whole week, fpending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo 10 miticall exercyfes.

& feasts

[10 M 7]

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one Freend to vifite another, would you not have them to congratulat their comming with fome good cheer ?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of fuch excesse of ryot & fuperfluitie as is there vsed. I thinke it convenient for one Freend to vifite another (at fometimes) as oportunitie & occasion shall 11 offer it Wherto felfe 11; but wherfore shuld the whole towne, parish, village, and feasts do very cuntrey keepe one and the fame day, and make fuch gluttonous feafts as they doo? And therfore, 12 to conclude, 12 they are to no end, except it be to draw a great 13 frequencie of whores, drabbes, 14 theiues, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

wakesses and aptly tend.

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3 vseth F.
                       2 keeps F.
1_1 one B, E, F.
                                                          4 prouision E, F.
                   <sup>6</sup> yeare F. <sup>7</sup> prefixed F.
5 fulnesse F.
                                                          8 any other E, F.
              † leaf 97, back. The fruictes of Wakesses. B.
                                      12_12 in my opinion B, E, F.
    11_11 bee offered F.
13 a great not in E, F; frequencie of not in F. 14 drabbes not in B, E, F.
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nesse, thiefte, murther, swearing, and all kind of mischief and abhomination; For these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakesses doo tende.1

Spud. From whence sprang these feasts and wakesses first of all; can you tell ?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, whan they were affembled together, and had offred Sacrifices to their wodden<sup>2</sup> Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in ho3nour and reuerence of them, fo4 appointed the same yeerly to be observed in 5 memoriall of the same 6 for ever. But whence 7 foeuer they had their exordium,8 certen it is the deuill was the Father of them, to 9 drown vs in perdition, and destruction of body and foule: which God forefend 10!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke 11 of dauncing before, inferring that the fabaoth is 12 greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, flew mee your iudgement.

## The horrible Vice of peftiferous dauncing, vfed 13 in Ailgna.

### Philoponus.

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to 14 whordom, a preparative to wantonnes, a provocative to vncleanes, & an introite 15 to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleafant exercyfe to the mind, or a holfome practife for the body 16: yet 17, notwithftanding, in Ailg[na] both men, wemen, & children, are fo skilful in this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to Cynoedus, the 18 proftitut ribauld, nor yet to Sardanapalus, that effeminat varlet. Yea, thei are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

Scholes of dauncing erected.

From whence these annuall

feasts and stacionarie wakesses had

their beginning.

[3 leaf 98. B.+]

[7 M 7, back]

1 as farre as euer I could iudge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for iudge: F then adds: - & the best fruits that they bring foorth.

† leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B. <sup>2</sup> false F.

5 in a F. 4 and so B, E, F. 8 original F. 6 them for the same B, E, F.

9 seeking thereby to F.

11 spake B, E, F. 12 was B, E, F. 10 remoue farre from vs F. 15 entrance F. 14 all kind of added in F. 13 not in F.

16 (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would have it). And F. 18 that B, E, F. 17 And yet, E.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble fcience of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people 1 glory of their chriftianitie & integritie of 2 life. Indead, verbo tenus Christiani boni voci- [2 leaf 98, back. tentur, But vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores3 reperientur4: From 5 the mouth outward they may be faid to be good Christians, but [5 sign. M 8. A.] in life & maners farre worfer than the heathen or Paganes. Wherof if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that 6 Land of Sodoma and Gomorra, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

Spud. I have heard it faid, that dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercyse for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and Dauncing a place conveniente, it is a certen folace to the minds of fuch as take pleafure in fuch vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleafur in a thing, ergo, it is good, but the contrarie 8 is true rather 8: For this is 9 (basis 10 veritatis) a ground of 11 truth, 9 that what soeuer a carnall man, with vncircumcifed heart, either defireth or taketh pleafure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other fide, what the spirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, defireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And feeing mans nature is too pro- What allurecliue 12 of it felfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections 13 ments to sin be in dauncto 14 fin (as dauncing is) but rather of reftraints & inhibitions 15 from the [14 leaf 99. B.t] fame, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kiffing and buffing, what 16 fmouching & flabbering one [16 M 8, back. A. ] of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practifed euery wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it felfe, which I will not name for offending chaft eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed 17 foorth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp Venus cole or not, who is fo blind

pleasure to them that delight in

#### 1 forsooth added in F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurement to sinne. B.

<sup>4</sup> inueniantur B, inuenientur E. 3 deteriores F. 6 the B, E, F.

or recreation added in B, E, F. 8\_8 is rather true B, E, F. 10 basis et fundamentum B, E. 9-9 a maxime F.

<sup>11</sup> or foundation of B, E; E has and for or. 12 prone F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosiue. B. 13 enticementes F. 15 to stay him added in F. 17 shadowed F.

## 156 Dancing vnholfome for the body. The Anatomie

Dauncing no recreation, but] a corrosine to a good Christian.

The onely thing wherin a good christian doth delight.

[4 leaf 99, back. B. †]

Dancing no holsom exercise for the Bodie.

What looue dancing procureth.

that feeth not? wherfore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abufuely vsed to expresse the ioves or delightes of the mind, which fignifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corrosiue 1 most fharp and nipping. For feing that it is euill in it felf, it is not a thing wherin a Christian Mans heart may take any 2 comfort. The onely 3 fummum bonum, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Iesus Christ, the essusion of his blood, the remission of fins, and the contemplation of the inestable ioyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Iefus Chrift. This is the only thing wherin a Chriftian man ought to reioyfe and take delight in, all other pleafures & delights of this lyfe fet a parte as amarulent 4 and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternall destruction, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they [6 sign. N r. A.] conclude it 5 is a hole fome exercise for the bodie, the contrary is most true; for I have knowen divers, by 7 the immoderate vse therof, have in fhort time become decrepit and lame, fo remaining to their dying day. Some haue broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and fome haue come by one hurt, fome by another, but neuer any came from thence without fome parte of his minde broken and lame; fuch a wholfome exercise it is! But, say they, it induceth looue: fo I fay alfo; but what looue? Truely, a luftful loue, a venereous looue, a concupifcencious, baudie, & beaftiall looue, fuch as proceedeth from the flinking pump and lothfome fink of carnall affection and fleshly appetite, and not such as distilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the spirit of God.

Wherfore I exhort them, in the bowels of Iefus Chrift, to eschue not only from euil, but also from all apperance of euil, as the Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; vntil they growe to 8 perfect men in Christe Iesus, knowing that we must give accounts at the day of 9 iudgment of euery minut and iote of time, 10 from the day 11 of our birth to the time 12 of our death: for there is nothing more precious then time, which is given vs to glorifie God in 13

2 any pleasure or F. 3 enely A. 1 corrasiue F. † leaf 99, back. Dauncyng vnholsome for the body. B. 7 that by B, E, F. 5 that it E, F.

8 to bee F. 9 of of F. 10 that is lent us in this life added in E. F. 11 first day B, E, F. 12 last houre B, E, F. 13 by B; in, by E, F. good-woorks, and not to fpend in luxurious exercifes 1 after our owne . We must renfantafies and delights.

Spud. But I have heard them affirme that dauncing is provable<sup>3</sup> by the woord of God; for (fay they) did not the women come foorth of all the Cities of Ifrael to meet king Saule? and Dauid, returning [Bible examples from the flaughter of Goliath, with pfalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, 1 Sa. 18. and other muficall Inftruments, dauncing & leaping before them? Exo. 15. Did not the Israelites, having passed over the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and danced for joy of their deliuerance?

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in Horeb or Sinai? Did not king Dauid daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the Daughter of Iephtah daunce with 2 Sa. 6. tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld? Did not the women of the Ifraelits dance comming to vifit good Iudith? Iudic. 12. Did not the Damfel dance before King Herod? Did not Christ blame the people for their not dancing when he faid, wee haue pyped Mat. 14. vnto you, but you have not daunced?

Saith not Salomon, 'there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a Eccle. 3. time to mourne, and a time to daunce?'

And dooth not the Prophet Dauid, in many places of his Pfalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Inftruments of Mufick?

5 Wherfore (for thus 6 they conclude) feeing these holy Fathers [5 sign. N 2. A.] (wherof fome were guided by the inftinction 7 of 8 God his 8 Spi9rit) [9 leaf 100, back. haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by 10 their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to fpeake against it?

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for Hominis est errare, decipi et lali: it is naturall for man to No man witherre, to be deceived & to flide from the trueth. Therfore the Apoftle both in lyfe faith, follow mee' in all things as I follow Chrift; but to the intent that they, who perpend 11 the Examples of the Fathers and 12 Scripture falfly 12 wrested to maintaine their deuilish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie & groffe 13 ignorance discouered, I wil compendi-

\* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B. 3 probable E, F. 4 and also king E, F. 6 this E, F. 7 instinct F. 8\_8 Gods F. 10 in B, E, F. † leaf 100, back. None withoute errours. B. 12\_12 Scriptures fasly (sic) F. 13 not in F. 11 pretende E, F.

der accounts for time heer lent vs. [1 leaf 100. B.\*] [ N r, back]

Exo. 32.

Luc. 7.

and doctrine.

## 158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie]

1 Sa. 18.

The first pillare of dauncing ouerthrowen.

[2 N 2, back. A.]

No good consequent to say others did so, ergo it is good, or wee may doo the like. [3 leaf ror. B.\*]

oufly fet down the true fence and meaning of enery place, as they have cyted them perticulerly. For the first, wheras they say that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Inftruments of Ioy to meet Dauid and Saule, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer 1 the Philistines, their fworne Enemies? Was it in prayle of God, or to ftirre vp filthie luft in them felues, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? <sup>2</sup> Did men and women daunce togither, as is now vsed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither fo, nor fo, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reason to say, such and ssuch did so, therfore it is good, or we may doo fo; but all things are to be poyfed in the balance of holy scripture, and therby to be allowed or disalowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghoft, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The difference between the dances of our Forefathers and ours.

[8 sign. N 3. A.]

Their second Pillar shaken.

[10 leaf 101, back. B.+]

The Israelitish women, hearing of the fame of Dauid, and how he had killed their deadly enemie Goliath, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon inftruments, dancing, & finging fongs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,4 who had given them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their diffruction euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiquitarie dauncings,-for fo I may call them because they be vsed euery where,-let the godly judge. who feeth not rather that this example (let Cerberus 5 the dog of hel alatrate what he<sup>5</sup> lift to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praise of God; ours, a luftful, baudie kinde of deamenour6 in praise of our selues: theirs, to shew their inward ioy of minde for the bleffings of 8 God beftowed vpon them; ours, to show our activitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure luftful looue and fuch like wickednes infinit. But to their fecond allegation: the Children (fay they9) of Israel danced, being delivered out of the feruitude of Pharo, and having paf 10 fed over the red fea. I graunt

against F. • leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B. • their God added in F.

<sup>5</sup>\_5 and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.

dauncing F. 7 blessing F. 9 they say F. † leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

they did fo, and good cause they had so to doo; For were they not emancipate 1 and fet free from three great calamities and 2 extreame [Why the miseries2? First, from the servile bondage of Egipt; from the swoord danced.] of Pharo, who purfued the rereward of their hofte; and from the danger3 of the red fea, their enemies beeing ouer-whelmed in the fame.

For these great and inestimable benefits and blessings, received at the hands of God, they played vpon Instruments of musick, leaped, daunced, and fung 4 godly fongs vnto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for 5 the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly against them? They danced for ioy in thanks 6 to god, How the wee for vainglorie: they for looue to God, wee for looue of our danced. felues: they to shew the interior joy of the minde for 7 God his bleffing heaped 7 vpon them; we to flew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curiofitie in the fame; they to ftir vp and to8 make them felues the apter to praise God; we to stir vp carnall appetites and slesslie [9 N 3, back. A.] motions: they to shewe their humilitie before God; and we to shew our pride both before God and the world. But how so euer it be, fure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, confifting in meafures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no fuch leafure in E<sup>10</sup>gipt <sup>11</sup> to learne fuch vaine curiofity in that luftfull <sup>12</sup> [10 leaf 102, B.†] bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this 13 may be called a dauncing or not, there mai not at left not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modest leaping, skipping or mooning of the body to expresse the love of the mind in triumphing & prayse of God; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of heart for ioy. our Sauiour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping & praifing God.

The dauncing of our Forfabe called a dauncing, but rather a Godly reioycing in

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at 14 fome wonderfull 15 portent or ftraunge judgment 15 of God 16; and therfore made 17 not a common practife of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were; much leffe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> extram (sic) miseries at once F. 3 daungers E, F. 1 deliuered F. 4 sang F. <sup>6</sup> to E, F. <sup>6</sup> thanks-geuing E, F. 8 to not in B, E, F. 7-7 Gods blessings bestowed F. 12 lustfull not in B, E, F. + leaf 102. A confutation of dauncing. B. 15\_15 great blessing F. 14 when E, F. 13 they E, F. 16 was shewed added in E; was bestowed vpon them F. 17 they made F.

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Their 3. Reason examined.

fet vp schools of it, and frequenting1 nothing els night and2 day, Sabaoth day and 3 other, as we do. But to their 4 third Reason: The Ifraelits daunced before the Calf in Horeb. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[5 sign. N 4. A.]

<sup>5</sup> Adam difob[e]yed God, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, because hee did so?

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be fhort, as it is a friuilous thing 6 [7 leaf 102, back. to fay, because they committed 7 Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, fo it is no leffe ridiculous to fay, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the fame; for as it is not lawful to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre 8 any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. therfore of this place I need to fay no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant 9 from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.10

Their fourth reason: Did not Dauid daunce before the Ark? fay

Their.4. Reason.

they. very true; and this place (as the reft before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women togither moste excellentlie; [" N 4, back. A.] For 11 Dauid danced him felfe alone, without either woman or muficall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of Dauid was no viuall thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayle of God for the deliuerie 12 of the Ark of God his teftament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was fo vehement for this great bleffing of God (fuch

[14 leaf 103. B.t] a feruent zeale he bore 13 to 14 the trueth), that it 15 burst foorth into

2 nor F. 3 nor F. 4 the B, E. 1 frequented E, F. \* leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproued. B. 6 reason E, F. 8 conferre E, F. 9 different F. 12 deliuerance B, E, F. 13 did beare F. 10 lawfull F.

† leaf 103. Why Dauid daunced. B.

15 he B, E, F.

<sup>1</sup>exterior action, <sup>1</sup> the more to induce others to prayfe God also. Would God we would dance, as Dauid daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alfauing woord out of the hands of that Italian Philistin & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of Roome! for in this respect I would make one2 to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as Dauid did Why Dauid before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man feeth, that by fore the Ark. this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude<sup>3</sup> dancings and baudie choruffes, as they did by citing4 the former places; that is, iuft nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and fee neuer the wurffe.

Their fift reason: Did not Ieptath his daughter meet her Father, Their fift Rewhen he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vppon Inftruments of Ioy 5? Ieptath, going foorth to warre against the Amonites, promifed the 6 Lord (making a rashe vowe) that if it would please [6 sign. N 5. A.] his Maiestie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his fole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers profperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her Father, playing vppon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what prooueth this for their daunces? [7 leaf 103, back. B.+] Truely, it ouerthroweth them, 7 if it be well confidered: for first we Wherfore & read that she did this but once, we daylie: She in prayse of God, we Daughters of in prayles of our felues: she for ioy of her Fathers good successe, we danneed. to stere vp filthie and vncleane motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babish 8 leuitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreover, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselves [Each sex must (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselues; for so importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

dance by itself.]

Their 9 .vi. Reason: Did not the Ifraelitish wemen daunce before Ther .6. Reason. Iudith, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is [Iudith, Ca. 15, thus:

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the Israelits, the chosen

1-1 outward shew of the same F. 2 my selfe added in E, F. 3 lascinious added in F.

4 citing not in E, F. 5 musicke F. † leaf 103, back. Jeptha his daughters daunce. B. 8 wanton E, F.

9 The E, F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

#### How dauncing is vnlawfull. The Anatomie 162

[ N 5, back, A.]

people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out <sup>1</sup>their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, affembled a huge power, and befieged them on euery fide.

Iudith cutteth of the head of holofernes.

The Ifraelits, feeing themselues circumvalled,2 and in great daunger on each fide, fuborned good Iudith, a vert[u]ous, Godlye Woman (for without fome ftratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vnpossible for them in the eyes of the world to have escaped) to repaire to Holofernes, &, by fome meanes or other, to work his destruction: who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it happely to passe. For the cut of his head with his owne fauchine,3 [4 leaf 104. B.\*] wrap4ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, fleepingly5 poffeft as he was with the spirit of drunkennesse: this done, the Women of Israell came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and to congratulat her prosperous successe with instruments of musick, finging of Godly fongs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and prayfe to God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who feeth not that thefe women fang, daunced, and played vppon instrumentes in prayse of God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was an infinite number of People by, yet the Text faith, there daunced [6 sign. N 6. A.] 6 none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of it in respecte of Man.7 And this being but a particular fact, of a fort of imprudent8 Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

The vnlawfullnes of dauncing of men and women together.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had 9powred foorth9 any notable bleffing upon his People, from his Heauenly Pallace, 10 the People, in honour, praife, and thankefgiuing to God for them,11 would play vppon their inftruments, fing Godly Songs, daunce, leape, fkip, and triumphe, shewing foorth the ioye of their mindes, with their thankefulnesse to Gon, by all exteriour gestures that they could deuyse:

A custome to daunce in prayse of God.

[12 leaf 104, back. 12 Which kinde of thankefull dauncing, or spirituall rejoycing, wold

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

<sup>3</sup> Faulchone F. 2 about added in B, E; compassed about F. \* leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B. 5 sleepyng B, E, F. 8 simple F. 7 men & women together E, F. 11 it E, F. 10 Consistorie B, E, F. 9\_9 bestowed F.

God we did1 follow, leaving all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damosell daunce Ther .7. Reason. before Kinge Herode, when the head of Iohn Baptist was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye fee the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of Iohn the Baptist? See whether dauncing flyreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if Herode with feeing her daunce was Dauncing fo inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her 2 behauiour, that he styrreth vp lust. promifed her to giue her whatfoeuer she wold desire, though it were [2 N 6, back. A.] half of his Emperie 3 or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kiffing, flabbering and fmearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I have heard many impudently fay that they have chofen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainely proueth the wickedneffe of it.

Their .viij. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not Their .8. Reason. dauncing, faying, 'we have pyped vnto you, but you have not daunced'? Luc. 7. They may as well conclude that Chrift in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he alowed 4 of dauncing, or reproued them for not [4 leaf 105. B.t] exercyfing the fame. This is a Metaphoricall 5 or Allegoricall 5 kinde of speach, wherin our Sauiour Christ goeth about to reprodue and The more checke the flyfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of hardnes of the the Scribes and Pharifeis, who were neither mooned to receive the glad tydings of the Gospell by the austeritie of Iohn the Baptiste, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauiour him felfe, breaking vnto them the6 pure Ambrofia, the6 Cæleftial Manna, the word of life, in ioy7full and gladfome maner.

[7 sign. N 7. A.]

Ihon the Baptist he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and fuch like. Our Sauiour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyngs of the Gospell, yet at neither of these 8kinde9 of concions8 they were any whit mooned,

1 would B, E, F. 3 Empire B, E, F. + leaf 105. The contumacie of the Iewes. B. 6 that E, F. 8-8 kinds of preachings F. 9 kindes E. 5\_5 not in F.

# 164 Salomons spiritual dauncing. The Anatomie

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherfore he sharply rebuketh¹ them by a similitude of foolishe Children, sitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted sence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at lest maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing, ² and reioysing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyse men determine.

[2 leaf 105, back. B.\*]

Eccle. 3. Their .9. Reason.

Salomon meaneth a certen kind of a spirituall dauncing or reioy[s]ing of the heart. [4 N 7, back. A.]

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not Salomon, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce '? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For faith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning fomtime, now and than, as the Israelites did in prayfe to 3 God, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leaving it, vntil it leave vs. But what and if Salomon fpeaketh here 4 of a certen kind of spiritual dauncing and reioysing of the heart in praise to 5 GoD? This is easily gathered by the circumflances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (vz. there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyse for the vnspeakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may fee and6 iudge.

Their vltimum refugium.

[7 leaf 106. B.t]

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their vltimum refugium: That is, Doth not Dauid both commend, and also commande, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in 7 diverse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart to 8 the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes, 9 skip like goats, 10 & leap like

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

3 of B, E, F.

6 of F.

1 leaf 106. Why our feete were given vs. B.

9 Goates F.

8 leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

6 and A.

8 in B, E, F.

mad men: For to the end our feet were not given vs, but rather to Why our feet represent the image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of daun1cing 2 as wicked and pro- [1 sign. N 8. A.] phane?

Ph. All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauncing in publique assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,3 by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people What dauncof the former world) either privatly or publiquely, is at no hand to demned by the be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vfed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure prinatly (enery sex diffincted4 by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercise, being vsed moderatly and in the feare of God. And 5 thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and [5 leaf 106, back. B.t] vncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally; For certen it is, the exercyfe it felf, in it own nature, equalitie & proprietie,6 though to fome it is lawfull, to otherfome vnlawfull in [Dauncing how dyuerfe respects, is both ancient & general, having been vsed euer in vnlawfull, E, F.] all ages, as wel of the Godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherfore, when I condemne the fame in fome, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my judgement, as it is vsed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyfe, 7 without any difference or respect had either to time, [7 N 8, back, A.] Person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and 8 frequencies 8 of People, with fuche beaftlie flabberings, buffings 9 & fmouchings, and 10 other filthie gestures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be vsed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middeft of a hote burning 11 fire, and not to confume. 12 But these abuses, with other the like (as there be legions moe Dauncing vnpossible to be in it) being cut of from the exercyfe it felfe, the thing 13 remayneth vsed without hurt E, F.1 14 very commendable 14 in fome respectes. Or els, if our daunces

<sup>3</sup> I comes after God in F. 2 then added in F. 4 distinct F. + leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B. 6\_6 and quality F. 10 with B, E, F. 9 kissinges B, E, F. 8-8 great meetings F. 12 burne B, E, F. 13 thing it self B, E, F. 11 glowing F. 14\_14 more tollerable B, E, F.

## Men & wom en to dance afunder. The Anatomie

tended, as I have faid, to the fetting foorth of Gop his glorie (as the daunces vsed in 1 preter time 1 did) to draw others to pietie and fanctitie of life, and to2 praise and reioyce in3 God, to recreat the minde oppressed with some 4 great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them felues, and Wemen by them felues, for els it is not possible to be without finne) much gainftand it. But I fee the contrarie is euery where vsed, to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

Spud. And wherfore would you have Men to daunce by them felues, and Women by them felues?

Philo. Because 5 it is, without all doubte, a 6 prouocation to lust and venery,5 and the fire of luft once conceived (by fome irruption or other) bursteth foorthe into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therfore a certain godly Father faid wel, Omnis faltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni,8 Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in Ailgna it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a9 man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you showe mee what Fathers and Councels have judged of it, and what they have writ and decreed against it.

Philo. If I should 10 goe foorth to 10 shew all the inuectives of [11 leaf 107, back. Fathers, all the decrees of councels, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher 11 fore of many I wil felect a few, hoping that they wil fuffice any reasonable man. Syrach faith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a finger or a dauncer, neither heare her, leaft thou be intrapped in her craftines. Chrisostome, dylating vpon Mathew, faith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visible to the eye, yet palpable 12 to the minde. Theophilus, writing vpon Mark, the fixt Chapter, faith, Mira collusio faltat per puellam 13 Diabolus: This is 14 a

> 2 to the E, F. 3 rejoycying in B, E, F. 1\_1 former ages F. \* leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B. 5-5 otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F. <sup>7</sup> This repeated side-note not in B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> Cloaca F. 10\_10 not in F. + leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B. 13 illam E, F. 14 There is B. 12 sensible F.

[4 leaf 107. B.\*]

Why men shold daunce by themselfes and women by themselfs.

[6 sign. O r. A.] 7 Why menshold daunce by themselues and Women by them-selues.

B.+] Testimonies of Fathers, councels and Writers against dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.

wun derful deceit, for the deuil danceth amongst them for company. [1 O 1, back. A.] Augustine, writing vpon the 32. Pfalme, faith, it is better to digge all Augustine. the Sabaoth day then to dance. Erasmus, in his Booke de contemptu Erasmus. Mundi, faith, Whofe minde is fo well disposed, so stable, or wel fetled, which these wanton dances, with swinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon inftruments, and fuch like, would not 2 ouercome and corrupt? Wherfore, faith hee, as thou defireft thine owne credit and welfare, eschew these scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers.

Ludovicus Viues faith, amongst all pleasures, dauncing and volup- Lodouicus tuousnes is the kingdome of Venus, and the empire of Cupid: wherfore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ftay at 3 home, and to break [3 leaf 108. B.\*] either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy 4 minde & foule, as thou dooft in filthie fcuruy dauncings. And, as in all Feafts and pastimes, dauncing is the last, so it is the extream of all other vice. And again, there were (faith he) from Dauncers far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, mad-men. when they faw men daunce, ran away merueloufly affraid, crying out, and thinking them to have been mad. And no meruaile, for who, feing them 5 leap, skip,5 & trip like Goates 6 & hindes,6 if hee neuer faw them before, would 8 not think them either mad, or els possest [8 sign. O 2. A.] with fome furie? Bullinger, paraphrafting vpon Mathew 14, faith, Bullinger. After feafting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and vncleannes.

Maister Caluin, writing vpon Iob, Ser. 8, Cap. 12, calleth daunc- Caluin. ing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, saying, there be such vnchast gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Marlorate, vpon Mathew, faith, whosoeuer hath any care either of honestie, sobrietie, or grauitie, haue long fince bad adieu to all filthie dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be fober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

<sup>9</sup> Salustius, commending Sempronia, that renowmed whore, for salust leaf ro8, back. many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great skil in daunc- B.tl ing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inftrument of lecherie.

\* leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheefest mischeef. B. 2 not be B. 4 the E, F. 5-5 leap like Squirrilles, skippe like hindes B, E, F. 6-6 as thei doe B, E, F. 7 any B, E, F. + leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of sinne. B.

### Who invented dauncing. 168 The Anatomie

Cicero.

Cicero faith, a good man would not dance in open affembles, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Councel of Laodecea decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any sollemne feast.

In an other Councel it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[1 O 2, back. A.]

The Emperour Iustinian decreed, that for no respect in feasts or affemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to finne.

All Writers, bothe holy and prophane, against dauncing.

Dauncing a World of sin.

Thus you may fee, bothe Scripture, councels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detefted and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the 2quauemire or plash2 of all abhomination, and therfore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, in fumma, nourisheth a world of wickednes and finne.

[3 leaf rog. B.t]

3 Spud. Now that the wickednes of it is fo manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,4 who invented this noble science. or from whence 5 fprang it 5?

Who inuented dauncing, and from whome it sprang.

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and divers opinions; for fome holde an opinion (and very likely) that it fprang from the heathen idolatrous Pagans and Infidels, who, having offered vp their facrifices, 6 victimats,7 and holocaustes,6 to their false Gods, in reverence of them, and for ioy of their fo dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

And this may be prooued by the Ifraelits themselues, who, hau-[8 sign. O 3. A.] ing feen and learned the fame 8 practife in Egipt, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of Horeb. fome again suppose that Pyrrhus, one of Sibils Preifts, deuised it in Creet. Others holde that the Priests of 9 Mars, who in Roome were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, invented it. Others think that one Hiero, a truculent 10 and bloody Tirant in Sicilia, who, to fet vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall who inuented dauncing.

<sup>2-2</sup> quagmire or puddle F. 4 shewe me, added in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> victimats not in B.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 109. Who invented Dauncyng. B. 5\_5 it sprang F. 6\_6 and oblations F. 9 of of F. 10 Turculent F.

infurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inuenting therof: for when the Sicilians fawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speak to another, they inuented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exteriour gestures of the body; which vse afterward grew [r leaf 109, back into custome, and now into nature. But what soeuer men say of it, Vnpossible or from whence foeuer it fprang, S. Chrifostom faith plainly (to whom should be I willingly fubscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the Deuils breft, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therfore, to conclude, if of the egges of a Cokatrice may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,2 then may 3 it be prooued that3 dancing is4 good, and an exercife fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.5 Wherfore God of his mercy take it away 6 from vs!

[6 O 3, back. A ]

Spud. What fay you of 7 Mufick? is it not a laudable science?

## Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.

### Philo.

I Say of Mufick as Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and many others have said of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,8 fmoothe iweetnes in 9 alluring the auditorie 10 11 to nicenes 12,11 effeminacie,13 pufillanimitie, 14 & lothfomnes of life, 14 15 fo as it may not improperly A comparison be compared to a fweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-felf 15; betwixt hony and dancing. 16 for as honie and fuch 17 like fweet things, 17 received into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make 18 the stomack so 19 quafie,20 21 nice and weake, that it is not able to admit 21 meat of hard digefture: So fweet Mufick at the first delighteth the eares, but after-22 ward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and 23 [22 leaf 110, B.t]

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* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.
<sup>2</sup> body to weare B, E, F. <sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> not in E, F.
                                                              4 be for is in E, F.
   <sup>5</sup> els E, F. <sup>7</sup> to F. <sup>9</sup> in it B, E, F. <sup>10</sup> hearers F.
                              7 to F.
                                                   8 nice not in B, E, F.
                                             11_11 to a certaine kind of F.
 12 niceness not in B, E, F. 13 and added in F. 14_14 not in F.
   15_15 muche like vnto Honey B, E, F. 16 musicke B, E, F.
       17_17 other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete thinges F.
   18 maketh for they make B, E, F.
                                                        19 so not in B, E, F.
                                     <sup>21</sup>—<sup>21</sup> and vnable to receiue B, E, F.
   20 queasie F.
   † leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B. 23 weake and not in B, E, F.
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The Anatomie

Wits dulled by Musick. [2 sign. O 4. A.] quafie, and inclined to all licenciousness of lyfe whatsoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharpned (but obtused) by beeing whetted vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharpned, and made apt to all wantonness and sinne. And therfore Writers affirme Sappho to have been expert in musick, and therfore whorish.

Authors of the bringing in of musick. Tyrus Maximius faith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyson to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon<sup>5</sup> muficall Inftruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of Musick, and saith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as pricks vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wife concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you lift your felf.

Spud. I have heard it faid (and I thought it very true) that Mufick dooth delight bothe man and beaft, reviveth the fpirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter 6 to the fervice of God.

Musick the good gift of God.
[7 O 4, back. A.]
[8 leaf 110, back. B.†]

Philo. I graunt Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man <sup>7</sup> and beast, reviewth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh <sup>8</sup> it redyer <sup>9</sup> to serve God; and therfore did David bothe vse musick him self, & also commend the vse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans privat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in publique assemblies and conuenticles. But beeing vsed in publique assemblies and private conventicles, <sup>10</sup> as directories <sup>10</sup> to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & fmoothe melodie therof, it estraungeth the mind, stireth vp filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, rauisheth the hart, enslameth concupisence, and bringeth in vncleannes. But if musick openly were vsed <sup>11</sup> (as I have faid) to the praise <sup>12</sup> and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

<sup>1</sup> queasie F.
2—3 dulled by whetting F.
4—4 And hereof is it that F.
5 of B, E, F.
6 and readier added in F.
† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B.
9 apter F.
10—10 as a Directorie B, E, F.
11 openly follows used in B, E, F.
12 prasie A.

as was intended by it at the first, or prinatly in a mans fecret Chamber How musicke or house, for his owne solace or 1 comfort to drive away the fantasies & good. of idle thoughts, folicitude,2 care, forrowe, and fuch other perturbations and molestations3 of the minde, the only ends wherto true Mufick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.4 If Mufick were thus vied it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to ferue God the better; but beeing vied as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.5

Spud. What fay you, then, of Musitions & Minstrels, who live only vpon the fame art?

6 Philo. I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chast musicions [6 sign. O 5. A.] (speking of suche drun7ken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and finging of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie fongs in Tauernes, Ale-houses, Innes, and other publique assemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how should their bere chafte minds, feeing that their exercyfe is the pathway to all vncleanes.8 Their is no ship so 9 balanced with massie matter,9 as their The marchanheads are fraught 10 with all kind of bawdie fongs, filthie ballads and scuruie rymes, seruing for euery purpose, and for euery Cumpanie.

The scarsity of good musitions and min-[7 leaf 111. B.+]

strelles and musitions.

11 Who be 12 more bawdie 12 than they? who vncleaner than they? who more licentious and loofe 13 minded 14? who more incontinent than they? and, briefely, who more inclyned to all kind of infolencie and lewdnes than they? wherfore, if you wold haue your fonne fofte, womannish, vncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, The wickednes filthie rimes, and vnfemely talking; brifly, if you wold haue him, as and minstrels. it weare, transnatured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhomination, fet him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would have your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in 15 musick and How to have dauncing, and, my life for youres, you have wun the goale.

of musitions

[15 O 5, back. A.] Children lerned in all wickednes.

1 and B, E, F. 2 to mitigate F. 3 passions F. 5 vncleannes F. 4 lawful F. † leaf III. Good Musitions scarce. B. 8 Baudry & filthines F. 10 pestred F. 9-9 laden with merchandize F. 11 As for example added in B; For proofe whereof added in E, F. 12\_12 baudier F. 13 looser E, F. 14 then they added in F. 172

[1 leaf 111, back. B.\*] The scarcytic of dynines.

1 And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of 2 acceptation3) to be a Pyper, or4 bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and fobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of dyuines, so few there be as they 7 maye hardly be feene.6

But fome of them will reply, and fay, what, Sir! we have lycenses from instices of 8 peace to pype & vse our minstralsie to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

But have you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace, Christe Iefus? If you have fo, you may be glad; if you have not (for the Worde of God is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemneth them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and ftraglers 10 from the Heauenlye Country, 10 be arrested of the high instice of peace, 11 Christ Iesus, 12 and be punished with eternall death, 12 notwithftanding your pretenfed 13 licences of earthly men. Who 14 shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw15ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iustices of peace? shall their licenses? Oh, no: 16 For neither ought they to graunt anye licences 17 to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if

they would) ought any to take them.

<sup>18</sup> Giue ouer, therfore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minftrelles, and you mufitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to deftruction, thorow your prouocations 19 and in-

tyfing allurementes, shalbe powred vppon your heads at the day of

A Caue[a]t to musitions, minstrelles, & all others of that 20 stampe.

\* leaf III, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.

<sup>2</sup> of worldly B, E. 3 the accompt of the world F. 5 of good F.

6-6 that small skil in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them F.

7 any B, E. 8 of the B, E, F.

9 of peace not in B, E, F.

10\_10 not in B, E, F. 12\_12 not in B, E, F. 11 of peace not in B, E, F.

13 presented A, pretensed B, E, F.

14 Then who F. 17 licencens A.

16 It wil not goe for payment at that day added in F. + leaf 112. A Caucat for Minstrelles. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on 20 twat A. the Sab. 19 example F.

Licences graunted to musitions & minstrels to exercyse their mistery or facultie of mischief.

[15 sign. O 6. A.]

[18 leaf 112, B. +]

No lycences to do hurte withall

are to be graunted.

Iudgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like1 their humour.2

Spud. Is it not lawfull vppon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tennisse, and suche other pleasaunt exercyses, wherein Man taketh pleafure and delight?

## Cards, Dice, Tables, Tennisse, Bowles, and other exercyfes vfed vnlawfully in Ailgna.

### 3 Philoponus.

[3 O 6, back. A.]

THefe be no Sabaothlike 4 exercyfes for any Christian man to follow any day at all, much leffe vppon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold have to be confecrat to himfelfe, and to be fpent in holy Exercises vnand Godly exercyfes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, the Sabaoth bowls, tennisse, and such like, thei are furta officiosa, a certen kind of Furta officiosa. fmooth, deceiptfull, and fleightie thefte, wherby many a one is spoiled of all that euer he hath, fometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and foul for 5 euer. And yet (more is the pitie) thefe be the onely [5 leaf 112, back. exercyfes vfed in euery mans howfe, al the yeer thorow; But specially in Christimas tyme, there is nothing els vsed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, they 6 think they have a commission and prerogative that time to do All wicked what they luft,7 and to follow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priviledged at that tyme to doo evill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes 8 to be. Can anie 9 time difpense with No tyme priviledged 10 a them, or give them libertie to fin? No, no: the foule which finneth man to sinne. shall dye, at what time so euer it offendeth. But what will thei say? Is it not Christmas? must we not be mery? truth it is, we ought, both than and at 11 all tymes befides, to be merie in the Lord, but [12 sign. O 7. A.] not otherwyfe; not to fwil and gull 12 more that time than at any other time, nor 13 12 to lauish foorth more at that time than 14 at another 14 time.15

lawfull vpon

games vsed in Christmas tyme.

1 please E, F. <sup>2</sup> daintie humours F. 4 not in F. + leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vsed in Christmas. B. 7 list B, E, F. 8 exercises B, E, F. 5 for that they F. 9 anie not in F. 12\_12 in more then will suffice nature, nor F. 10 priuiledgeth E, F. 14\_14 at any other B, E, F. 13 not A. 15 times A, B, E, F.

### Great wickednes in Christmas. The Anatomie 174

The true keeping of Christmas.

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat1) vppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iefus Chrift,2 not onely3 that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selues thankeful to his4 Maiestie for the fame. Notwithstanding, who 5 is ignorant 5 that more mischiefe is that [6 leaf 113. B.\*] time committed than in all the yeere befides? 6 what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,7 murther, 8 and what not,8 is9 committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feafting is than vsed more than in all the yeere befydes! to the great dishonor of God, and impouerishing of the realme.

Wickednes in Christmas.

> Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their privat recreations, after fome oppression of studie, to drive awaye fantasies 10 and suche like, I doubt not, but they may, vfing it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of 11 GoD; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for defire onely of his Brothers fubstaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no 12 [11 O 7, back. A.] hand lawfull, or 13 to be fuffered.

Vnlawful for one Christian to play with another to win his money.

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes 14 are no better; nay, worser than open thest; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don under pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of 15 it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet nor defire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

[Gamyng worse then open theft E, F.]

[15 leaf 113, back. B. †]

<sup>1</sup> in the secrete cogitations of our myndes added in B, E, F. 3 at added in E, F. 2 God and man added in B, E, F. 5-5 knoweth not E, F; is so for is B. 4 blessed added in F. \* leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B. 8\_8 not in B, F. 7 and sometimes added in B, E, F. 10 or melancholy passions added in F. 9 what no, tis A. 13 nor F. 14 games B, E, F. 12 not at any for at no F. † leaf 113, back. Gamyng houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The Apostle forbiddeth vs to vse deceipt in bargaining, in buying or felling; much leffe than ought we to vse deceipt in gaming.

Our Saujour Chrift biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another should do vnto him. Which rule, if it weare dulie observed, weare fufficient to with [d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of lindyrect and vniust dealing. For as thou A rule to woldest not that another man should winne thy money, so thou vnlawfull oughtest not 3 to defire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou [3 sign. O 8. A.] wouldest be done by.

Spud. If gameing for money be fo vnlawfull, wherfore are there howses 4 and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excufeth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are fuffred as they be: For are they not the very Gaming feminaries and nurferies of all kynd of abhomination, whatfoeuer heart their wickedcan thinke, or tongue expresse?

And therfore I marueile, that those who keep and maintaine thefe gaming howfes can euer<sup>5</sup> haue light hearts, or once to 6 looke 7 vp towards Heauen, that not onely fuffer this manifest theft in their [7 leaf 114. B.t] howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourith 8 the fame.

The Apostle faith, not onely they that doo euill digni funt morte, are worthie of death, but also qui consentiunt facientibus, those who confent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what enills come of this wicked excercyfe, I befeeche you.

For doth not fwearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of GoD; doth not stinkinge Whordome, Theste, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cosenage, fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; 9 doth [9 0 3, back. A.] not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherfore I will not doubte to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the

1\_1 not in F. gamyng houses B, E, F. 5 neuer F. † leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

2 gamening A. 6 to not in B, E, F. 8 vphold F.

0

shambles, or blockhowses of the Deuill, wherin he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppresse them!

Spud. Weare there euer anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or haue the Godly in any age misliked it?

Lawes and sanctions disulgat against gaming. Philo. In all ages and times both the godly fober Christians haue detested it, and holfome lawes haue been promulgat 1 against it.

Octavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

[2 leaf 114, back. B.\*] <sup>2</sup> Cicero obiected to Mareus Antonius his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The infamy purchased by gaming. The noble Lacedemonians fent their Ambassadours to Corinth to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthriftie games, returned back again (infecta pace) their peace vnconcluded, saying it should neuer be reported that they wold iowne in league with Dice-players and gamesters.

[3 sign. P r. A.]

The fame Lacedemonians fent to Demetrius, in derifion of his diceplaying, a paire of 3 dice of gold. Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthie Knight) in his 'Book of gouernance' asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, dissolut, remise, and vaine, that is a Diceplayer or gamester?

Publius faith, Quantò peritior est aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est, & vita, & moribus: How much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, so much corrupter he is both in life and maners. Iustinian made a lawe that none should play at dice, nor cards, for no cause, neither privately nor openly.

5 Laws against gaming.

> Alexander Seuerus banished all gamesters out of his dominions; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiscat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor esteemed of anie.

[6 leaf 115. B.+]

<sup>6</sup> Ludouicus ordeined that al gamesters shold depart <sup>7</sup> his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

K. Richard the fecond forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

published F.
 leaf 114, back. Lawes against Gamyng. B.
 Dici-player A.
 this side-note not in E, F.
 leaf 115. Punishment for Gamyng. B.
 out of added in F.

K. Henrie the fourth ordeined that every Dice-player should be Punishment imprisoned fix daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming.

K. Edward the fourth ordeined, who fo kept gaming howfes fhould fuffer imprisonment three yeeres, and forfait xx. li.1 & the Players to be imprisoned two yeers & forfait .x. pound.

The penalty for those that

K. Henri the feuenth ordeined that every Dice-player should be keep gaming imprisoned all a day, and the 2 Keeper of the dicing howse to forfait [2 P r, back. A.] for euery offence vi. shil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behauiour.

K. Henrie the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing houses should forfait xl. shil., and the Players to forfait vi. shil. viij.d., with many 3 good lawes and fanctions 4 fet foorth against this raging Abuse of gaming; which, 5 to avoid tediousnes 5 I omit, beseching the Lord to root vp and fupplant thefe, and all other flumbling blocks in his church 6 what fo euer.6

Sp. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abuses before, you faid, the fabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, 7 hauk- [7 leaf 115, back. ing, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon the faid day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercises vpon the sabaoth day neither?

## Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vfed vnlawfully8 in AILGNA.

Philoponus.

THefe Hethnicall 9 exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which the [Bearbaiting Lord 10 hath confecrat 10 to 11 holy vies, 11 for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not 12 the baiting of a Bear, befides that it is a filthie, flinking, 13 and lothfome game, a 14 daungerous & 15 perilous exercyfe? [13 sign. P 2. A.] wherein a man is in daunger of his life euery minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not fo, yet what exercyfe is this meet

on Sundays.]

1 pound B, E, F. 3 other added in F. 4 statutes F. 5\_5 least I might seeme tedious F. 6\_6 & common wealth F. † leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B. 8 vpon the Sabboth day added in F. 10\_10 would have consecrated B, E, F. 9 Heathnish F. 12 is not not in B, E, F. 11\_11 his seruice F. 15 and a B, E. 14 is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and not in F.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

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No Creature to be abused.

[4 leaf 116. B.\*]

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beaft to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleafure? And although they 1 be bloody 1 beafts to mankind, & feeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to fet foorth the glorie2 & magnificence of 3the great 3 God, & for our vse; & therfore for his fake 4 5 not to be abused.5 It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borowed from the french, Qui aime Iean, aime son chien; 6 loue me, loue my dog: fo, loue God, loue his creatures.

God is abused when his Creatures are misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think that the abuse therof 7 resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think that the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to fpend our golden yeers in fuch ydle and vaine exercyfes, daylie and hourelie as we do.

Keeping of mastyues and bandogs. [8 P 2, back. A.]

8 And fome, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre affotted that they will not flick to keep a dofen or a fcore of great maftiues 9 and bandogs,9 to their no finall charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forfooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.<sup>10</sup> pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (fay they 11), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the12 Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forfoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting 18 these Gentlemen of fuch reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by fuch vnfauorie exercyfes, his [14 leaf 116, back. Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his 14 heauie

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2 power added in B, E, F.
  1_1 bloudy be F.
                         3_3 our B, E, F.
                * leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.
                                               6 that is added in F.
5_5 we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.
                                            9_9 not in B, E, F.
   7 done to his dog F.
                                          11 say they not in B, E, F.
10 yea, an hundred B, E, F.
                                             13 fitting F.
          12 the not in F.
     † leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [= Parys] garden. B.
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wrath, his fearfull judgements,1 and dreadfull vengeance vppon the Beholders of these vanities,2

## A Fearfull Example of God his Indgement vpon the prophaners of 3 his Sabaoth.3

[Accident at the Bear-House in Paris Garden, Southwark, on Sunday, Jan. 13,

VPon the 13. day of Ianuarie last,4 being the Sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the People, Men, Wemen, and Children, both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking 6 to 7 those infamous places, where [7 sign. P 3. A.] these wicked exercyses are vsuallie practised, (for they have their courts, gardens, & yards for the fame purpose) 8 when they were 8 all come together and mounted aloft vpon their fcaffolds and galleries, and in middeft of al their iolytie & pastime, all the whole building (not one flick flanding) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation9), wherof seuen were killed dead, 10 some were 10 wounded, fome lamed, and otherfome brufed and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to fquasht,11 fome their legges broken, some their arms, some their backs, fome their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should have hard a woful crie, even pearcing the skyes, A wofull crie. 12 parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wyues 13 their Hufbands, and Hufbands their wyues, marueilous to be- [13 leaf 117 B.f] hould 14! This wofull spectacle and heavie judgement, pitifull to heare of, but most ruefull to behold, did 15 the Lord fend 16 down from Heauen, to shew vnto the whole World how greeuously he is offended with those that spend his Sabaoth in such wicked exercises; In the meane tyme, leaving his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to shun the same for feare of 17 like or worfer 18 Judgement to come!

[17 P 3, back. A.]

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* Paris-(F. J. F.) 1 iudgment B, E, F. 2 as hearafter followeth B, E, F.
    3-3 the Sabbaoth daie B, E, F.
                                                       4 last not in F.
             5 there resorted an infinite number of for the E, F.
                                      8_8 and beyng B, E, F.
      6-6 of each sort E, F.
9 by estimation not in B, E, F.
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18 sharper B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup>\_10 were some F. 11 quasht B, E, F. 12 this side-note not in F. + leaf 117. A wofull spectacle at the Theaters. 14 haue heard F. 15 did not in B, E, F. 16 sent B, E, F.

# A fearfull Indgement of God, shewed at the Theaters.

The like Iudgement (almost 1) did the Lord shew vnto them a little befor, being assembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies 2 practised: For he caused the earth mightely to shak and quauer, as though all would have fallen down; wherat the People, sore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood) to the ground; wherof 3 some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another, 4 & many fore crusht and brused; but not any but they went away fore 5 affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither the one nor the other fray them from these divelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his 6 wrath; which God forbid! The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maiestrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be

honored and their confciences difburthened 7.8

[6 leaf 117, back. B.†]

A wofull spectacle,

Cockfeighting vpon the Sabaoth.\*
[\* day added in F.]
[10 sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed times for exercise of dyuelries. Befids these exercises, their flock, thick & three fold, to the cockfeights, an exercyse nothing inferiour to the rest, when nothing is vised but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cose onage, scoulding, railing, conuitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of one an other of their goods, & that not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blaunch & set out these mischies with all (as though they were vertues) their haue their appointed daies & set howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They have houses erected to the purpose, stages & ensignes hanged out, to give notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim the same, to th' end that many may come to the dedication of this solemne feast of mischies:

1 in effect F.
2 fooleries there F.
3 whereby F.
4 another where F.
5 sore B, E, F; store A.
7 discharged F.

<sup>8</sup> A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F:—Cockfightyng in Ailgna; F has:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabboth day in England.

<sup>9</sup> not in F.

<sup>11</sup> of not in F.

<sup>12</sup> that B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> celebration F.

14\_14 not in B, E, F; A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has:—Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabboth day in England.

Lord fupplant them! 14 And as for hawking & hunting vpon the Hawking & fabaoth day,1 it is an exercyfe vpon that day no leffe vnlawful than the sabaoth. the other; 2 For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much [2 leaf 118. B.\*] leffe euery day 3 in his life,3 as many do, in fuch vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore 4 let Gentlemen take heed; for, be fure, accounts must be given at the day of judgement for be every minut of time, both how they have spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be fure no more libertie is given them to mifpend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is given to the poorest and meanest person that liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in the volume of the facred scripture,6 that was a good man and a Hunter.

hunting vppos

No more libertie giuen to one than \* another for mispending of their goods. [\* then to F.]

in hauks and

beasts weare obedient to man, & wherfore they rebell.

Efau was a great hunter, but a reprobat; If maell a great hunter, [7 P 4, back. A.] but a miscreant; Nemrode, a great hunter, but yet 8 a reprobat 8 and a veffell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and No good hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but scripture. against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time 9 of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue fome in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a fort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one Cost bestowed yeer, than they will impart 10 to the poore members of Christ Iesus in dogges. vii. yeers, peraduenture, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradice perfifted in innocency, all beafts what fo euer weare obedient to him, and came and proftrated 11 themselues be12 fore him; But [12 leaf 118, back. euer fince his fall they have fled from him, & difobeyd him, because When all of his fin; that feeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeied 13 For fo long as man obeied God, fo long they obeied him, but fo foone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, & becam enemies to him; as it were, feeking to reuenge the 15 iniurie which man had don vnto 16 God in difobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cause why all beafts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to 17 vs, is our disobedience to

1 day not in E, F. \* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B. 3\_3 not in F. 4 And therfore F. 5 of F. 6 Scriptures F. 8\_8 an abject E, F. 9 times F. 11 humbled F. † leaf 118, back. Why beastes rebell against man. B. 13 disobey F.

17 vnto F. 15 that E, F. 16 to F.

the LORD, which we are rather to forow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the fheading of their blood.

[1 sign. P 5. A.] For pleasure sake only no man ought to abuse any of the cretures of God.

1 If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vie them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wife to fpoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or 2 rather a <sup>3</sup>pfeudo-chriftian, <sup>3</sup> that delighteth in blood? Is he a Chriftian that fpendeth all his life in wanton pleafures and plefaunt delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth vp the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleafure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in cafting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise 4in preiudicing 4 him, as hunters doo? wherfore God giue them grace to fee to it, and to mend<sup>5</sup> it <sup>6</sup> betimes ere it be to late; for they know mora trahit periculum, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leave the evil and to doo good, leaft the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and consume vs from of 8 the vpper face of the Earth.9

Hurt by hunting to poore Men. [6 leaf 119. B.+]

> Spud. What fay you to keeping of Markets, of 10 Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vfe the fame vpon any 11 day?

Not lawfull to keep cour[t]es Leets, Markets and Fayres, vpp-on the Sabaoth day.

Philo. No truely; for can you 12 ferue God & the deuil togither? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we ferue two L<sup>23</sup> P 5, back. A.] Maisters, <sup>13</sup> and neither offend the one nor <sup>14</sup> the other? can wee ferue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be ferued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For faith he, 'Thou shalt loove the Lord thy God with all thy foule, withall thy minde, withall 15 thy power, withall thy strength,' and fo foorth, or els with none at all. Then, feeing that we are to give ouer our felues fo wholely and totally to the feruice of God al the daies of our life, but ef-

<sup>2</sup> or not B, E, F. 3\_3 cruel Tartarian F. 4\_4 annoying F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B. 5 amend F. 8 of not in B, E, F. 7 the not in B, E, F.

A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E, F :- Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabbaoth daie in Ailgna [England F.].

<sup>14</sup> nor displease E, F 12 we F. 11 that E, F. 10 of not in F. 15 withail A.

pecially vppon the Sabaoth day, being confe<sup>1</sup>crate to that end, [1 leaf 119, back. we may not intermedle with these prophane exercises upon that Abuse of the day. For it is more then manifest that these faires, markets, courtes, Fayres, markets.\* and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs [\* maskets A.] in the true 2 feruice of God, and an abuse of the Sabaoth, but also lead vs the path way to hel. For what cofonage is not there practifed? The euil in what falshod, deceit, & fraude is not there exercised? what diffimulation in bargaining? what fetting foorth 3 of fucate 3 & deceiuable wares, is not there frequented 4? what lying, fwering, forfwering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & fometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not every where vfed 5? In courtes & leets, what The euils in enuie, malice, & hatred is noorifhed6? what expostulation, railing, Leets practised. fcoulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? 7 what opression [7 sign, P 6. A.] of the poore, what fauouring the 8 rich, what iniuffice & indirect dealing? what bribing, deceiuing, what poling & pilling is there 9 practifed? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithflanding, we must have these goodly pageants played upon the fabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby 10 the fabaoth is contaminat, 10 Gods woord contemned, his commandements difanulled, his facraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, &, 11 in fumma, his blood trod vnder feet, and all mischeef [11 leaf 120. B.t] maintained. 12 The Lord cut of thefe, with all other fin, both from their foules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edified 12 !

Fayres and Markets.

Spud. Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookes, & fuch like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

Ph. Any exercise which withdraweth vs from godlines, either vpon the fabaoth 13 or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbiden. 14 Now, Playing at who is fo grofly blinde, that feeth not that thefe aforefaid exercifes not only withdraw vs from godlines & vertue, but also haile & allure vs to

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· leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.
   2 true not in F.
                          3_3 counterfeit F.
                                                  4 vsed B, E, F.
                       6 nooirshed A. 8 of the F. 9 the (sic) F.
5 committed B, E, F.
         10_10 it commeth to passe that the Sabboth is prophaned F.
                + leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.
  12_12 not in B, E, F. A new chapter-heading follows, Plaiyng at Footeball
*in Ailgna. * (*- * vpon the Sabboth and other dayes in England F.)
          13 day added in F.
                                            14 forbidded (sic) F.
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#### Great hurt, by Foot-ball play. 184 The Anatomie

Foot-ball a freendly kind of fight.

Hurt by football playing.

[4 leaf 120, back.

Foot-Ball playing a mur-thering Play.

[12 sign. P 7. A.]

Reading of wicked bookes. [14 leaf 121. B.+]

wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I proteft vnto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practife, then a felowly sporte [1 P 6, back, A.] or pastime. 1 For dooth not every one lye in waight for his Aduerfarie, feeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his nofe, though it be vppon hard ftones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place foeuer it be, hee careth not, fo he2 haue him down. And he that can ferue the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? fo that by this meanes, fomtimes their necks are broken, 3 fometimes their backs,3 fometime their legs, fometime their armes; 4 fometime one part thurst out of ioynt, fometime an other; fometime5 the6 nofes gush out with blood, sometime5 their eyes start out7; and fometimes hurt in one place, fometimes in another. But whofoeuer fcapeth away the best, goeth not fcotfree, but is either fore 8 wounded, craifed 9,8 and brufeed, fo as he dyeth of it, or els fcapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they have the 10 fleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the fhort ribbes with their griped fifts, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a 11 hundered fuch murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and fometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

12 Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepenfed malice, or fet purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? God make vs more careful ouer the bodyes of our Bretheren! 13

14 And as for the 15 reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vnlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vppon any other day; as

3\_3 not in F. 2 he maie B, E, F. † leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B. 6 their B, E, F. 7 of their heads added in F. 5 sometimes F. o craised not in B, E. 10 the not in B, E, F. 13 A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F. Readyng of wicked bookes in Ailgna. [England. F.]

† leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B. 15 the not in F.

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian foules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the fromack, and infect the body, fo the reading of wicked and vn- The enil godly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the foule, & corrupt the minde, hailing it to diffruction, if the great mercy of God be not prefent.1

comming by reading cuil

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoeuer wil fet pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhonest soeuer, or vnseemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plaufibly 2 admitted and 2 freendly licenfed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this iffue, that bookes & pamphlets of fcurrilitie and baudrie are better efteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyeft and fa3geft bookes that be: for 4 if it [3 P 7, back. A.] be a godly treatife, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a floorish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is leffe) fo much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, the bleffed Book of God, to be fo little efteemed; That woorthie Booke of Martyrs, made by that famous [7 leaf 121, back B.\*] Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister Iohn Fox, fo little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be 8 reuerenced; whilft other toyes, fantafies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are fuffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, facraligious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may 9 vendicate to them felues no fmal com- [The hurte that mendations 9 at the hands of the deuil for inventing the fame) corrupt bryng E, F.J mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, fuppresse vertue & erect vice: which thing, how should it be otherwise? for are they not inuented & excogitat by Belzebub, written by Lucifer, licensed by Pluto, printed by Cerberus, & set a-broche to fale by the infernal furies themselues, to the poysoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licenfors, the printers, & the fellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt 10 thorow these

wicked books

[10 'Q 1', A. wrongly signd; leaf P 8 is misst; the catchword is right.]

<sup>1</sup> present not in F. <sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> received F. 4 but B, E, F. 6 renowmed F. 5 that B, E, F.

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 121, back. Hethnicall bookes in Ailgna. B. 8 to be not in F. 9-9 challenge no small reward F.

wicked bookes, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of judgement, and be required at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might al these inormities and Abuses be reformed? For it is to fmall purpose to shew the abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed1

[2 leaf 122. B.\*] [The Laws against Evil Doers are not enforct.]

Philo. By putting in practife and executing 2those good lawes, 3 wholfome fanctions 3, and Godly 4 statutes, which have beene heretofore, and daily are, fet foorth and established, as God be thanked, they 5 The want of the due execution wherof is the cause of all these mischiefs, which both rage and raigne amongst vs.

Spud. What is the cause why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the nigligence and contempt of the inferiour Magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, diffranchifed and dispensed withall; for, as the faying is, quid non pecunia potest: what is it but money will bring to passe? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don inuisibly in a clowde (vnder benedicite I fpeake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the fame are 8 dalie executed8. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to fee them executed, as I have 9 tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes are not executed as they ought to bee E, F.] [9 P 8, back (wrong Q 1, bk.)

> Spud. This is a great 10 corruption & 10 Abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is fo truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publique weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytic that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to fell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droffe, yea, mens [11 leaf 122, back. fouls for corruptible mollney? Therfore, those that fell them are not B.+] onely Traitors to God, to their Prince and Countrey, but are also the Deuils Marchants, and 12 ferrie the bodies and foules of Christians, 13 as

[They that buy

1 amended B, E, F. \* leaf 122. How to reforme Abuses. B. 3\_3 not in F.

- 4 Goldy A; Godly B, E, F. 5 there B, E, F. 6 corruption F. 7-7 Pecunia omnia potest, Money can do all thynges B, E, F. 10\_10 not in B, E, F. 8-8 duly excuted (sic) B, E, F.
- 12 to B, E, F. † leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B. 13\_13 as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in Charons boate 1 13 to the Stigian flood of Hell, burning with or sell lawes for fire and brimftone for euer.

money are traitors to God E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, Gop be praised, al 2 the lawes in Ailgna be), why shuld they be suppressed 3 for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulged,4 but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer feene the light.

And why were lawes inflituted 5, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull6 the [None maie stay fame againe, vpon speciall 7 causes & considerations, but no inferiour lawes, but the Prince E, F.] maiestrat or subjecte what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe [7 sign. Q 2. A.] made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne foule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

the course of the

And therfore, wo be to those men that will not execut the fentence of the lawe (being fo Godly and fo Christian as thei be in Ailgna) vppon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was Iudas of the death 9 of Christe Iesus.

[9 leaf 123. B.+]

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is fuch abhomination amongest them, [The day of I am perswaded the 10 daye of Judgement is not farre of; For when not far off.] iniquity shall have filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all 11 appeare, as Christ witnesseth in his Euangelie.

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,12 strang miracles, fearful fignes, and dreadfull Iudgements 13 hath he fente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence 14 & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the [The wonderfull

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1 ouer the Sea of this world added in B, E, F.
   2 the most of B, E, F.
                              3 bought out F.
                                                         4 published F.
       5 constitute B, E, F.
                                                        annul F.
8 not in F. + leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B.
                                                         10 that the E, F.
11 all thinges E, F. 12 not in F. 13 tokens F.
                                                       14 impenitencie E, F.
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signes and tokens; which sent to warne vs of the daie of iudgement E, F.] [1 Q 2, back. A.] fame Earth to remooue from place to place? the feas and waters to roare, fwell, & bruft out, and ouerflow their bankes 1 to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to fend foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull conjunctions of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres have not been heard of? haue not the clowdes diffilled downe aboundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges vppon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets, blafing flarres, firie <sup>3</sup>Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her felfe denied vnto vs her operation in fending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglefome monfters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it feemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet 4 we are 4 nothing at all amended: (alas) what 5 shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal judge vs righteoufly? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this lyfe vnípeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongest the terrible Company of vgglefome 6 Deuills, world without end, how light fo euer they make account of it in this World.

[3 leaf 123, back. B.\*]

[All God's Creatures are wroth with us, but we don't mend.]

[6 sign. Q 3. A.]

[9 Materiall hell after this life E,

For fome fuch there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at 7 it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not 8 otherwyle. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, fo there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruaunts; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect iove prepared for the Godly, fo there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobat, prepared for the Deuil & his [10 leaf 124. B.+] Angels, or els the word of God is in 10 no wyfe to be credited; which blasphemie once to think 11, God keep all his Children from!

<sup>\*</sup> leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B. 2 seene or added in F. 4-4 are we F. 5 that A, B, E; what F. 7 of F. 8 and not F. 9 A materiall F. † leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B. 11 think of F.

Spud. But they will eafily avoid this; for they fay it is writ1, at what time fo euer a finner doth repent him of his finne, I wil put all his fin 2 out of my remembrance, faith the Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the last, they will wish no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worse [Men who put off 3 than Tartarians3, and more to be anoided than the poison of a ferpent; for the one flayeth but the body, but the other both body & foul for euer. Wherfore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and 4 auoid them; For it is truely faid cum bonis bonus eris, [4 Q 3, back. A.] et cum peruersis peruerseriss: with the good thou shall 6 learne good, but with the wicked thou shall be peruerted.

repentance till their deaths are but Devils.]

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating<sup>7</sup>, and detefting of finne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare INo true repentof death, which he feeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and deferred to the tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therfore this can be no true repentance; For there is 8 two maner of repentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false re- [9 leaf 124, back. pentance to death. As we maye fee by Iudas, who is faid to haue re- [Two maners to of pented, and, which is more, to have confessed his faulte, and, which false repentance, is most of all, to have made restitution, and yet was it a false repent- pentance E, F.1 ance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

ance which is last gaspe E, F.]

Peter repented and weept bitterly, and was faued therby, though he neither made confession nor satisfaction; and why? Because it fprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a 11 true repentance, fpringing of faith, it can [11 sign. Q 4. A.] ferue them no more to life, than the pretenfed repentance of Iudas did ferue him to faluation.

1 written F. 2 wickednes E, F. 3-3 then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoeuer F. 6 shalt F. 7 not in F. 5 peruerteris B, F. + leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B. 10 maner of repentances F.

### Repentance not to be deferred. The Anatomie 190

Let them beware, for Cain repented, yet is he condemned. Efau did repent, yet is he condemned; Antiochus did repent, yet is he condemned; Iudas did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why fo? Because their prolonged repentaunce sprange not of faith, &c.1

[Every light affection is no true repentance E, F.]

[4 leaf 125. B.+]

[6 Q 4, back. A.]

[Of true and feignd repentance.]

Thus they may fee, that everye light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not youngh to fay at the last, I repent, I repent; For vales it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare fo that man had liberum arbitrium, free wil2 of himfelf to repent truely when he wold, and that God3 promifed in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is donum Dei, the gifte of God, de fursum veniens a patre luminum, com4ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giveth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleafeth him; & of him are we to craue it inceffantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwise to presume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we have nothing leffe than a true repentance.

6 Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and forrow of the heart, conceived for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the fame). [f]erueth to faluation thorow the mercie of God in Christ, so fained repentance faueth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not to 8 deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast 9 (as they fay) will hazard his body and foule to eternall damnation for euer? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye affure him felfe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Iesus Chrift, our alone Sauiour and Redemer, to whome be praise for euer!

<sup>1 &</sup>amp; of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. F.

<sup>3</sup> God had F. 2 and power added in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

<sup>7</sup> the not in F. 5 shall please B, E, F. 9 gasp F. 8 did not for not to F.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as the Wyse King Salomon said, All things are all things are vaine and 1 transitorie, and 2 nothing is permanent vnder vanitie it-selfe. the Sonne: the workes of men are vnperfect and lead to destruction, B. +1 their exercyfes are vaine and wicked altogether.

leaf 125, back

Wherfore I, fetting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth confecrate 3 my felfe to the feruice of my God, and to [3 sign, R r. A.] follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promifing, by the affiftance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God giue you grace fo to do, and euery Christen man els, and to avoid all the vanities and deceivable pleasures of this life; for The ioyes of certenly they tread 5 the path to eternal destruction, both of body and the path to foule for euer, to as many as obey them.

For it is vnpoffible to wallowe in the delights and pleafures of this World, and to lyue in joy for euer in the Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, having spent the daye, and also consummate 6 our iorney, we must now depart, beseaching God that we may both meete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigne and lyue

with him for euer, through Iefus Christe our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour & glorie for euer more. Amen.

### FINIS.

+ leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation. B. 2 and that F. 6 ended our F. 4 Lord my E, F. 6 leade E, F. 7 F then concludes with this line: - God have the praise, both now and alwaies. Amen.



[sign. R I

### 1 ¶ Faults escaped in printing.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xi	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	initimur	nitimur
In D	xiiiij [p. 50]		tantæ meriades	tantæque meryades 2
In D	XV	16	fupplyed	applyed [p. 52, l. 11]
In F	i	19 Read	thus:	
	[See p. 65, 4th	Spuc		w me the opinions of the
	paragraph]	Father	s, concerning this	coloring of faces.
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [1. 8]	Antiquities	Antiques 2
In F	xvj	5	pefteruing	peftering
In I	iij [p. 105]	26 [1. 9]	refug meat	refufe meate
In I	iij[ "]	27[,,]		parings
In I	viij [p. 108]	16 [1. 23]	] appetitum	appetitui



[sign. R 2. A.]

Perused, authorised, & allowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.



At London
Printed by Richarde

Iones: dwellinge at the Signe of the
Rofe and the Crowne, neere vnto
Holborne Bridge.

15833.



[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll:—Qvel . che. mi . molestava . accendo . et . ardo. This plate is not in B, E.]

1 this page '192' not in F.

<sup>2</sup> The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.

<sup>3</sup> 1585 E, 1595 F.

## EXTRACTS

FROM

PHILLIP STUBBES'S

Like of his Alike.

1591.

## A Christal Glasse for

Christian vvomen.

### CONTAYNING

An excellent Discourse, of the godly life
and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes
who departed this life in Burton vppon
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day
of December. 1590.

Hith a most heauenly confession of the Christian
Faith, which she made a little before her departure:
togither, with a most wonderfull combate betwixt Satan and her soule: worthie to
be imprinted in the tables of euery Christian heart.

Bet downe worde for worde as she spake it, as neere as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen so saieth the Spirite, for they rest from their labours, and their workes follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne neere Molborne Bridge. 1591.

# A Christall Glas, for Chri-

[leaf A 2]

ftian women: wherein they may fee a wonderfull and true example of a right vertuous life and Christian death: as by the discourse following, to

> their further instruction and comfort, it may appeare.

[Sidenotes by



Alling to remembrance (most Christian Reader) the finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God, and to edifie one another in the way of true godlinesse, I thought it my duetie as well in respect of the one, as in regarde of the other, to publish this rare

wife's Life, to glorify God and

and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Christian death, of mistresse Katherine Stubbes, who whilest she lived, was a myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true Christianitie. She was of honest and wealthie parentage, and her Her Father, a father had borne office of worship in his companie: he was zealous in the truth, and of a found Religion. Her mother was a Dutch woman, both discreete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie: and, which did most of all adorne her, she was both religious, and verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London certain yeares, it pleafed God to bleffe them with children, of whom My wife, their this Katherine was yongest saue one. But as she was yongest saue one but one. by course of nature: so was she not inferiour to any of the rest, or rather farre excelled them all without comparison by manie degrees, in the induments and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age At 15 she married (her father being dead) her mother bestowed her in marriage to one me 4 years. maister Stubbes, with whom she lived four yeares, and almost an halfe, verie honeftly and godly, with rare commendations of all that knewe her, as well for her fingular wifedome, as also for her modestie, courtefie, gentlenesse, affabilitie and good gouernment. And aboue

citizen. Her Mother,

me, and livd with

She was zealous for the truth, and opposd Papists and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

She was seldom without a Bible or good book in hand.

She was always asking me to explain texts.

She sufferd no disorder in her house.

She never scolded or brawld;

or gossipt.

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she feemed to furpasse manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenaunce or credite foeuer they feemed to be, she would not yeeld a jote, nor give place vnto them at all, but would most mightily instifie the truth of God, against their blaspemous vntruthes, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee converfant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or fome other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would fpend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion : asking him : "what is the fence of this place, and what is the fence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What observe you of this place, and what observe you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that Dauid was, when hee faide: 'The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauiour Christ, who biddeth vs to search the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. She obeied the commandement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be filent, and to learne of their hufbands at home. She would fuffer no diforder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed. And fo gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that she was neuer heard to give any the lie, nor fo much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knowen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the leaft childe that lived: much leffe to fcolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And fo folitarie was shee given, that shee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and difdaine of others.

When her husbande was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulde get her

abroad to dinner or fupper, or to any other exercise what soeuer: She'd not go to neither was fhe giuen to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or ftrong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as the [leaf A 3] excelled in the gift of fobrietie, fo she surpassed in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerfe yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwife. She abhorred She coulde neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of talk; fcurrilitie, neither fwearing nor blafpheming, curfing nor banning, but would reproue them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for fuch deferts. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnfeemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to sweare or blaspheme God any maner of way: but alwayes her speach were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle fpeaketh. And for her conversation, there was never any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so con- livd continently, tinently fhe liued, and fo circumfpectly fhe walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so She was farre from perswading her husbande to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that shee woulde perswade him to bee more beneficiall and never crosst to them. If the tawe her husband merrie, then thee was merrie; if hee were fadde, the was fadde; if he were heavie, or passionate, thee would endeuour to make him glad; if he were angrie, she would quickely pleafe him, fo wifely shee demeaned her selfe towardes him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wife counfaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and fubmiffion, feeke to perfwade him. And fo little giuen was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours maruayled why thee was no more carefull of it, and She card not for would aske her sometimes, faying: "Mistresse Stubbes, why are you no for God. more carefull for the things of this life, but fit alwayes poaring vppon a booke, and fludying?" To whome she woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemie to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. Iohn biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

and shund all show of evil.

generous: sympathizd with her husband, him.

this world, but

200

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she should not live long,

but should die in child-birth.

Her boy was born,

and she did very well,

till a burning ague seizd her.

She never slept an hour together for 6 weeks;

but in all her suffering, no impatient word escapt her. not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be given to me. 'Godlinesse is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.' I have chosen with good Martha the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (shee would fay) is neuer drawne drie. I have inough in this life, God make me thankeful, and I know I have but a short time to live here. and it flandeth me vpon to have regard to my faluation in the life to come." Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yeares after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that she conceyued with a man childe: after which conception she would fay to her hufband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that she should neuer beare more children, that that child woulde bee her death, and that fhee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, fo it came to paffe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, she grewe so strong and luftie, that she was able within foure or fine dayes to fit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being throughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But prefently vpon this fo fudden recouerie, it pleafed God to vifite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which ficknes she languished for the fpace of fix weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, fhee was neuer feene, nor perceived to fleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderstanding, sence, and memorie, to the last breath; prayfed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her fickeneffe, which was both long and grieuous, fhe neuer shewed any figne of discontentment, or of impaciencie: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, founding either of desperation, or infidelitie: of miftruft, or diffruft, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so desirous was the to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentenses were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I defire to be diffolued, and to be with Chrift." [leaf A 4] And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliuer me from this bodie fubiect to finne? Come quickly, Lord Iefus, come quickly! She desird to be Like as the heart defireth the water fprings, fo dooth my foule thirst be with Christ. after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of my God, then to dwell in the tentes of the wicked:" with manie other heauenly fentences, which (leaft I should feeme to tedious) I willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her fickeneffe abfolutely, that God would take her out of this miferable worlde: and when her hufband and others would defire her to pray for health, if it were the will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I shoulde liue, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death, She knew death and therfore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to everlasting life. me. I knowe and am certainly perfwaded by the spirite of God, that the fentence of my death is given alreadie, by the great Iudge, in the Court or Parliament of heaven, that I shall now depart out of this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might liue here, but pray to God to giue me ftrength, and pacience, to perseuere to the ende, and to close vp mine eyes in a justifying faith in the blood of my Christ." Sometimes fhe would fpeake very foftly to herfelfe, and fometimes very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together, "Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for thy Christ his fake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send She prayd God thy fergeant to areft me, fend thy purfeuant to apprehend me, thy fetch her. herauld to fummon me : oh fend my Iailour to deliuer my foule out of prison, for my bodie is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to my foule. Oh fende thy holie Angels to conduct my foule into the euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as it were in a flumber, her eies closed, & her lips vttering these words very foftly to her felfe: "Oh my fweete Iefus, oh my loue Iefus: why She calld on not nowe, fweete Iefus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh fweete Iesus, pray for mee! pray for me, fweete Iesus!" repeating them many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly fpeaches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worfer worde was [leaf A 4, back] there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

She often smil'd sweetly,

seeing visions and heavenly sights.

She took leave of her boy, and

bequeatht him to me as the Lord's.

She repented of having been too fond of her little dog.

[leaf B]

ficknesse. She was accustomed many times as she lay, verie suddenly to fall into a fweete fmiling, and fometimes into a most heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenaunce feemed as though the greatly reioyced at fome glorious fight. And when her husband would aske her why she fmiled and laughed fo, the woulde fay, "if you fawe fuch glorious vifions and heauenly fights as I fee, you would reioyce and laugh with me: for I fee a vision of the joyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I shall go to; and I see infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen." In regard whereof, she was willing to forfake herfelfe, her hufband, her childe, and all the world befides. And fo calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, she tooke it in her armes, and kiffing it, faid: "God bleffe thee, my fweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:" and kiffing it againe, deliuered it to the Nurse, with these words to her husband standing by: "Beloued husband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forfake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne felfe, and efteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iefus Chrift. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, see that he be brought vp in the exercise of true Religion."

The childe being taken away, fhe fpyed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time she loued well,) lying vpon her bed: she had no sooner spied her, but she beate her away, and calling her husband to her, said: "Good husband, you and I have offended God grieuously in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord give vs grace to repent for it and all other vanities!" And afterward coulde shee never abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Having thus godly disposed of all things, she fell into an extasse, or into a traunce or sownde, for the space almost of a quarter of an houre, so as every one thought she had beene dead. But afterward she, comming to her selfe, spake to them that were present, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) saying: "Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you have taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beseech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heaven. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glasse is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perfwaded, for three causes, to make a con- She wisht to fession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly refolued in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the fpirite of God hath taught me out of his bleffed and alfauing worde. The fecond cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde judge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iefus Chrift, and fo by your rash judgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and last cause, is for that, as you have beene witnesses of part of my life, so you might bee witnesses of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not have you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vnlesse they be reprobates: for Paul sayeth, Rom. 8, 'If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.' This bleffed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you give me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am fealed to the day of redemption."

make confession of her faith, r. to confirm

2. to testify that she died a Christian;

3. that her friends might be witnesses of her

A most heavenly confession of the Christian faith, made by this bleffed feruant of God Mistresse Stubbes a little before she died.

My Wife's Confession of Faith.



Lthough the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnípeakeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor expressed in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleeue, as farre as he hath reuealed himfelfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God shall illuminat my

heart. I beleeue therefore with my heart, and freely confesse with my [leaf B 1, back] mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleeue, is a most glorious spirite, or spirituall substance, a diuine essence, or

I believe in God in 3 Persons, &c., &c., &c.

I believe that we shall know each other in heaven. "When God had cast Adam into a deade sleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his side, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her streight way, and called her by her name. Coulde Adam in the state of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead sleepe, whilest she was in making? And shall not we being restored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was Adam in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee lesse in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and see as it were but in a Glasse, and shall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignoraunce shall bee done away?

Dives in hell knew Abraham and Lazarus in heaven. "In the 16. of Luke, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe Abraham and Lazarus in heaven. Then I reason thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do know those that be in heaven so farre aboue them: how much more shall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heaven? We reade also in the 17. of Matth. howe our Sauiour Christ, meaning to shewe vnto his disciples, Peter, Iames, and Iohn, as it were a shadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heaven, and therefore hee is sayde to bee transsigured before them, and his face did shine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them Moyses and Elias, sayeth the text.

"Then it followeth, that if the Disciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in shadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe Moyses and Elias, the one whereof dyed almoste two thousande yeares before, the other not much lesse, howe much more shall week nowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

Much more shall we know one another in the life to come, away, and we in the full fruition and poffession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my fait, this is my hope, & this is my truft; this hath [leaf C 2, back] the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of And (good Lord) that haft begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I befeech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and fauiour." And the had no fooner made an end of this most heauenly When she had confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; was ready to whom the mightily repulfed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iefus, on whom the conftantly beleeved. And wheras before fhe looked with a fweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the sudden, she bent the browes, fhe frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, . She scowld at stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vggle- him. fome, and displeasant thing, she brust foorth into these speaches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were fcornefully and difdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

attack her

A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her foule, and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ.

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords feruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou haft no part nor portion in Hell-hound, me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chosen and elected in Christ to

euerlafting faluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maift get the[e] packing, thou damned be off! dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. what doft thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a finner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a finner, and a grieuous finner, both by originall finne, and Tho' I am a actuall finne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therfore, Satan, I bequeath my finne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to saue [leaf C 3] finners (as he faith himfelfe) and not the righteous: 'behold the

yet Christ's blood has cleaned me.

All my sins are pardond for his name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid my debt to God for me.

Firebrand of Hell, avoid!

[leaf C 3, back] Pack! Or I will call on Michael.

Lambe of God (faith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out: 'the blood of Iefus Christ doth cleanse vs from al finne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleeue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Christs righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and fatiffaction for all my finnes. But what fayeft thou more, Satan? Doft thou afke me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable finner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being affured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names fake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heavie laden with the burden of finne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Christes armes were spred wide open (Satan) vpon the Croffe (with that she spred her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent finners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to prefent my felfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Chrift his fake. What more, Satan? Doest thou fay, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deferts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Christs righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his works my works, his deferts my deferts, & his precious blood a full fatiffaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a just God, thou faiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iuftice punish me for my sinnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of instice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paied the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promifed to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therfore, thou daftard, auoid, thou cowardly fouldier, remooue thy fiege, and yeelde the field wonne, & get thee packing, or elfe I wil cal vpon my grandcaptaine Christ Iesus, that valiant Michael, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had fearcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell fud- Then she laught, denly into a fweet fmiling laughter, faying, "Now is he gone, now is like a beaten he gone! do you not fee him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath loft the fielde, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or ftrength, but by the power and might of Iefus Chrift, who hath fent his holy Angels to keepe me." And fpeaking to them that were by, fhe faid, "would God you faw but what I fee! Do you not fee infinite millions of most glorious Angels She saw millions fland about me, with firie charets ready to defend me, as they did the her. good prophet Elizeus. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall fee him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I have fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ By Christ's haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste won the victory. neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miferie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduerfitie, whatfoeuer. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Chrift shal give to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to herselfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iefus, come, my loue Iefus, oh fende thy purfeuant (fweet She calld on Iefus) to fetch me! Oh (fweet Iefus) ftrengthen thy feruant, & keepe thy promife!" Then fang she divers Psalmes most sweetly, and She sang Psalms with a chearefull voice: which done, the defired her hufband that the 103. Pfalme might bee fung before her to the Church. And further, shee defired him that hee woulde not mourne for her, alledging the She bade me not Apostle Paul, where he faith: 'Brethren, I woulde not have you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to bee reioyced for: for that shee should passe (she saide) from earth to [leaf C 4] heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himfelfe. After which wordes, very fuddenly, the feemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-cheerfully,

of Angels about

Jesus to fetch

mourn for her.

#### 208 A Christall Glaffe for Christian women.

and welcomd death;

commended her spirit to her God,

and then slept sweetly in the Lord.

She was but 18 when she died. May we all follow her example!

fully, as though the had feene fome glorious fight: and lifting vp her whole body, and stretching foorth both her armes, as though shee would imbrace fomething, faid: "I thanke my God, through Iefus Chrift, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my foule out of prison! Oh sweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, fweet death! neuer was there any guest so welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the meffenger of euerlasting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlasting life: welcome (I fay), and thrife welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and fet my foule at libertie. Strike (fweet death), ftrike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy bleffed hands I commend my fpirit! Sweete Iefus, into thy bleffed hands I commend my fpirit! Bleffed fpirit of God, I commit my foule into thy handes! Oh most holy, bleffed, and glorious Trinitie, three perfons and one true euerlafting God, into thy bleffed handes I commit both my foule and my bodie:" at which wordes her breath flaied; and fo, neither mouing hand nor foot, she flept sweetly in the Lord.

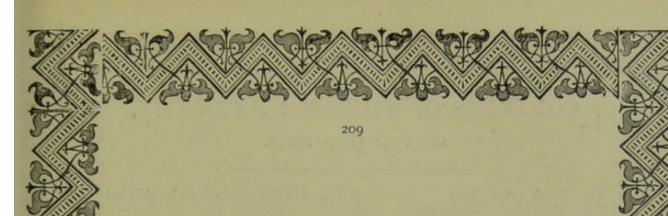
Thus hast thou heard (gentle Reader) the discourse of the vertuous life and christian death of this faithfull servaunt of God, Mistresse Katherine Stubbes: which is so much the more wonderfull, in that she was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when she departed this life. The Lorde give vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to those vnspeakeable

Lorde; to whome with the Father, and the holy

Ghoft, be all honour, glorie, praife, dominion, and thankefgiuing, both nowe and

euermore. Amen.

FINIS. P. S. Gent.



#### EXTRACTS FROM

THE 1610 EDITION OF

### PHILIP STUBBES'S

### PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,

WITH

A SHORT TREATISE

OF

PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,

WRITTEN IN 1592.

[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume,  $3\frac{13}{20}$  inches high by  $2\frac{4}{5}$  inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are borderd.

Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

# CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S PATHWAY, ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

I. Blank. I 2. Title.

¶ 3. The Epistic Do The Epistle Dedicatorie.

A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meat.

A 3. Thankesgiuing after meate.

A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate.

A 4, bk. An other praier after meate.

A 5. A praier before meate.

A 6. A thankesgiuing after meate.

A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the foure Tearmes of the yeare. (A 8,

back, blank.)
B I. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.

B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.

B 5. Meditations in the morning.

B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.

C I. A praier for the morning.

C 4. Precepts at thy going foorth of thy Chamber.

C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.

C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and

C 6. Meditations before and at dinner.

A praier before meate.

Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the table.

D 1. + A Thanks-giuing to God after dinner.

D 2. Meditations after dinner.

D 3, bk. Directions how to behaue thy selfe before and after Supper.

D 4, bk. A thankes giuidg [so] to God before Supper.

D 6, bk. A thankesgiuing to God after Supper.

D 7. Directions of Christian behauiour after Supper.

D 8. + Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.

E 2, bk. + A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one.

E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.

E 6, bk. + Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.

E 7. † A Praier to be said at the breake of the day.

E 8. + Meditations at the appearing of the day.

† A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.

F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.

F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.

F 3. + Christian directions for the

Morning.

F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / Treatise, of praiers | and Supplica- | tions; | COMPRISING | a briefe summe of all such | things as we stand | in need of in this | life. | By the same Author. | P. S. Gent. | (F 5, back, blank.)

F 6. † A Praier for the Morning.

F 7. † A Prayer for the Euening. F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times.

G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauiour, with desire of forgiuenes.

G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.

G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes1 Maiestie.

G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealth.

H 2. A praier for the increase of faith.

H 3, bk. A praier against the deuill, the world and the flesh.

H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.

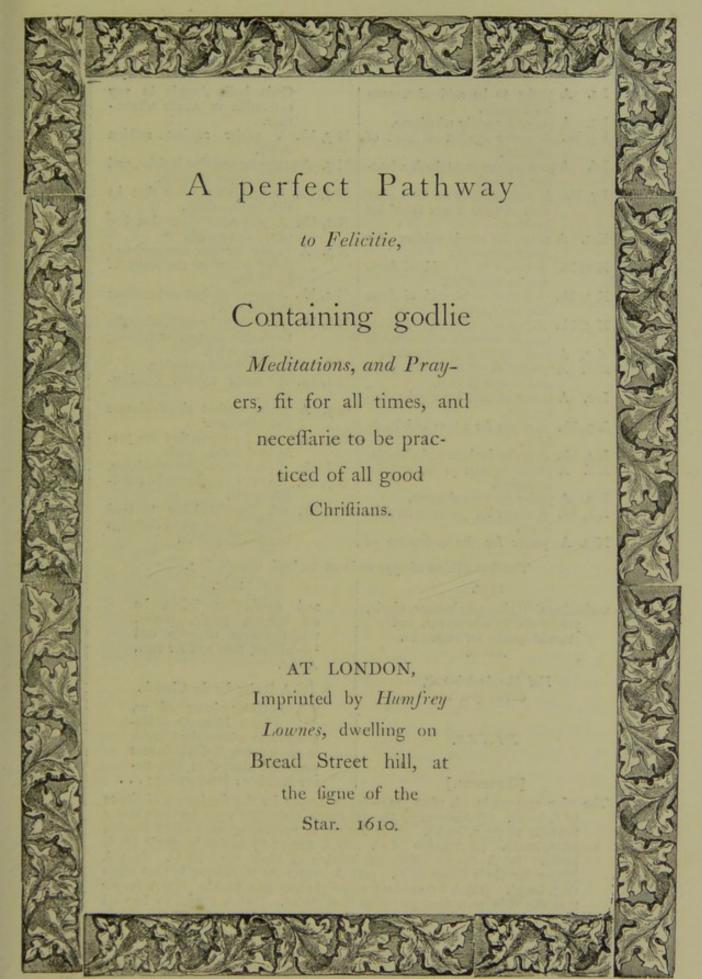
H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing.

H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.

1 Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters her to his, and [our souereigne] 'Ladie and governesse' to 'Lord and gouerner.'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]



#### CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S PATHWAY, 1592, 1610.

I I. A praier to be said of women with childe.

I 3. A praier for godly wisedome.

I 4, bk. A praier against all kind of enemies.

 A praier when one taketh a iourney in hand.

I 7, bk. A thanksgiuing to God after ones returne home from his iourney.

K 1. A praier for euerie subject of a common wealth.

K 2, bk. A praier to be said of those that be vnmaried.

K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are maried.

K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of housholds.

K 7. A praier to be said of seruants.

K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace and fauour of God.

L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience.

L 3, bk. A praier for a true and lively faith.

L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie.

L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie.

L 7. A praier for a good name.

L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sicknesse.

M 2. A praier for the assistance of

Gods holie Angels in any extremitie or neede whatsoeuer.

M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death.

M 5. A praier for one that is sicke, and at the poynt of death.

M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie.

N I, bk. A praier for those that bee poore and needie.

N 3. A praier for the increase and preservation of the fruits of the earth.

N 4, bk. A praier against couetousnes and auarice.

N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word.

N 8. A praier against swearing.

O 1, bk. A praier against drunkennesse.

O 3. A praier against slouthfulnesse and idlenesse.

O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth.

O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisedome. O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mind-

full to die.

P I, bk. † A Thanks-giuing to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed vpon vs.

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlasting GOD bee all / honour, glorie, prayse do/<sup>1</sup>minion power, and thanks/giuing for euermore. Amen.

> Vni Deo & trino sit, omnis gloria

> > FINIS.

[Ornament.]

1610

and euerlasting GOD, be all honour, glorie, praise, might power maiestie and dominion, now and for euer. Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

O Singular louer of vs, Christ Iesu, O Bridegroome to whom thy Church is most deare, and which hast promised that thou wilt neuer faile her: increase her;...

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Prayse and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sicke (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). Finis. (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

2 sign. P 5, back.

To the right worshipfull, vertuous, and godlie Gentle-woman, Mistresse Katherine Milward, most faithful spouse to the no lesse worshipfull, wise and religious Gentleman, Master William Milward. Esquire, P. S. wisheth

all happie fuccesse in this life, with increase of worship, and in the life to come, eternal felicity in the Heauenly Hierachie by Iesus Christ.



Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull)
may be maruailed at, concerning this little
book: <sup>2</sup>as namely, first, why I have published it, considering the great number of
Books, either of the same, or verie like
Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,
wherfore I have dedicated it rather vnto<sup>3</sup>
you then to anie other. For the first, I
protest before God, who knoweth the secrets

of all hearts, I have not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or \*gaines, nor yet for any other private respect of my owne whatsoever; but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good friends, and alliance also, who yet being living, & the onely man that hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I know will (if need should require) instifice the same against any that shold saverre the contrarie. And for the second, when I considered with my selfe how much bound I have alwaies beene to your worship

1 sign. ¶ 3. 4 sign. ¶ 4. <sup>2</sup> sign. ¶ 3, back. <sup>3</sup> vnso orig.

<sup>5</sup> sign. ¶ 4, back.

\*

#### The Epiftle Dedicatorie.

euer fince the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you have ever conceived of me, & fundrie other your courtefies Shewed towards me, far beyond my deferts or expectation: As also when I callled to remembrance your feruent zeale which you have ever born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indeuour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life therafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruailous humilitie & lowlinesse of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlenesse, and affability, your 2 rare continencie and integritie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no leffe (having fo fit an occasion given me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your 3 worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deferts, yet as an infallible testimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwil and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I have not fludied to be curious), it may feeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre vnworthy to bee 4 exhibited, to so wife, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heavenly and divine, I most humbly befeech you to accept therof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde under the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disdaine. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest vnthankfull to you to the death) will not cease also to pray to God for you. And thus I most humblie take my leave. From my

<sup>6</sup> Chamber, this prefent tenth of Aprill.

1592.

Your Worships in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

1 sign. ¶ 5. 4 sign. ¶ 6, back. sign. ¶ 5, back.
 sign. ¶ 7.

sign. ¶ 6.
 sign. ¶ 7, back.

### <sup>1</sup>Precepts at thy going forth of thy Chamber.

HEN thou bed fellow of the day ciuilitie re into the

HEN thou goest foorth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou hast anie), giving him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for civilitie requireth it). And when thou commest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute

them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, <sup>2</sup> and defire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou hast so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy felfe.

### Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.



8 ye filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by ye element of water; so is my bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not

onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghoft, but also am fealed vp to eternall faluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

### A praier to be faid at the wafhing of ones face & hands.

Oft gratious God, and louing Father, who hast given thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to suffer death vppon the Crosse for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee, for his sake, that as this my bodie is now washed

<sup>1</sup> sign. C 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> C 5.

<sup>4</sup> C 5, back.

#### A perfect Pathway

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, fo my body and foule maie both bee purified & purged from all vncleannesse and filthinesse of finne, thorow the efficacie of thy sonne his most precious bloud. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren. . . . . .

# Directions how a Christian fhould behaue himselfe at the Table.

Hen thou commest to the Table, shew all obeysance and curtesse, behaving thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much insatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all

men. Let all thy communication bee feafoned with falt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie give grace to the hearers, remembring that wee must give accounts at the daie of indgement for everie idle word. Vse not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor give either offence or evill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, give God thanks as followeth.

### A Thankf-giuing to God after dinner.

Oft holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thankes in 2the name of Iefus Christ for all thy benefites and blessings in mercy bestowed vpon mee euer since I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praise thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, so now presentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beseeching thee to feede my soule likewise with the

1 sign. D.

2 sign, D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou hast given vnto mee the vse of these learthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to give vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. . . . . .

## <sup>2</sup>A Thanks-giuing to God before Supper.



Ather of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I befeech thee, from the throne of thy heauenly palace vpon vs thy humble feruants, albeit most wretched and miserable sinners: fanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strength to

nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seefs to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praie thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall Manna of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or excesse. Remember that nature is satisfied with a little; and what is more then will suffice nature is superfluous; and one daie thou shalt be accomptable for it to the great Iudge of all the earth. Thy body beeing satisfied, forget not to relieve the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesse thee, & multiplie thy store. When Supper is ended, give god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwise, as the spirit of God shall illuminate thy heart.

1 sign. D 2.

2 sign. D 4, back.

3 Ends D 6, front.



A perfect Pathway

## <sup>1</sup>A Thankf-giuing to God after Supper.



H Lord our God, most gratious & holy father, we render all praise & thanks-giuing to thy soueraigne maiesty, for all thy benefites and blessinges so plentifully bestowed vppon vs. And namelie we thanke thee (holy father) for these thy good creatures, which

thou hast at this present in full measure given vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankefull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulnesse, for Iesus Christ his sake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithfull servants, and bring vs to everlasting life in thy good time, for thy great mercies sake in thy beloued, Amen.

### Directions of Christian behauiour after supper.



He rest of the time after Supper, vntill thou goest to bedde, <sup>3</sup>spend with thy familie, either in singing of Psalmes and spiritual songs, singing and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conferring, reasoning, disputing, and talking of the word

of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the fame. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole housholde together in some convenient place, make publike confession of your sinnes to God the Father, crave 'pardon and forgivenesse for Iesus Christs sake, and praie for grace to bee able to resist fin hereafter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, revoluing with thy selfe these and the like things following.

<sup>1</sup> D 6, back. <sup>2</sup> especially. <sup>3</sup> D 7, back. <sup>4</sup> sign. D 8.

### Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.

CANAL CONTRACTOR CONTR

Hen thou art come into thy chamber, call to <sup>1</sup>thy remembrance what euill thou haft committed that daie paft, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou fhouldest haue done, and hast not done. If thou

haft feene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praie for grace to follow it. If againe thou haft feene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy felfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele 2downe by thy bed fide, confesse thy fins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iefus Christ his sake, and praie to him to protect thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghoftly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy felfe. 'Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglefome carkaffe doe I beare about with me, that for very shame 3 had neede to bee couered with garments!' Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignity (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were given thee for verie necessities fake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason hast thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou 4 canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuefted with the garment of Christs righteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou puttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, fo thalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou rifeft againe, put off and lay away the earthly manfion of thy body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When fleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

<sup>1</sup> D 8, back. <sup>2</sup> sign. E. <sup>3</sup> sign. E 1, back. <sup>5</sup> sign. E 2, back.

LINEXLINE COLLEGE XLINES

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A perfect Pathway

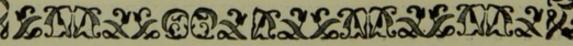
### A Prayer when fleepe commeth vpon one.

N N N N

Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of chaunge, feeing thou haft appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the <sup>1</sup> night for him to take his natural rest, I beseech thee that as my

bodie hath beene occupyed and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receive by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I have to live, to the praise and glorie of thy bleffed name: and in this my fleepe defend mee, I befeech thee, from all perilles 2 and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleafure to make my foule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare fonne Iefus Chrift vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phanta<sup>8</sup>fticall apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemie, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie fuggestions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my foule, refting vnder thy diuine protection, may be fafe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iesus Christ, my onelie Sauiour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com<sup>4</sup> mitting both thy bodie and foule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets closets and priuie chambers of thine heart, fearch euery place, and ranfacke euerie corner; and if thou findest anie filthinesse or vncleannesse therein (as indeed thou shalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus 6 with thy felfe; 'My bed dooth represent vnto me my

sign. E 3.
 sign. E 3, back.
 secretest? or secret
 E 4, back.
 E 5.



graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, wherewithall I shall shortlie be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these sleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eate and consume the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare, thinke thus; 'As now the morning commeth on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselse at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the sounding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoeuer, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell sound, saying, 'Arise, you dead and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praie to this effecte as followeth.

### A Praier when one awakes out of fleepe.



Ercifull father, grant that as thou haft now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall fleepe, fo thou wilt also vouchfafe to raise me vp from the fleep of fin, and in the general refurrection of all <sup>3</sup>flesh, to eternall life, thorow

Iefus Chrift my only Sauiour & Redeemer. . . . .

#### <sup>4</sup>Christian directions for the Morning.

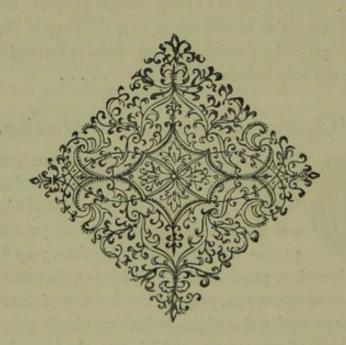
Hen thou hast attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pompously, nor proudly, goe forth of thy <sup>5</sup> chamber, and if thou beest a master of a househoulde, call thy familie together, confesse your sinnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to

refift finne hereafter, prayse God for all his benefites and bleffings in mercie bestowed vppon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to protect you that day, and to blesse all your workes and labours. And signally, desire him

<sup>1</sup> E 5, back. <sup>2</sup> E 6. <sup>3</sup> E 6, back. <sup>4</sup> on sign. F 3. <sup>5</sup> F 3, back. <sup>6</sup> sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghoftly whatfoeuer, and to bring you to euerlafting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iefus Chrift. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with fingle eie and good confcience, to the praife of him that made thee; being affured that as in mercie hee will not leaue the leaft 1 good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; fo in inftice hee will not leaue the leaft euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iesus our Sauiour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghost our Comforter and Sanctisier, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praise, dominion & thanksgiuing for euermore. Amen.

1 F 4, back.



### ASHORT

Treatife, of praiers and Supplications;

### COMPRISING

a brief fumme of all fuch
things as we stand
in need of in this
life.

By the fame Authour,
P. S. Gent.

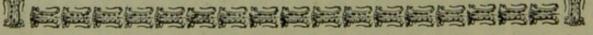
#### <sup>1</sup>A Praier for the Queenes Maieftie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh 2king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchedsafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the fame thy feruant, our fouereigne Ladie and gouernesse. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy 3 holie fpir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to ye fetting forth of thy glorie, ye maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduauncement of true vertue and godlines, the fupplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a feruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatfoeuer is defective or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the 4true & fincere discipline & gouernment of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practifes, either of papifts, Atheifts, or any other fectaries whatfoeuer. Giue her godlie, wife, & religious counfailers, fuch as may refpect onlie thy glorie, that her maieftie ruling acording to thy wil, they counfelling according to the infpiration of thy holy spirit, 5 and we her fubiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receive the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierufalem, thorow Iefus Chrift our Lord, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back. <sup>2</sup> sign. G 7. <sup>3</sup> G 7, back. <sup>4</sup> sign. G 8. <sup>5</sup> G 8, back.



## A Prayer for a Competent & a necessary living.

Lord our GOD, most gratious & holie father, 1 whose loue towardes men in Chrift Iefus is infinite and vnfpeakeable, & whose tender care ouer him is fuch, that thou hast promised that whofoeuer beleeweth in thee, dependeth vppon thy prouidence, and feeketh his reliefe at thy bleffed handes, shall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for foule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy fielie creature, of my felfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse 2it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iesus Christ his fake, that thou wilt give vnto mee a competent and a necessarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppresse mee not, nor that I be not drawen to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the maintenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) bleffe my ftore, and replenish my basket with thy 3 blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my felfe in the exercise & practise of good workes, to the reliefe of them that have neede, and the fetting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord. Amen. . . . .

### 'A praier to be faid of those that be vnmaried.

H Lord our God, in as much as thou hast commaunded in thy blessed word, the word of truth, that wee, abstayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleannesse, should keepe our vesselles in holinesse, and not in ye filthy lusts of the slesh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee ther fore to give mee grace to perform this thy most holy Commandement, and graunt that I never pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleannesse. And because, O Lord, chastitie of the bodie

<sup>1</sup> sign. H 6. <sup>2</sup> sign. H 6, back. <sup>3</sup> sign. H 7. <sup>4</sup> sign. K 2, back. <sup>5</sup> K 3.



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is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I befeech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart; that I, ban-ifhing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of <sup>1</sup>my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & foule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & ftrength of the pretious bloud of Iefus Chrift, Amen.

A Prayer to bee faid of those that be maried.

Oly Father, wee are taught by thy facred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after 2thou hadft created all things, the last of all other thou createdst man, & woman of a rib of his fide, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy bleffing, faying: 'Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth: ' I give thee most humble & harty thanks, for that it hath pleafed thee to call me to the honorable ftate of mariage. And I most heartily befeech thee that we may live together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of 3 our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy fake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielofie, hatred, malice, and con\_ tention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate togither, and become, as it were, but one bodie; fo vouchfafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doues, we may liue togither in chaftitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, 4 without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to blesse vs with children, give vs grace to bring them vp in fuch holy exercifes, discipline, and learning, as thou requireft of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy bleffing, we may alwaies haue fufficient to maintain our eftates withall in thy holie feare; that wee be not chargeable to others, but living forth of debt 5 and

sign. K 3, back.
 sign. K 4.
 sign. K 4, back.
 sign. K 5, back.



danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praife & glorie of thy bleffed name, thorow Iefus Chrift our Lord, to whom be praife and glorie for euermore, Amen.

# A Prayer to be faid of those that be masters of housholds.



Hou haft commanded (oh gratious Lord God) by thy bleffed Apostle, that masters <sup>1</sup>should intreate their feruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitternesse and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iustice, knowing that thou art our common

mafter in heauen: graunt me grace, therfore (good Lord), so to order my servants, as I never attempt nor enterprise anie vnrighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie over them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and <sup>2</sup>master of vs all, and respectest no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his slocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteousnesse and holinesse in conversation, that they and I togither, in thy good time, may all inherite everlasting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

### <sup>3</sup>A Prayer to be faid of *feruants*.

Lord our GOD, feeing thou haft ordayned fundry degrees and flates of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beseech thee, to serue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy blessed will, not with eye seruice as studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singlenesse of heart, as seeking to glorisie thee: being thorowsie perswaded that in seruing them, I serue thee, and of thee shall receive my reward. Give mee grace to demeane

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> sign. K 6. <sup>2</sup> K 6, back. <sup>3</sup> sign. K 7. <sup>4</sup> Appointest, *orig*. <sup>5</sup> sign. K 7, back.



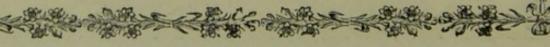
my felfe faithfully, iustlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to inrich my felfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueying anie thing from anie man by any finister practice 1 what so euer; but so to behaue my felfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be gloristed, and my faluation in Christ Iesus sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen. . . . . .

### <sup>2</sup>A Prayer in the time of Peftilence.

T is no marueile, O most righteous Father, that the

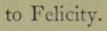
elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, fometime with earthquakes, fometime with tempefts & lightnings, fometimes with ouerflowing 3 of Seas & Riuers, fometime with peftilent concourfes of the heauenlie lights, and fometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that even in this case also the creatures ferue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect fo oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from 4the trust of this world with gentle correction, and draweft vs to the defire of the euerlafting life. We humblie befeech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and fauorablie to withdrawe the afflictions which thou haft laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of ye pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our felues from the infection of finne. But both those things are of thy gift, O 5 Father of mercie, namelie, as well to haue our mindes free from the poyfon of finne, as to haue our bodies fafe from ye infection of ye plague. Such as haue faftened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to fuch shifts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and fome to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully perfuaded that no 6 man can escape thy hand

sign. T 5, back. sign. T 7.



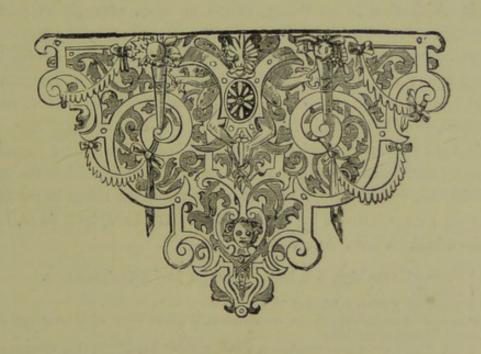
sign. K 8.
 sign. T 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On sign. T 5. <sup>5</sup> sign. T 6, back.



beleeue there is no fuch fafetie as to refort to thy felfe, and to flie from thy inftice to thy mercie, as to the furest and fafest fanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forsakest them that put theyr trust in thy goodnesse; vnder whose protection, even they that dye are safe. To thee therefore bee praise for evermore, Amen.

FINIS.



<sup>1</sup>A praier to be faid of all fuch as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealth.



Orafmuch as it hath pleafed thee, oh eternall God, ruler of all kinges and 2kingdoms, to conftitute and appoint me (though altogither vnworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my foueraigne, I befeech thee, giue me grace, fo to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I

maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may judge juftly 3, neither fauoring 4the rich nor mightie for defire of gifts, nor yet dispising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the advauncement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that fweete haruest fong<sup>5</sup>, 'well, good feruant, thou hast beene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord'. Oh Lord, let it be fo, for Iefus Christ his sake. Amen.

1 From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

3 Compare 2 Henry IV, Act V. sc. i. :-

Davy. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

Shal. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an

arrant knave on my knowledge.

Davy. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy

[Exit Davy.] 5 sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

4 H I, back.

#### NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: whose gawld backes are tutched. "But what o' that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it touches vs not: let the gall'd iade winch: our withers are vnrung." Hamlet, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, Trag. p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, veluers; p. 32, velvet.—Cotgrave distinguishes between velvet and velure: "Velours: m. Veluet . . . Tripe de Velours, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. Tripe: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;" and as Harrison says that wool was used for vellures, the stuff must have been a kind of 'velvet-pile cloth' like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. 'Velveteen' and 'cotton velvet' have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also velours in silk, cotton and wool (Littré):—

"In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers have reaped no small commoditie" (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, Description of England, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

"at Westminster. the bragging velure-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o' the tilters had ridden 'em." 1607. Webster & Dekker's Northward Ho, Act II. sc. I, p. 257, col. I, of Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On Canions, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of velvet, velure, Mr Henry Nicol says:—"The second v of velvet is an alteration of w (velwet, Promptorium), and this of u (feluet Launfal—misprinted in Stratmann felvet—veluet, Chaucer). That the w of Mid. E. veluet formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co uered it | with ve | lu-et | tes blew | e (Squire's Tale, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling velowetys. Mid. E. veluet comes from Old Fr. veluet (Roquefort—who misprints velvet), also spelt velluet (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as velluetum. Veluet corresponds to a hypothetical Latin villūtittum, being a diminutive of Fr. velu, hypothetic Lat. villūtum (Ital. velluto, Span. velludo), which shows the usual Fr.

#### 232 Notes on p. viii to p. 1. Velure, Velvet, &c.

loss of Lat. single t between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. villus. Another diminutive of velu is Old Fr. vellueau (Roquefort, with quotation), later veluau and veluyau, latinised velludellum, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. villūtellum.

"E. vellure (Shakspere velure, Cotgrave-probably by misprint-valure) is probably Early Mod. Fr. veleure (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag;' so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either velëure (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. villātūram, with the common Fr. suffix, or veloure (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. villoram, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. vellora ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. vellure existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. velëure, as if from veloure it would have been vellour in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. veloure had become veleure, either F. form (with eu = Late Mod. F. eu, or eu = Late Mod. F. eu). Late Mod. F. u) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. vellure comes from Mod. Fr. velours, as the s of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. Velours is a Mod. form for Old Fr. velous, which is Lat. villosum (Ital. velloso, Span. velloso); Froissart's velus is possibly influenced by velu, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with Lus. The Mod. Burgundian veleur, velor, quoted by Littré, is probably velours in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. veleure; an exactly parallel example of inserted r in the termination ous is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch jaloersch ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. jalours for jaloux (Lat. zēlosum)."

p. xii : the inferiour sorte onely. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. 1. Anatomie of Abuses. Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie: Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie." . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. Hazlitt's Handbook. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of No-Body and Some-Body, 1606, printed in Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, pursecutting, &c.

p. 1. Abuses.—See in S. Rowlands's A Fooles Bolt is soone shot, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

" Certaine common abuses

"A Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne:
A common seller, and a common buyer,
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made
A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade:
A¹ common Thiefe, in Newgate common Iayle,
Of Tyborne common hye-way cannot fayle:
A common Vag'rant, should by law be stript,
And by a common Beadle soundly whipt:
A common Scould, her furious heate must coole:
Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole:
A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaue,
Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue;
A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,
A common Companyon² for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his Looke to it: for Ile Stabbe ye, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11: who so sitteth at home. Cp. Shakspere, Two Gentlemen of Verona, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1:

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.
Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes
To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,
I rather would entreat thy company
To see the wonders of the world abroad,
Then (liuing dully sluggardiz'd at home)
Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. A plesant & famous Iland. Cp. Shakspere in Rich. II, "This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, Hist. p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c.; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to Harrison, Parts I and II, and Harrison, I. p. 221, &c.; my Andrew Boorde, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour \* \* with his Taratantara. Extract from Luther's Danger of delaying Repentance quoted in the Philobiblion, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: Poumerle poump! poumerle poump! pliz! pluz! schmi! schmir!3 This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, poumerle poump! This will be the war-cry and the taratantara of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: Kir! Kir! poumerle poump!" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2: two kindes of sinne. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres: outher it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne; and venial synne is, if a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Orig. Of. <sup>2</sup> Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on. <sup>3</sup> schmi, schmir! in the Philobiblion. Perhaps it should be schmi schmu! like poumerle poump!—S.

#### 234 Notes on pp. 27-31. Pride and Dress.

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

- p. 27. Pride. . . the verie efficient cause of all euils. "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches: as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueitise, to commune vnderstondynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Group I, 1. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.
- p. 28, l. 13. Pride is tripartite. Chaucer, in his Parson's Tale—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—I. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (portico, verandah) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the Parson's Tale, Ellesmere MS.)
- p. 28. Pride, &c.—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—
- "A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical."—Secondhand-book Catalogue.
- p. 29. Dame Nature. "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.
- p. 31. Other nations dress. Compare in Andrew Boorde's Introduction the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our apparel we were neuer nyce; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do neuer chaunge', p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashyons to Englond I do bequeue; I am content with my meane aray', p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.
- p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's Crudities, 1611, p. 259, quoted in Harrison, Pt. II. p. 64.

#### p. 31. Pride & Luxury in England.

"Who can endure to see

The fury of men's gullets and their groins?

What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?

What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?

What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,

And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature

Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?

Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family

To see her eat?"

1625 .- Ben Jonson, The Staple of News, III. ii. Works, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: new fangles:—"Cilecchi, iests, toyes, new fangles." 1598 Florio. Worlde of Wordes.

p. 33. English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles: see Harrison, I.? In The Three Ladies of London, by R. W., 1584, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 276, Lucre speaks thus of English exports and imports there:—

"Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.

Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and everything:

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,

As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets withal,

For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to stall:

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable That is slight, pretty, and pleasant: they care not to have it profitable. And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree, You must say 'jet will take up a straw: amber will make one fat: Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,' So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware, And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear."

Lucre. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey;
Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,
For you know in this country 'tis their chiefest request.

Mercatore. Indeed, de gentlewomans here by so much vain toys, Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys."

1584.-R. W., The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 306.

'Triquedondaines: f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought, by women; hence, any trash, nifles, or paltrie stuffe.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer:—"The hard times are slowly and surely working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

### 236 Notes on p. 33. 'Far-fetcht and dear-bought.'

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. Fewer velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimeracks are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact."—Daily News, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. I, United-States' Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: farrefetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes:—
"Mendoza. What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction... some such anything. Some far-fet trick good for ladies, some stale-toy or other, no matter so 't be of our devising."—Marston & Webster's Malcontent, V. ii., Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes far-fet, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, "Far-fet is good for ladies." So in Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, Act IV. sc. i, "Marry, and this may be good for us ladies; for it seems 'tis far-fet by their stay." See my Tell-Troth, p. 6, l. 7, & Stafford, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly's Euphues, p. 33, 'far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.' Again:—

"Mineuer. God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I have all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

Sir Vaughan. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

Mineuer. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath enery one should see, because they shall not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

Sir Vaughan. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

Mineuer. For I ha some thinges that were fetcht (I am sure) as farre as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were good for Ladies." 1602.—T. Dekker, Satiromastix. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer's use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.

The pride of "And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The carte and ploughman exceedthe carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy eth in pride him that is not of the fashion; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness: the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein." 1596.- J. Norden, Progress of Piety (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?) :- "where in those days [Henry VI's] Farmers and their wives were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altred : the Husbandman will be equal to the Yoman, the Yoman to the Gentleman, the Gentleman to the Squire, the Squire [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, every one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake." 1607 .-John Norden, The Surveyors Dialogue, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: his wife her perswasions. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of Tell Troth New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: some are so brasen faced & so impudent, &c. Cf. Two Gen. of Ver., II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia's round hose), and Much Ado, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: in leather. Compare Edward III, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspere, p. 1044, col. I: "Since leathern Adam till this youngest hour."

p. 39, 1. 7: it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of.

"Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them;
What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them;
For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,
He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.
In thy Apparell be something clenly,
Though in thy purse thou hast neu'r a penny:
Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,
And a farther grace happily giue thee.
Doe not seeme bace, though penilesse thou art;
But looke about, of whom to get a part."

1613.—The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 15.

p. 42, 1. 8 from foot: what prevayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c. Compare Chaucer's Gentleness in Scogan's Poem in Thynne's Chaucer, It. 380, bk, col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1; Morris's, vol. vi, p. 296.

"This firste stoke was ful of rightwisnesse, Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free, Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse, Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste;

# 238 Notes on pp. 42-49. Men's Dress, Starch, &c.

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he, He nis not gentille, thouhe him richë seme, Al were he mytre, corone, or diademe."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

άγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ Κάν' 'Αιθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενης ἔφυ

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—"Stemmata quid faciunt?" and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the British Quarterly Review, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspere's Meas. for Meas., Tennyson's Lady Clara Vere de Vere, &c.

- p. 43, l. 14: tagge and ragge. Compare John Partridge in The Worthie Historie of . . Plasidas, 1566, "To walles they go, both tagge and ragge, Their citie to defende," and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.
- p. 44. Pride & Apparel. See Chaucer's Parson's Tale (Works, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown "in superfluite of clotheynge" in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particolourd hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also Piers Plowman, Roberde of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, &c.
  - p. 49, l. 5: abhorring the christian povertie, &c.

"Be rich, I say; nay boy, be rich and wise!
Gold is an actious [so] mettle for the eyes.
Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,
And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare;
Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,
And many cheates, that come by many chances;
Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,
And twentie other such kind of matters.
While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,
May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,
And euery morning wash his face with teares,
And wipe his blubbered cheekes with sheualed heares.
It is a heauie sence, where coyne is wanting;
At such a time of care, friends are scanting."

1613 .- The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: liquide matter which they call Starch. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, "the first inventress of yellow Starch was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at Tyburn; and with her I believe that yellow Starch, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral."—Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line: if they stand uppon their pantoffles. See notes in Tell Troth on p. 55, last line.—S.

### MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; Father Hubburds Tales at the end of Dyce's Middleton, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion. Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his "A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing vnto vs the envied state of our florishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreame vices of this present time, &c. &c. by W. A." he makes "The Bellie" say (sig. B. 1 & 2):—

"Why, had euer Premetheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion: to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, O tempora, o mores! To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for show of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that cullour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatnes, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as straite as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men."

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs. 3. "Artificial Allurements," p. 295 of edition 1676:—

"Women are bad, & men worse; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. Good manners (as Seneca complains) are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hac vir, more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, 'Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiûm inseritur'; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed."

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and Shakspere, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, 'many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,' &c. Also in *Histrio-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

### 240 Notes on pp. 49, 50. Men's Hats, &c.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (School of Shakspere, ii. 47) :-

"We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs."

See too in 'A Supplycacyon to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght,' 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52): "Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and comforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hoode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon; than the Italyan fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consumynge of substaunce . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede." See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: one sute for the forenoone, &c. See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.

"Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:
(All are become a stiffe-necke generation)
Rose Hat-bands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:
Great Cabbage-shooestrings (pray you bigge enough)
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it:
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kils¹)
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This, Harts most humbly, and his fellowes, begs."

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, The Knave of Harts (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is described in Rowlands's More Knaues yet? (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5):—

". . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,
Which somwhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

<sup>1</sup> See the extract from Howes, in Harrison, Pt. II, p. 31\*.

### Notes on pp. 50, 51. Men's Feathers, &c. 241

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech
For the great large abhominable breech
Like Brewers Hopsackes: yet, since new they be,
Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee?
Some Laundresse we also will entreate
For Bands and Ruffes . . .
Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .
hats of newest blocke" . .

### p. 50. Hat & feathers, &c.

"His hat, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,
Faire outward show, and little wit within.
And all the band with feathers he doth fill,
Which is a signe of a fantastick still,
As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore
A goate 1 doth stand before a brothell dore.
His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,
His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared."

1598.—Jn. Marston, Satyre III. Works, 1856, iii. 223-4: see p. 216 too.

p. 51: feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs. The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his Father Hubburds Tales, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. "At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,2 according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep 3 as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tele autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v: T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604: "apparelled in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the wings and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts." 'Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.' Whalley's note on B. Jonson's Works, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

<sup>3</sup> 'They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would be a deep-gathered hose, than would be a deep-gathered hose.

<sup>3 &#</sup>x27;They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.' 1604.—T. M., Blacke Booke. Dyce's Middleton, v. 524.

#### Notes on p. 51. A Dandy's Dress in 1604. 242

them; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would outreach a thousand acres: moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose1 in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,2 that his back-part seemed to us like a monster; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence, 3 stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,4 which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [ = embosst] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself: 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure; nor those no hangers for Derrick'; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration: upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand!' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle 5 that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."-T. M. The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubburds Tales, 1604.

> "Asper . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather, The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff, A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

<sup>3</sup> See note, Dyce's Middleton, ii. 227. <sup>2</sup> galligaskins. 1 breeches. "There is no fool to the satin fool, the velvet fool, the perfumed fool; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—Return from Parnassus. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 184.

<sup>5 &#</sup>x27;Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were commonly of silver.' Compare-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Fastidious Brisk. . . my gray hobby . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a-oh, excellent, excellent-with the very sound of the spur.

Carlo. How! the sound of the spur?

Fast. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir: a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599 .- Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, II. i., Works, i. 80, col. 2; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Fungoso. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not ginglers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour! O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour (acted 1599). Induction, Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. I. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "A Pleasaunt Dialogue or Disputation between the Cap, and the Head. "1564, quoted in my Thynne's Animadversions (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxi.

p. 51, l. 3: hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.

"EPIGRAMS. Epig. 27. Aske Humors, why a Feather he doth weare? It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare. Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke? Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke? He hath a Humor doth determine so. Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go, With Scarfe about his necke? Hat without band? It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . . Object, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season? His Humor answeres: Humor is the reason. If you perceive his wittes in wetting shrunke, It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke. When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore, Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore: And every thing that he doth vndertake, It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600. - S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c.: dress, & starcht ruffs & rabatos.—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece 1, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar: your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it 2; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

<sup>1</sup> See Coryat's Crudities on this. Rowlands makes it Danish:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;His faces chiefest ornament, is nose, Full furnished with many a Clarret staine, As large as any Codpiece of a Dane, Embossed curious:"

<sup>1600.—</sup>S. Rowlands, Letting of Humours Blood, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> Lobado en el cuerpo, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, Tuber struma. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict. 'Lóbado, m. bunches in the flesh' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlargd Perciuale.'

### Notes on pp. 51, 52. Men's Bands, &c.

p. 51. Ruff & Band, &c. (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.,)

"Behold, at length in London streetes he showes.

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting,
Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;
It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,
When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.
Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck;
For under that fayre ruffe so sprucely set,
Appeares a fall, a falling-band forsooth!
O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth!
Jesu Maria! How his clothes appeare
Crost and recrost with lace! sure, for some feare
Least that some spirit with a tippet mace
Should with a gastly show affright his face."

1598.—Jn. Marston, Satyre III., Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. "Lambskin. My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy long together before they were married; then was I born." 1632.—Wm. Rowley, A Woman never vexed, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note: Euery pesant hath his stately bands. See Fairholt's capital quotations in Hist. of Costume in England, p. 216, from Lodge's Wits Miserie, 1596, and Euphues Golden Legacie, 1592. The first is, "The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit." See too in Harrison, II, 36\*, what Howes says: "men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then fiue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates." The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in The Debate between Pride and Lowliness wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3: Greene, in his prose Quip for an Upstart Courtier, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27: this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 101-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tearsheet says of Pistol, in the Second Part of Henry IV, "These villains will make the word 'captain' as odious as the word occupy, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." See Nares, edit. 1859 in v.; and Percy Folio MS. Loose and Humorous Songs, p. 29.'

### Notes on p. 53. Cost of Men's Dress, &c. 245

p. 53, 1. 4-6: result of extravagance in dress, &c :-

"yet take . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods untimbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed: then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old." 1618.—N. Breton, The Court and Country (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting 'Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen,' by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt's Inedited Tracts, 1868, p. 95; also, Quips upon Questions, 1600, sign. G 2.

"Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, I. i., Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: "Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens." 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, II. ii., Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: shirts. When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, "I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt" [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: "The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history," &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the City Match:

"Sir, she's a Puritan at her needle too:

My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparell will be quoted by
Some pure instructor."

Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1590) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: "He again lights me here,—

1613.—The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answere to the same, p. 7.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place: But do not serue for onely shew of grace, But let thy profit answere thy expence, Least want do proue a wofull patience, And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde, 'A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.'"

## 246 Notes on pp. 54-6. Men's Doublets, Canions, &c.

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had, -cuts my hatband, -and yet it was massy goldsmith's workcuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle-I had thrown off the hangers 1 . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catched hold of the ruffle 2 of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,-being somewhat a raw morning,-a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

- p. 54: men tender now.—Cp. Harrison, Part I, p. 337-8, "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.. altogither of straw," &c.
- p. 55. Dublets with great bellies. "Fungoso. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, belly and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, III. i., Works, i. 101, col. 1.
- p. 56. With Canions annexed. See the Velure-canioned hobbyhorses, in Northward Ho, p. 231 above. "Canons de Chausses, Cannyons. Chausses à queuë de merlus. Round breeches with strait cannions; hauing in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "Canions were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and canyons to the same," &c.
  - p. 56: gally-hosen; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.
- p. 56: hosen of a Marke price.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's Chronicle, quoted by Fairholt under hose, p. 512.
- p. 56: trunk hose.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other breeches than such sloppes or slivings as now many gentlemen weare:

sword usually hung."

<sup>2</sup> The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace.

"Ruffle your brow like a new boot." Ib. I. i. p. 73.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackecloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not misliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. The Passions of the Minde in generall. (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's Costume, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish slop.
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,
The swagg'ring Sloppe, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from More Knaves Yet, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—Every Man in his Humour, II. ii, Works, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,

And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,

And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—No-Body and Some-Body, Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-codbellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and Beso las manos in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, Montaignes Essayes, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion, Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's Love-Tricks, first calld The Schoole of Complement, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: nether-stockes, the stockings, as distinguisht from the hose, when the latter became breeches. See the Debate between Pride and Lowliness—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—'The neather stockes of pure Granada silke,' and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, Costume in England, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: shoes.—See Fairholt, Costume in England, p. 385-7. "Pinsnet, apparently the same as Pinson, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

a shoo, pinson, socke.'—Withals' Dictionarie, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. Pinçon, pinçonnet are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: boots with wide tops.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of Gregory's Chronicle, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thoo that made any longe pykys passynge ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pone the Sonday, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sonday, uppon payne of cursynge. And the kynge grauntyd in a conselle and in the Parlement that hyt shulde be put in excecussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe pykys whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make long pykys, and causyd tho same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe pykys to be trobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. Annales, p. 471.

p. 58. Coats, &c.

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, English and gave him clothe, and bad him make it himself, for he changed his apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

## Notes on pp. 58, 59. Men's Dress and Selfishness. 249

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, Exp. upon Aggeus, Works (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



I am an English man, and naked I stand here, Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were, For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that; Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—Andrew Boorde. The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. Cold charitie to the poore.

"Wealthye Cittizens.

You Cittizens that are of *Diues* Wealth,
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare:
Your Dogges are not so kinde to licke their sores,
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

# 250 Notes on pp. 59-61. Men's foreign fashions.

'For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry:
You play with that, for which they pine and die.
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, Looke to it: for, The Stabbe ye, B 2, back; p. 12, ed. 1872. Compare the corn-hoarder Sordido, in Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1599), I. i., Works, i. 78:

"O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.

Why, let 'em starve; what's that to me? Are bees

Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths? No."

p. 59-61. Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains. The madness "To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used in their apparel, among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks: their cap must be of the French fashion; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain 1 the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman: he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. Fewel of Joy, in The Catechism, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported:—

"Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Martin chain: of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, Essays, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade, Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made: Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes hee'le reuel, And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, ed. 1874, Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"Col. Tipto. . . . I would put on
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,
The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons; all my given pieces
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, The New Inn, II. ii., Works, ii. 354, col. I.

never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets.

Against vain and sumptuous ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, apparel when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Some-Nova times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught: we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens: would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, The Nosegay, in Early Works (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. Cloaks .- See Fairholt's Costume, p. 419.

p. 61. Boot-hose.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'footmantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has 'Triquehouse: f. A boot-hose; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. Rapiers : silver hilts & velvet sheaths.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Brainworm. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.

# 252 Notes on p. 62. Men's Rapiers and Daily Life.



E. Knowell. Ay, with a velvet scabbard, I think.

Stephen. Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a velvet scabbard, coz, that's flat: I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Brai. At your worship's pleasure, sir: nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

Stephen. I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you for it? An it had a silver hilt."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx.; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands:

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse?
Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play?
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house?
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes Sir Reuell, furnisht out with Fashion, From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe; That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation, Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so;

# Notes on pp. 62, 64. Men's Days. Women. 253

Drinkes drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship; Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

### " A Fantasticall Knaue.

Irra, come hither, I must send you straight To divers places, about things of waight: First to my Barber, at his Bason signe, Bid him be heere to morrow about nine: Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere: My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make About the Russet Bootes that I bespake. Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand, First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band; And point the Feather-maker not to faile To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . . Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade, And know if that my riding sword be made; Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat, My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great" . . . .

1613.—S. Rowlands, A Paire of Spy-Knaues, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

### WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS, KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his merualous Combat of Contrarieties, 1588, quoted

above on p. 239, says :-

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselues most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not all, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

### 254 Notes on p. 64. Women and their Dress.

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

"Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

"But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who comining into Syria, and seruing in ye Court would coure downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which ye Assirians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbiter betweene Iupiter and Iuno,) that there were In viero, tres amoris vnciæ, in femina, nouem, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleeues and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their culloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward showes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence : but all these are your prouvocations, these are the fruites of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so freelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault." Sign. B I & 2. See also Harrison, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer's address to his 'sisters, the women,' in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (Sermons, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): "Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that 'a woman ought to have a power on her head' . . But this 'power' that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our 'power' from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the 'power' as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks not tusts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open. Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because. they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tusts." And see his (Latimer's) Remains, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"Tactus. . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentle-woman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoeties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready."? 1602 (printed 1607), Lingua, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's Satiromastix, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"Sir Francis Ilford... if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women i are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, Miseries of Enforced Marriage. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 475.

The apparel "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, of women partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I have not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; . . . . It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550. - Becon, Jewel of Joy, in The Catechism, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referrd-to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: 'The Loathsomenesse of Long Haire; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;See Mr. Steevens's note on Othello, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's Blurt, Master Constable, 1602. Works, by Dyce, i. 280.'

# 256 Notes on p. 64. Women's Face-painting, &c.

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

### " Proud Gentlewomen.

You gentle-puppets of the proudest size,
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations,
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade
To paint your face, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe, The Moncky wast, the breeching like a Beare; The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe, The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare; You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy, That with your pride do all the world annoy, Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, Look to it; for, Ile Stabbe ye, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

"The yong woman commeth, married to an old man.

The young Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth woman. hither: and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides: a faire haire, if it be her owne: a rare face, if it be not painted; a white skinne, if it be not plastered: a full breast, if it be not bolstered: a straite backe, if it be not helped; a slender waste, if it be not pinched; a likely leg, if it be not lined; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest." 1613.—Anthony Nixon, A Straunge Foot-Post, E I, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. Women's coquetry & dress. — See The Pedlers Prophecie, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed Piers Plowman and wrote the Epigrams, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his Farewell to Folly, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and "Theological poets which... get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses" [which the writer of The Pedlers Prophecie does not].

"Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.
Rich showes, strange funerals, precious abilliments,
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Earing jewels, jemmes, to set out their faces, Chaunge of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine, Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces, With cullours curious, to make the face shine."

'In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "Greene in Conceipt: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire Valeria of London," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attyre not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his non plus, lost both his custome and the creedit of his workmanshippe" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, Bagford Ballads.

p. 64. Face-painting.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspere, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' 'tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [Love's Labours Lost], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his Sonnets also, 67, 1. 5: 68, 1. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays. "—My Leopold Sh. Introd. p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"Maquerelle. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dying of haire, sleeking of skinnes, blushing of cheekes, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, The Malcontent, II. iv. Works, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's Muses' Elysium (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., Works, 1793, p. 626, col. 1, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supple wrinkles,' the paper

"In which was painting, both for white and red;
And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies
For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

<sup>1</sup> Two Gent. II. i. 55-58: Meas. for Meas. III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; Ham'et, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; Ant. & Cleop. I. ii. 18; Winter's Tale, IV. iii. 101, &c. Shakspere's England: Stubbes.

p. 67. women's hair and painted faces.

"These flaming heads with staring haire,

These wyers turnde like hornes of ram:

These painted faces which they weare:

Can any tell from whence they cam?

Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned lyes,

All these new fangeles did devise."

1595-6. - St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, Hazlitt's E. E. Pop. Poetry, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68: false hair:—See Shakspere, Love's Labours lost, IV. iii. 259; Merchant of Venice, III. ii. 92-6; Henry V, III. vii. 60; Sonnets 68, 1. 2-8.

"I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,

Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire;

I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies,

The curl d-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.

Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire:

I am noe Mimyck ape; I loathe and hate Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate."

? 1611.-W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3: cappe.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. I (see the note there):

"Our great heads

Within this city, never were in safety
Since our wives wore these little caps: I'll change 'em.
I'll change em straight in mine: mine shall no more
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake."

p. 69. Carvles :-

"These glittering cawles of golden plate,

Wherewith their heads are richlie dect,

Make them to seeme an angels mate

In judgement of the simple sect:

To peacockes I compare them right,

That glorieth in their feathers an angels mate bright." (See p. 259, 271.)

1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses: see the woodcuts above.

"This starch, and these rebating props,
As though ruffes 2 were some rotten
house,

All this new pelfe now sold in shops,

In value true not worth a louse;
They are his dogs [the Devil's],
he, hunter sharp;
By them a thousand he doth

By them a thousand he doth warpe."

1595-6. - Stephen Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, iv. 253.

1 "Why, this was moulded on a porringer;
A velvet dish: fie, fie! 'tis lewd and filthy:
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap."—64-7.

<sup>2</sup> See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbes's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by poking-sticks:—

"What lack ye? What lack ye? What is it you will buy? Any points, pins, or laces, Any laces, points or pins? Fine gloves, fine glasses, Any busks or masks?

Come, cheap 1 for love, or buy for money.
Any coney, coney-skins,
For laces, points, or pins?
Fair maids, come choose or buy.
I have pretty poking-sticks,
And many other tricks;
Come, choose for love, or buy for money."

Or any other pretty things? Come, choosefor love, or buy for money."

1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon.

Hazlitt's Dodsley, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbes's Anatomie about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to Captain Cox or Laneham's Letter, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in Harrison, II, 34\*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. I: wanton Sempronians.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbes was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: 'libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sæpius peteret quam peteretur.'—Catalina, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: ruffs.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"Maquarelle. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare falling bands; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane fall is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your falling band requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, The Malcontent, V. iii. Works, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbes's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in Green's Tu Quoque, by John Cooke.

" \* \* for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. Women's fashions.—"1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satiry/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invectiue conference, be/tweene Allexander the great, and/ that truelye woman-hater Diogy/nes. Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all such

<sup>1</sup> Bargain, deal: A. Sax. ceapian.

gentlewomen as are not alto geather Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.) "The gossiping vviues complaint [sign. E, back] against hir riche churlishe husband . . . .

"Two thinges I love; two vsuall thinges It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man they are;

The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue

Newe tires, newe ruffes; I, and newe gesture too:

In all newe fashions, I doe love to goe. The second thing I love, is this, I weene, To ride aboute to have those newe cloathes seene:

At eurye gossipping I am at, still, And ever wilbe, maie I have my will, For, at ons owne howse, praie, who is't cann see

Howe fyne in newe-found fash' ond tires wee bee ?

Vnles our husbandes: faithe! but very ferve!

And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbands

Alas, we wines doe take but smale delight Yf none (besides our husbands) sees that sight.

Praise this or that attire, that we weare

Wee iocond are, and think our selves much graste

Yf we heare some one saie 'faire wenche, faithe, in waste

This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well;

From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell.

Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes,

Throwes-vp the lure which wynns our verye hartes.

When we are stubborns't, then let men with skill

Rubb'es well with th' oyle of praise; and bend we will,

That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth soften us soe.

As what ist then, we will not yield vnto? Meetings and brauerye were my delight."

p. 72: starch. -- City Night Cap. Old Plays, vol. 11, p. 309:-

"My chambermaid

Putting a little saffron in her starch, I most unmercifully broke her head."-Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

"Chloe . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you? Cytheris. O Juno! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puffwings,1 and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it? who starches you? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses 2 out of the city." 1601.—Ben Jonson, Poetaster, IV. i. Works, i. 236, col. 2.

1 "That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up." See p. 241 above.

<sup>&</sup>quot;This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tirewomen, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his Bartholomew Fair; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his Muses' Looking-Glass. . ."

p. 73-5. Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c. The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denounct here, though they were by Latimer:

"I think Mary had not much fine linen; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-abouts; they were not invented then; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time: Non tortis crinibus, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially;' Non plicatura capillorum, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. Remains, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, Montaignes Essayes (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34\*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them:—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,

These monstrous bones that compasse armes;

These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,

With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.

He fisher is, they are his baytes,

Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, in Hazlitt's E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. p. 254.

Fans. Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,
To flit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
When heat of summer doth arrise,
The wit of women we might praise,
For finding out so great an ease;

But seeing they are stil in hand, In house, in field, in church, in street, In summer, winter, water, land,
In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,
I judge they are for wives such tooles,
As bables are in playes for fooles.

Busks.

The baudie buske that keepes downe flat
The bed wherein the babe should breed,
What doth it els but point at that
Which faine would have somewhat to feede;
Where bellie want might shadow vale,
The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,
Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,
And that by shot they take most harme,
When lustic gamesters come in field,
I guess buskes are but signes to tell
Where launderers for the campe do dwell."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes, 1866, p. 255 6.

Secret coats or stays .- Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong
With bones,1 with past, with such like ware,
Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
And now they harnest gallants are;
Were they for use against the foe,
Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay

The course that nature doth intend,

And mothers often by them slay

Their daughters young, and worke their end,<sup>2</sup>

What are they els but armours stout,

Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout?"

1 "Winifride... Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), Jacke Drum, Act IV. Simpson's School of Shakspere, ii. 182.

<sup>2</sup> John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernitious beyond imagination; who thinking a Slender-waste a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone

hoops, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

"These hoopes, that hippes and haunch do hide, And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine, As they are now in use for pride, So did they first beginne of paine: When whores in stewes had gotten poxe, This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout Might arses greate at first begin; And that when paunch of whore grew out, These hoopes did helpe to hide their sinne; And therefore tub-tailes all may rue, That they came from so vile a crue.

prison or little-ease; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse. Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunucho.

Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student : Demissis

humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut graciles fient.
—— si qua est habitor paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, aeaucunt cibum, Tamet si bona est natura, reddunt curvatura junceos.

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that Terence lived. "Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time: Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituation of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked."-Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650.
Bulwer also denounces the Absurd, tho' now happily abandona custom of

swathing children in tight bands:-

"We in England are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave." 1650.—Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd; or, the Artificial Changeling, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

## 264 Notes on p. 75. Women's Hoops, Aprons, &c.

If barreld bums 1 were full of ale,
They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne;
But yeelding nought but filth and stale,
No losse it were, if they did burne . . ."

Aprons.

"These aprones white of finest thrid,
So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought;
Were they in worke to save their cotes,
They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,

They set up whites, and shew the pinne;
It may be, aprones are like tricks,

To teach where rovers, game may winne.

Brave archers soone will find the marke,
But bunglers hit it in the darke."

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, Pleasant Quippes. Hazlitt's E. E. Popular Poetry, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. Gown layed with lace, &c.

"Girtred. . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladie, and I praise God my mother must call me 'Madam'. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake! off with this gowne! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand! . . I tell you I cannot indure it; I must bee a lady! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen peticoate with two guardes, the buffin gowne with the tuff-taffitie cape and the velvet lace? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady! I like some humors of the Citty dames well . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good; to die rich scarlet, black, prety; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your minsing niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticotes, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it." 1605.—In. Marston, Eastward Hoe, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. Cost of dress.—See Rowlands's "To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan," as to how woods are cut down, and tenants rackt, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his Knaue of Spades, ? 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in The Pryde and Abuse of Women, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's Pop. Poetry, iv. 229), says—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes,
And theyr trappynge trinkets so vayne!
A bounsinge packsadel for the devyll to ryde on,
To spurre theym to sorowe and payne."—p. 238.

# Notes on pp. 75-7. Parents' neglect of Children, &c. 265

p. 75. Parents to blame. "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee given to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle

pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and ietting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see : and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to theire children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [ = lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chasting them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we have such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy livers are spred about in euery quarter, -but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion given to offend, and also good men should not have so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577. - Jn. Northbrooke, Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c. (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. Nether stockes, korked shooes, &c.

"These worsted stockes of bravest die, | To carrie all this pelfe and trash, And silken garters fring'd with gold; These corked shooes to beare them hie, Makes them to trip it on the molde: They mince it with a pace so

Because their bodies are unfit, Our wantons now in coaches dash, From house to house, from street to street."

1595-6.-St. Gosson, Pleasant Quippes Like untam'd heifers, when they for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.

"Crispinell. Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tissefew. Dost not weare high corke shooes-chopines? [Cp. Hamlet, II.

ii. 447.] Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."-1605. Jn. Marston, The Dutch Courtezan, III. i. Works, 1856, ii. 147.

## 266 Notes on pp. 77, 78. Women's Shoes, Scents, &c.

p. 77, 1. 2, pinsnets,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know pinsnet except in Stubbes. Pinson is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the Promptorium, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, les eschapins—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards Pinsons on her feete."—Household Ordinances (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson hee pedibromita.e. dicitur a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—Catholicon. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"Pedibomita / te. anglice (a pynson)."—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] Ortus Vocabulorum. W. de Worde. 1532.

"Calcearium. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, osa."—Manipulus Vocab. "Pynson, sho, caffignon."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "Cassignon: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "Soceatus. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "Detrahere soccos alicui: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "Calcearium. A shoe, pinson, or socke." Calceo. To put on shoes, sockes, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. Pomanders.

"Ist. Boy. Your only way to make a good pomander, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), Lingua. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's English Housewife, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's Works, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—Lingua, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: fragrant Pomanders. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's Webster, ed. 1871, note on the Malcontent, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, 1. 2: droye.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. North.—See Malone's Shakespeare, xviii. 42; Tusser's Husbandry, p. 256."—Halliwell's Dict.—S.

p. 78, 1. 3: pussle. — Compare "Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish," I Hen. VI, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "Puzel or Pussel, Dolphin or Dog-fish." — Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a puzell verie beautifull."—Holinshed, ed. 1587, iii. 545/1/52.—S. "Then, three prety puzels az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—Laneham's Letter, my ed. p. 23.

# Notes on p. 78. Women's bare Breasts.

p. 78: naked breasts.—See Harrison, Pt. 1. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his The Devil is an Ass, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . "since Love hath the honour to approach These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft And rosy hand."

"Here he grows more familiar in his courtship." "Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands," &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), "Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps."—P. A. D.

"Bellula. Let pinching citty-dames orecloud their eyes:
Our brests lie forth, like conduicts of delight,
Able to tice the nicest appetite.
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne?
Pink. Madam, not this weake, do what I can."
7 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, Histrio-Mastix, Act III. R. Simpson's School of Shakspere, ii. 50.

"Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,
And call us Night Walkers and Faries,
Go fumble old Joan, and let us alone,
And never come near our canary's:
We'll wear our breasts bare, 1 and curl up our hair,

'Thus rendered by H. F. Cary:-

"What wouldst thou have me say? A time to come Stands full within my view, to which this hour Shall not be counted of an ancient date, When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze. "What savage women hath the world e'er seen, What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge Of spiritual or other discipline,

To force them walk with covering on their limbs. But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,

Their mouths were op'd for howling: they shall taste Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Ebsworth's note is, 'The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii.:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica? Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto, Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica," etc.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet "Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders."

<sup>\*</sup> On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's Crudities, 1611.

## 268 Notes on p. 78. Women's bare Breasts.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people; But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more, We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodes," To the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collection, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housd in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's Four-footed Beasts (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious... There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones in their own bosomes, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's The English Gentleman, 1630, 4to, p. 28:—

"But alas; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne? When that Sex, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foments of exposed loosenesse; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even in their naked Bosomes, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toyes of Venus and Adonis: which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

'So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii):—

"These Holland smockes, so white as snowe, and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought, A tempting ware they are, you know, wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc. "These perriwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes, these spangles, chaines and laces all; These naked paps, the Devils ginnes, to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall: [He fowler is, they are his nets, Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

'These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee! I can tell what thou would'st do . . . . . Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin:
For thou thyself hast been a libertine,
As sensual as the brutish sting itself:
And all the embossëd sores and headed evils,
That thou with license of free foot hast caught,
Would'st thou disgorge into the general world."

As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7."

p. 78, 1. 7: kissing.—"I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publiquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them." [In Spain they don't do it] "because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should have this occasion." 1623.—

J. Minsheu, Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see Harrison, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his Scourge of Villanie, 1599, Works, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see Lusty Juventus, 1550, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 85:—

"What a hurly-burly is here! Smick smack, and all this gear! You will to tick-tack, I fear, If you had time: Well, wanton, well:
Iwis I can tell
That such smock-smell
Will set your nose out of tune."

See Beatrice's protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston's Dutch Courtezan (1605), Act III. sc. i; Works, 1856, ii. 144. She's one of Sir Herbert's daughters, and says, "boddy a beautie! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collor, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lipps as familierly. Soft skins save us! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes: I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe," &c. &c. A. D. 1792, "there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her; the same is practised by the people in general; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friend-ship are impressed alike on the lips." H. Meister (Swiss by birth). Letters on England, englisht 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. Sweet smells of musks, &c.

"Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,
Their waters made of seemely sent,
Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeete,
Except where needes they must be spent."

1579.—W. A., A speciall Remedie against . . lawlesse Love. Collier's Bibl. Cat. ii. 237.

"Mercatore.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack; For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .

Gerontus . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant perfumes, and many such toys,

Wherein I perceive consisteth that country['s] gentlewomen's joys.

<sup>1</sup> See Meas. for Meas., I. ii. 196.

## 270 Notes on pp. 78, 79. Women's Toys, Scents, &c.

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons." 1584.—R. W., The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :-

" What smels sweete?

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand thinges
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes:
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.
Faire Women that in bosoms nosegays weare,
Kisse byt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well."

1600.—Quips upon Questions.. By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer: "Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume."

p. 78-9. Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.

"Epigram.

What feather'd fowle is this that doth approach
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?
Three yards of feather round about her hat,
And in her hand a bable like to that:
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose;
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose!,
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there?
Light feather'd stuffe befits you best to weare." (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)
1608.—S. Rowlands, Humors Looking-Glasse (Hunterian Club, 1872)

A Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine:
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,
In her attire an angell of the light.
Is she an Angell? I: it may be well,
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Tailor. Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown:

Grumio. Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred: I said a gowne."

—? 1596-7.—Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224, col. 2.

## Notes on pp. 79, 80. Women's Feathers, &c. 271

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,
She scornes to treade our former proud wives traces,
That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces;
In her conceit it is not faire enough,
She must reforme it with her painters stuffe;
And she is neuer merry at the heart,
Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.
Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,
Then home againe; birladie, she takes paines.
My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,
If he were loose, would lead a single life."

The Humors that haunt a Wife (ib. B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. Looking-glasses: mirrors in hats, &c.

"Amorphus . . . Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat, as I told you: so!" 1600.—Ben Jonson, Cynthia's Revels, II. i.

p. 79: bracelets, rings, &c.

"and now, my honie Loue,
Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house
And reuell it as brauely as the best,
With silken coats and caps, and golden Rings,
With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things;
With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,
With Amber Bracelets, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7 .- Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. Masks, face-painting, &c.

"Peace, Cynick; see, what yonder doth approach!
A cart? a tumbrell? No a badgëd coach.
What's in't? Some man? No, nor yet woman kinde,
But a celestiall angell, faire, refinde.
The divell as soone! Her maske so hinders me,
I cannot see her beauties deitie,
Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
So steept in lemons juyce, so surphuled,
I cannot see her face. Under one hoode
Two faces: but I never understood
Or saw one face under two hoods till now:
'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.
Her maske, her vizard, her loose-hanging gowne
(For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

<sup>1</sup> Both sexes wore them publicly; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistresses's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

### Notes on pp. 80, 81. Women's Masks, &c. 272

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall, Is all that makes her thus angelicall. Alas! her soule struts round about her neck; Her seate of sense is her rebato set : Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse, Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse. Out on these puppets, painted images, Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskeries, Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light! Away! away! hence! coach-man, goe inshrine Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline!" 599. - Jn. Marston, Scourge of Villanie. Works, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. Visors made of veluet: Of Masks, Gosson says, Pleasant Quippes, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254:-

". . on each wight, now are they seene, | What else do maskes but maskers show? The tallow-pale, the browning-bay, The swarthie-blacke, the grassie-greene, Our masking dames can sport, you knowe, The pudding red, the dapple graie, So might we judge them toyes

To keepe sweet beautie still in plight.

And maskers can both dance and play: Sometime by night, some time by day: 'Can you hit it'1 is oft their daunce, Deuse-ace 2 fals stil to be their chance."

"Higgen. We stand here for an epilogue Ladies, your bounties first! the rest will follow; For women's favours are a leading alms: If you be pleas'd, look cheerly, throw your eyes Out at your masks. Prigg.

And let your beauties sparkle!" 1622. - Fletcher. The Beggars Bush, Works, i. 231.

p. 81: makers of new fashions .- Compare Massinger, in his Picture, 1629-30. Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. I, Moxon's ed.-

> " Eubulus. . . . . . There are some of you, Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery, Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war Or a long famine. All the treasure, by This foul excess, is got into the merchant, Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor's hand, And the third part of the land too, the nobility Engrossing titles only."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare Rosaline: 'Thou canst not hit it, my good man,' L. L. Lost, IV. ii.; Ritson's Robin Hood, ii. 213; Wily Beguil'd (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> A male's genitals.

p. 81. Heathen women an example to Christian ones.

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), Works (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, 1. 10 from foot. In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.—Munster (Cosmography, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quòd superne nimium excauatur."-S.

#### p. 87. Women's dress: its motive:-

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress, If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail, Put not forth ever and anon with your nets Abroad into the world? It is your fishing. There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady, Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters, Fetch answers, do you all the offices That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. The Devil is an Ass, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2. p. 87 .- How the day's spent by Women :-

> "Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes, And then againe her Lady-ship 1 doth rise, Her Maid must make a fire, and attend To make her ready; then for wine sheele send, (A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake, And counterfeits as if shee could not speake, Vntill eleuen, or a little past, About which time, euer she breakes her fast; Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure, And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre. At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes, Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepes Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout; And when that lazie humour is worne out, She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap, Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap) Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale, Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale, Or walke a turne or two about the Hall, And so to supper and to bed : heeres all This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her! But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.2 . . ."

1609 .- S. Rowlands, A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

1 Ironical. She has no title. 2 See S. Rowlands's sketch of a Jealous husband, in his Diogines Lanthorne, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye, 1604, the Idie-huswife, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

"Fine, neate, and curious mistris Butter flie,
The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,
You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why;
Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,
Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,
Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.
You that will call your Husband 'Gull & Clowne,'
If he refuse to let you haue your Will:
You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,
Vnlesse his purse be lauish open still,
You that will haue it, get it how he can,
Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,
Ile Stabbe thee."

Compare too an older complaint in The Schole-House of Women, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 111-112:—

- "¶ Wed them once, and then adue, Farwel, all trust and huswifery; Keep their chambers, and them self mew,
  - For staining of their fisnamy [complexion],

And in their bed all day doo lye; Must, once or twise euery week, Fain them self for to be sick.

¶ Send for this, and send for that;
Little or nothing may them please;
Come in, good gossip, and keep
me chat,

I trust it shall do me great ease; Complain of many a sundry disease; A gossips cup between vs twain, Til we be gotten vp again.

- ¶ Then must she have maidens two or three,
  - That may then gossips togither bring;
  - Set them to labour to blere the eye; Them self wil neither wash ne wring, Bake ne brue, ne any thing;

Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot, Brew of the best in a halfpeny pot.

¶ Play who wil, the man must labour, And bring to house all that he may; The wife again dooth nought but glauour,

And holde him vp with yea and nay; But of her cup he shall not assay, Other she saith, it is to thin, Or els, iwis, there is nothing in." &c.

- p. 87, l. 10 from foot. Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sittyng at the doore.—"They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by." Emanuel van Meteren's History of the Netherlands, in Rye's England as seen by Foreigners, p. 72; Harrison, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.
- "Butler. I am now going to their place of residence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see Harrison, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me; but ask not for

# 276 Notes on p. 87. Shopkeepers' Wives used.

me, only walk to and fro; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with the shopkeepers' wives: they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607. — G. Wilkins, The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistresse Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress:—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him; and his wife is a proper woman; that she is! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wain-scot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant: her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All thinges with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable. He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save, To be cald nigard, cuckold, cut-throat, knave!"

And in his Satyre I, 1598, Works, iii. 215, Marston says :-

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,
To see such troupes of gallants still resort
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause
But chast Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes?"

Machiavelli's Instructions to his Son how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject:—

" If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore, Let her stand like a picture at thy doore, Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends, Faire eies, fond lookes, will gaine a world of friends. Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie; Bid her forbeare; her toyle makes thee pittie; Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines, With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines. Play at bo-peepe, see me and see me not; It comes off well, that is so closely got; And euermore say, 'aye! well fare the vent That paies the charges of the house, and rent!' Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this, The finest Dames doth some times do amisse, Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede, And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede, And make great shew of deuoutest praier, When she only goes to meete her louer.

### Notes on p. 87. Shopkeepers' Daughters and Maids. 277

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text; Shee tels him any thing that cometh next; And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse, Scarse for laughing, one word can rehearse, But prettily turnes it off with some iest: He beares with all; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,
And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,
If by her sutors, siluer may be had,
Beare with small faults; the good will help the bad.
Be not too seuere, time may mend their faults;
He is a foole, before a cripple haults;
Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,
Tis pittie but his cheekes should e're look thin:
What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all;
Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall?
This is no world for vertuous men to thriue;
Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliue.
Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie;
Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-servants be kinde-hearted wenches,
And closely make kinde bargins on the benches,
Let them have libertie, love and pleasure;
All these are helpes to bring in thy treasure;
Let them laugh and be merrie; it yeelds content;
Thei'le humor all, till all their coyne is spent.
If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,
Winke at a wanton who hath not beene so."

1613.—The Vncasing of Machinils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, ib. sign. F 2, back :-

"An honest minde in euery trade doth well,
The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.
Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,
Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,
To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.
Winke at no faults; it is but misery,
By bestiall meanes to releeue necessity.
If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,
That her peeuish meanes worke not thy strife;
Giue her not too much lawe, to run before;
Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow;
Yet abridge her not too much by any meane;
But let her still be thy companion.

## 278 Notes on p. 87. Parents' Treatment of Children.

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,
Then [= than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.
What a greeuous case were this for thee,
To extoll thy selfe to prosperity
By such insatiat meanes! a heavy sense
Deserving nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such markt contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in King Solomon's Book of Wisdom, in my Adam Davie (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my Babees Book, &c., E. E. Text Soc.):—

"Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare, Yet to outward view let not loue appeare, Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue, By audacious meanes doe audacious proue. Seeme not a companion in any case To thy children: learne them know who's in place, That due obedience to thee be done; The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne. Thus may thy children be at thy commaund, With willing heart, still helpefull at thy hand. Familiarity, contempt doth breed : By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto the seede: Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list; Once being growne, thei'll stubbornely resist, Caring not for parents nor their talking, Commending their owne wits; age is doting. Looke well to youth and how their time is spent, Least thou by leasure afterwards repent . . . Vse no corrections in an angry vaine, Which will but vexe thee much, increase thy paine . . . The greefe is thine, when children goe astray; Giue them not too much liberty to play, Least that they doe to a custome bring it, And euer after forbeare to leaue it."

[sign. G 2] "Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade; Loue thou thy God; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself:-

"Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop, Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top; Shee is a Lady for her louely face, And her countenance hath a Princes grace, And that her beautie hath inthrald thee soc.

### Notes on pp. 87, 88. Shopwomen, Gardens. 279

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe; Then cast thine eye vpon her beautious cheeke, Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like: Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing; Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing; Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin; Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene; Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie, Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely: Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be, Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see; Then she nods the head with smiling fauor, That thou shouldst bestow such loue vpon her. Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head, And give a sigh, as though thy heart were dead; And shew strange passions of affections sence, That she may pittie loue sirreuerence, Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor, Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her. Thus let the issue of this cunning be, That from her purse, some profit come to thee, A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stuffe, A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe; A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring, Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing, Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine That still inuention gives his sweetest vaine."

1615. - The Vncasing of Machinils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 11-12.

p. 88, 1. 8: thei have Gardens, &c.—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in Measure for Measure, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's Bondman, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to proue fatall to such as followe the Garden Alleyes, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vulesse they leave Harlotte-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serve them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, The Black Yeare, C 3, back.

In Skialetheia, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

"who, comming from the.

Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in

To some odde garden noted house of sinne;"

and West, in a rare poem, The Court of Conscience, 1607, tells a libertine, "Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

## 280 Notes on pp. 88-90. Gardens, Harlots, &c.

The garden alleyes paled on either side;
Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."
(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's Illustrations, p. 38.

Also in 1606, No-Body and Some-Body, Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 352 :-

"Somebody doth maintaine a common strumpet Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

#### FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. Harlots & Brothels.—See S. Rowlands's Doctor Merrie-Man, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in:—

"I am a profest Courtezan, That liue by peoples sinne: With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe, I have great comming in. Such store of Traders haunt my house, To finde a lusty Wench, That twentie Gallants in a weeke, Doe entertaine the French; Your Courtier, and your Citizen, Your very rustique Clowne, Will spend an Angell on the Poxe, Euen ready mony downe. I striue to liue most Lady-like, And scorne those foolish Queanes, That doe not rattle in their Silkes And yet haue able meanes I haue my Coach, as if I were A Countesse, I protest, I haue my daintie Musicke playes When I would take my rest. I have my Seruing-men that waite Vpon mee in blew Coates:

I have my Oares that [do] attend My pleasure, with their boates: I haue my Champions that will fight, My Louers that do fawne : I haue my Hat, my Hood1, my Maske, My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne; To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull, Is mighty fauour found, When for the wearing of the same, It costs him twentie pound. My Garter, as a gracious thing, Another takes away: And for the same, a silken Goune The Prodigall doth pay. . . . Another lowly-minded youth, Forsooth my Shooe-string craues, And that he putteth through his eare, Calling the rest, bace slaues. Thus fit I Fooles in humours still, That come to me for game, I punish them for Venerie, Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies:

"What, do you sigh? this it is to kiss the hand of a countess, to have her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five

<sup>1&</sup>quot; "Alice. The poor common whores can have no traffic for the priny rich ones; your caps and hoods of velvet call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, IV. iii. Works, ii. 192, col. 1.

### Notes on pp. 97, 98. Whoredom in London. 281

hundred crowns or so: why, 'tis nothing! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery: well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, V. vii.; Works, i. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13: huggle, to embrace closely.
"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,
And huggle me from the cold."

Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard, ll. 61-2. Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry.—S.

p. 97. Cottages in every lane end. Against this evil was passt, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniences whiche are founde by experience to growe by the erectinge and buyldinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme: Be it enacted. That . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect. any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge. as a Cottage for habitacion or dwellinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grownde at the least. beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. Whoredom to be punisht.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconvenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Curtizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto: is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed: idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can give no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, Greenes Ghost haunting Coniecatchers, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's Pryde and Abuse of Women, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 233:

"Take no example by shyre townes,
Nor of the Cytie of London:
For therein dwell proude wycked
ones.

The poyson of all this region.

For a stewde strumpet can not so soone Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon, But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it well,

And catch it up anon."

And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI.: "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days.. how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common!.. It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

## 282 Notes on pp. 99, 100. Whoredom to be punisht.

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, 'Immunity, impunity:' what should I call it! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it; and the quest, they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." Sermons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the "manifolde Enormities" in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590:

"XXV. Sundrie notoriowse vises abowndinge, by meanes of ye former confusion in ye Ecclesiasticall state.

1. Vnlawfull and vnresonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.

2. ffornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted. [? practist.]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnresonable strength of Ale soulde with owte sise of Statute: a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton's Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne.)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talkinge vppon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continuall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore; no way punished or punishable."

Remains, Hist. & Lit. Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99: punishment for Whoredom. Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550:—"I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished: it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin." Sermons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244: and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves: I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.—" On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to have beene the burning of old shooes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before evening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon

## Notes on p. 101. Judgment on a Whoremonger. 283

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roofe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench: which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."-Holinshed, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60-15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed's account is, as usual, from Stow's Annales, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and having spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's Crew of kinde Gossips, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I haue, The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue. He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues, I am beholding more to others loues Then vnto him, -in honest manner tho, [irony] And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so .-There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three, And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be, Which will not see me want, I know it, I: Two of them at my house in Terme time lye, And comfort me with iests and odde deuice, When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice. For if I were without a merry friend, I could not liue a twelue-month to an end; One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,-It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,-Do y' thinke my husband would haue bin so free? Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. Wives live by whoredom.

" Knockem. . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

Mrs. Littlewit. But do you think you can get one?

Knocken. O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every pettifogger's wife has 'em; for first he buys a coach that he

## 284 Notes on p. 102. Gluttony, Drunkenness.

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, IV. iii. Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

#### GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102: glutton.—" What good can the great gloton do wt his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in ye middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but ye the body dilicately fed, maketh, as ye rumour saith, an vnchast bed." d. 1535, Sir T. More, Works (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

"London, look on, this matter nips thee near:

Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;

Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,

But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;

Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,

Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness."

Lodge & Greene's Looking-Glass for London & England,

pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. Gluttony: see the 'Gluttone' in Rowlands's Ile Stabbe yee, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, 'To a Gormandizing Glutton', in his Knaue of Spades (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his Letting of Humours Blood (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:—

"What should I speake of your two greatest Gods  $\pi o \lambda v \phi a \sigma i a$  and  $\pi o \lambda v \pi o \sigma i a$ , gluttonous feeding and excessive drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that have their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

"I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choyse in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syrropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to move an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talke not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant with wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subject to, and most readie to accomplish?

"Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comlines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkeneses? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomack is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnrulie Lord, doo lay him in ye durt like an ouer ruled slaue; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vppe the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were neuer knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these meanes it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardes."—A meruailous combat of contrarieties, by W.[illiam] A.[verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. Drunkard: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his Ile Stabbe yee, 1604, C 3, p. 21; Diogines Lanthorne, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8); also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his Letting of Humours Blood, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8); and his praise of good liquor in Letting, &c., p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health, 1608. Compare also the Act:—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunckenes. Whereas the loathsome and odyous Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundacion of many other enormious Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusievely wasting the good Creatures of God: Be it therefore enacted. That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges. to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accompable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parishe. "

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tippling, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's Sivquila (Aliquis), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in Nusquam or Nowhere, Lupton's 'Utopia':—

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine! for though Niggardly sometimes they drive their fellowes from the meat, and eate by and drunken churles worse themselues, yet when they have filled themselues sufficiently, they than swine, goe awaye, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungrie brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heauen, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therfore, bycause thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy of; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, A good judgement giuen vpon that thou shalt giue yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend a drunkarde. to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance; who shall

# 286 Notes on p. 102. A Drunkard's punishment.

[1. To pay a Preacher to preach to him 3 times a week, ] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, persuading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing

[& 3 times a week in his parish church.]

[2. to sit for 3 market days with a pot in his hand, & "Drunkard"

also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also shall preache three dayes euery weeke in the parishe Churche where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: 'This is the Drunkarde that spente as muche dayly at the Tauernes and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghboures did spende daylye in their houses.' And this on his forehead.] being ended, thou shalte remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for

go to prison for half a yeare. euerye dinner thou shalte be allowed not aboue a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalte be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboue the value of a pennye." The poor man who is a drunkard is to "sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knowen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoeuer he shall be out of his owne house. . and euery Sondaye during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to auoyde drunkennesse." Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, Sivquila says "And the poorer sort, thoughe they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaye at the furthest they wyll bee euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tipple almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantly paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunke two and a halfe of the same.)"

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my Babees Book, p. 247,

and Andrew Boorde's Introduction, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

"And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not just cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] .... For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratious benefits." 1570-1601.-W. Lambarde. Perambulation of

Kent, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

"Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German's upsy-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer's stoop of rhenish, the Italian's parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o' th' coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

## Notes on p. 103. Fare in Edward VI.'s time. 287

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609. T. Dekker. Guls Hornbook, Præmium, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of Le Débat des Hérants d'Armes (ab. 1546), and John Coke's Answer to it (1550), for his Societé des Anciens Textes Français, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that Anglia potat 1, or Li mieldre buveor en Angleterre, 2 though William of Normandy says in his Besant 3 that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, Drunkenness. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being Anglici caudati, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article caudati in Du Cange; A de Montaiglon, Anciennes Poesies Françaises VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

p. 103. England better in old times.—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's "Twas a merry world in the old time" in his A Fooles Bolt is soone shot, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c. Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's Vision, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise (Starkey's Life & Letters, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herrtage):—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 61 (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

"So, for that Oxe whiche hathe beene the like solde, for ffortie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde: yea, seauyn is more, I haue herde it so tolde: hee cannot els lyue; so decare is his grownde.

Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde, suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell, that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot have served, other in Mutton, the price is so hye: vndre a groate hee can have none kerved: so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrelye, and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie, whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn, like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [If 61, back.] to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate: to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte, as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reliquiae Antiquae, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii). Archives des Missions, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

Le Roux de Lincy, Livre des Proverbes, ii. 281.
 ed. Martin, l. 2000-3: cp. the editor's note on this passage.

## 288 Notes on pp. 105, 116. Neglect of the Poor.

if they bee pinched and weyned from meate, I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende, shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis, by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage, that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis · geeue Englische men meate, after their olde vsage, Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage; and then I dare to this byll sett my hande: they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

#### TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.—" The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselues happy, if they mighte haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hilling cruel vsing of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to goe by their poore pitiful brethren and giue them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being checkt of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire." 1580.—T. Lupton. Sivquila, p. 28-9.

p. 116. Neglect of the poor.—See Robert Copland's most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne'er-do-weels, and Unthrifts of Henry VIII's time in his Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt's Popular Poetry, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-1:—

That many haue lyne dead without the walles,
And for lacke of socour haue dyed wretchedly,
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng;
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,
That in the nyght so many lodge without:
For in the whatche whan that we go about,
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,
But surely,) euery nyght ther is found
One or other lyeng by the pound,
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft;
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

#### Notes on pp. 116-118. Inclosures, Lawyers. 289

And even here by this brycke wall

We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall;
And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,
Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,
And in many corners wher that we go,
Wherof I wondre greatly why they do so,
But oftymes when they vs se,
They do reme a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. Inclosures. See the series of extracts on this subject in my Ballads from MSS., Part I, Ballad Society; the Supplications edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's England in Henry VIII's Time, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; Harrison, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspere, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (Leop. Sh. Introd., p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd
The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,
The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws
Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws
Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,
Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,
And, by th' inclosure of old common land,
Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand;
Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,
Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones.
. . . . . . and when he can no more,
The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,
And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,
A bond-slave to the miserable jail."
1604.—M. Drayton, The Owl. Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. Lawyers. — See Harrison, Part I. p. 204-7; Father Hubbard's Tales (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's Middleton, &c. The complaint starts from long before Piers Plowman (Text B, Prol. 1. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil neuer spye, because of their private lucres sake; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, Complaynt of Roderick Mors, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. Dearth (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints, 1581. New Shaksp. Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes, Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

## 290 Notes on p. 119. Grasping Landlords, &c.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch?

It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &c.—"Sivqila. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretiship, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who having not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to give them all that he hadde, and to leave himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make Dice of his bones, if they hadde nothing else."—Thomas Lupton's Sivqila, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. Covetous men buying up poor men's land.

"Cormerauntes, gredye gulles, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens!.. we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue... In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them." 1550.—R. Crowley, The Way to Wealth. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:-" The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredy Gentylmen, whyche Shepmongers are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage, and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure ye final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

### Notes on p. 119. Avaritious land-buyers, &c. 291

fal to the grounde. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should have any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse Gene. iiii. man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he yt Eccle. xxxiiii. [21] defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand all things neces-Bread what it sary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciable couetousnes sel signifieth. all things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but wery manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." Becon, Jewel of Joy. Works, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.—S. J. Herrtage.

'Les gros poissons mangent les petis: Pro. Justly applyed to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mightie the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: misers, or rich men, adding land to land.—" Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs: for if they did not, thei would not so greedily gather their goods togither, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke euery day to die, (being of such extreame age) haue so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. Sivquila, p. 70-1.

"What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad? What mischiefe is it thereby is not wrought? What earthly thing is not therefore to be had? What hath been so loved, but money hath bought? What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought? 'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say. How many for money have been robbed and murthered? How many false witnesses, and for money perjured? How many wives from their husbands have been enticed? How many maydens to folly for money allured? How many for money have spirits and divells conjured? How many friends, for money have beene mortall foes? Mo mischieves for money then I can disclose! How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned? How many betrayers of their country for money every day? How many for money from true judgment are led? Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money? Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c. 1578 .- T. Lupton, All for Money, in Halliwell's Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries,

"Pleasure. In what case were the worlde, were it not for money? Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliue:

p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question :

### 292 Notes on pp. 123-127. Usurers, &c.

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie? To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive, But I conteyne them at this time and hower, Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing, Eating and drinking, dysing and carding, Riding and running, swimming and singing, Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playing, Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes, Dallying with faier women, with other kinde of sportes: All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.

With musicall instruments, both with man and boye. Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace, But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe."

1578.—T. Lupton. All for money, sign. B.j.

p. 123. Usury. See Harrison, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, 'To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer' in his Knaue of Spades (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26; and his sketch of Usury in his Diogines Lanthorne, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9:

"Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe?

¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedlere hath of cattes,

pat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myste, for coveitise of here
skynnes."

"Simplicity. O that vild Usury! he lent my father a little money; and for breaking one day,

He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away; And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost; But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste, So he kill'd my father with sorrow, and undoed me quite."

1584.—The Three Ladies of London, Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays, vi. 259. See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of N. & Q., x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. Every Begger almost is called Maister.—See Lancelot's "MAISTER Launcelet" in the Merchant of Venice, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on Harrison, I, 133, 137), which I printed in New Sh. Soc.'s Trans. 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspere getting his "yeoman" father arms, and making him a "gentleman" in 1596 (Leopold Shakspere Introduction, p. ciii); and p. 237, above.

p. 124. Usury allowd by Law. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revivd the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20—authorized the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mortgage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. Prisoners for debt.

"Fallace... if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you! you are in for one, half-a-score year; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, V. vii., Works, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—No-Body and Some-Body. Simpson's School of Shakspere, i. 307. In The Play of Stucley, 1605, ib. p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond:

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers
As to oppress them with the prison stink 1?
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison.. is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron: It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it.. when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischiefes and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.— Wm. Fennor, The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voiage made to an Infernall Iland long since discovered by many Captaines, &c., Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was calld Miseries of a Jaile, or A True Description of a Prison.)

p. 127. I will make dice of his bones. The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands:

"Greedy Vsurer.

Thou Fur-gown'd slaue, exceeding rich and olde,
Ready to be deuowred of the Graue:
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue:
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,
Whome Hell gapes for; the Deuill comes to fetch.
Thou that wilt not forbeare an howers time,
But wilt a forfayture seueerely take:
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,
And threatnest, Dice, of poor mens bones to make,
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,

Ile stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, Looke to it: for, The Stabbe ye, sign. B 3; p. 13, ed. 1872.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

"Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes, Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes. Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch from thy distressed friendles needy wretch, Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head, Turne him and's children out to begge their bread. Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt, And let them at thy handes no fauour get, Send them to Prison; there in all distresse, To taste the mercie of the mercilesse.

Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete, Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheete."—Ib. p. 43-4.

"Thou that vauntest, and wilt make dice of thy debtor's bones; be these the words of a man?"—Of Creditors, Minshul's Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. Scriveners. See T. M.'s Father Hubburd's Tales in Dyce's Middleton's Works, vol. v.

#### SWEARING.

p. 129. Swearing. On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's Epigrams, p. 19. On the hunting oaths, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in Four Supplications, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53: "What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne huntinge othes) extorcyon / pryde / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /"

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, "in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearyng as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyldren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysshe it."

p. 131. Swearing. It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1599), I. i., Works, i. 73, "be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [= vulgar]: study their carriage and behaviour in all; learn to play at primero and passage; and even [when you lose] have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears." And in Every Man in his Humour, I. iii, Cob says: "Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, by the foot of Pharaoh! There's an oath! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me—he does swear the legiblest of any man christened: 'By St. George! the foot of Pharaoh! the body of me! as I am a gentleman and a soldier!' such dainty oaths!" Ben Jonson's Works, i. 12.

'Il iure comme vn Gentilhomme. He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare.'
Il iure comme vn Abbé [viz. extreamly], chartier; gentilhomme; prelat [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

"Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
A faire rich sute, though fouly run in debt?
Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,
Keepe whores, fee bauds, belch impious blasphemies,
Wallow along in swaggering disguise,
Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,
Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die
With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?
Canst thunder common oathes, like th' rattling
Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,
And call them brothers."

1599.—Jn. Marston, Scourge of Villanie, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281:—

"What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops Wallowes unbracëd, all along the streete?... What! that ringo roote!

Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?

What, he that's drawne and quarterëd with lace;

That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?

Why, he is nought but huge blaspheming othes,

Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.

Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,

And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;

Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,

Hath eaten out that sacred influence

Which made him man."

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne. "Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere."

CHAUCER, Pardoneres Tale, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous, Hazlitt's Pop. Poetry, iv. 43:—

"And there they reuell as vnthryfty braggers,
With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]
Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,
Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,
With all other wordes of blasphemy,
Bostynge them all in dedes of theyr myschefe,
And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, thefe.
The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,
For none other ways they do not pretende."

p. 135, l. 9. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocalishire, &c. —A copy of Stubbes's poem here referred to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73–88. See my Forewords above.

## 296 Notes on p. 136. Sunday bearbaiting, &c.

p. 136, l. 13. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol [= Londinum], &c.—"The II. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a litle money that she should have paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should have bene voided downewards, till she died: a terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother."—Stow's Annales, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

### SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. Keeping of Sunday (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-playes, see the extract from Gosson's Schoole of Abuse under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, Harrison, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his Crowley's Select Works, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv:—

"Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c., sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his One and thyrtye Epigrammes, 1550 (ed. 1872,

p. 9) :—	
"How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende	
In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende,	128
Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe,	
Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe."	132
And at p. 16-17 "of Bearbaytynge," he writes :-	
"What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger	
A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare?	376
And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght	0.
Wyth terrible tearynge: a full ougly syght.	380
And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,	
Whose store of money is but verye smale,	384
And yet euerye Sondaye they will surely spende	
One penye or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.	388
At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye, a man shall not fayle	
To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes vaile.	392
One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue,	
When some have no more in their purse. I believe."	206

## Notes on p. 136-7. Sunday Dancing and Baiting. 297

So too Arthur Golding, in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580: "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (From Collier's Stationers' Registers, ii. 118, and my Captain Cox, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth's countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester's entertain-

ment of the Queen there:

"On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in divine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in dauncing of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother woorshipfull degrees, vttered with such liuely agilitee & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indeed I coold not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both." P. 12 of my edition of Captain Cox, or Laneham's Letter, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Laneham's capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (ib. p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker's lifting of part of it-"It waz a sport very plezaunt" to "a goodly releef"-bodily into his continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. 1, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. Beare bayting on the Saboth day.

"What else but gaine and Money gote maintaines each Saboth day The bayting of the Beare and Bull? What brings this brutish play? What is the cause that it is borne,

and not controlled ought, Although the same of custome be on holy Saboth wrought? Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite gainst good and godly lyfe." 1569, E. Hake. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe's Sermon at Blandford, 1570, "the multitude call their revelying day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicyng, cardyng, daunsynges, drunkennes and whoredome . . in so much as men could not keepe their servauntes from lyinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night." Hazlitt's Brand, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting .-"Of saying seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whan much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouer whelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, 'lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytynge.' How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wrought."-Sir T. More (died 1535), Works, p. 208, ed. 1557.-R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch's Bismarck in the Franco-German War, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):-

"And the 'keeping holy the Sabbath-day,' said the Chief [Bismarck], that

# 298 Notes on p. 137. Sunday Bearbaitings, &c.

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. 'Pray, sir, do not whistle!' 'Why not; is whistling forbidden here?' 'No,' said he, 'it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!' This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to."

p. 137. Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.—See the Act I Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch. I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. "Forasmuch as . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes uppon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconveniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetinges assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoever; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillinges foure pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . ." (This Act was confirmed and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. Prophanation of the Saboth.

lacye

Jhon hynde

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, Complaynt of Roderick Mors, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, "the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke." The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566-22 July 1567. Recevyd of Alexandre lacye for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett the abuse of ye sabooth of the lorde &c/ . . . iiijd

Arber's Transcript of the Stationers Registers, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton concerning thabuse of the Sabothe Daye. thother the lamentacon of a synner troubled in conscyence . . . viijd

(Ib. ii. 348.)

"For further proof whereof, I call to witnesse the Theaters [Burbage's], Curtines [in Shoreditch] Heauing 1 houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth." 1579.—T. F., Newes from the North, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne's Animadversions, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the Newes to Francis Thynne.)

"And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is neuer so il served on the Sabboth daies served as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to have their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such government have they of themselves, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they learne at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from virtue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare." 1580.—A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

Fairs. Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the "paltrie fairs. tendeth to the corruption of youth. whereby they often spend, not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot." See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

Fairs & Markets on Sundays. Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). "Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . and on Good Friday accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . King . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . ."

Sabbath Doings. See in 1579, T. F.'s Newes from the North. Cap. 14... "For I have partely shewed you heer, what leave and libertie the common people, namely 2 youth, have to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters,

<sup>1</sup> Robbing: "to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth]." 1567.—
J. Harman, Caucat: Rogues, their pelting Speche: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.
<sup>2</sup> specially.

### 300 Notes on pp. 139, 141. Keeping of Sunday.

Curtines<sup>1</sup>, Heauing houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefuly mispent, namely<sup>2</sup> the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's Animadversions, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word, But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford, Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. The Three Ladies of London. Hazlitt's Dodsley's Old Plays, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. it chaunced that a certaine Jewe.—" In this yere [43 Hen. III.] fell that happe of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vppon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondaye, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede."—Fabyan. Quoted in Prompt. Parv., s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (Cosmography, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, "Judæis multum fuit infestus," who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. Theopompus mingled Moyses law with his writinges.— He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction."—Whiston's Josephus, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> specially.

#### PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. Stage-Plays, Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.

"The Sabboth days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—Liturgical Services, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. Theaters & curtens. James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see Harrison, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the Curtain, built before 1579, in or near the present Curtain Road close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), English

Drama and Stage, 1543-1664.

"A second and third blast 1/ of retrait from plaies | and Theatres: | the one whereof was sounded by a re-|uerend Byshop dead long since 2; | the other by a worshipful and | zealous Gentleman | now aline: | One showing the filthiness of plaies in | times past; the other the abhomination of | Theaters in the time present: | both expressly proving that the Common-weale is | nigh vnto the cursse of God; where-|in either plaiers be made of, or | Theaters main-|tained. | Set forth by Anglophile Eutheo. | Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16. | Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not | as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time, | because the daics are euil. | Allowed by auctoritie | 1580

"Evils of travelling players.—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers [Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes they wil not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, passing from countrie to countrie, from one Gentlemans house to another, offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse; poore men

1 Gosson's Schoole of Abuse was the first.

3 county to county.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. De Gubernatione Dei, bk. vi.

## 302 Notes on p. 146. Theatres, Satan's Chapels.

liuing on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftines; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

"Thus the people are robbed; youth corrupted; the Sabboth prophaned: and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right Traiane the should establish the lawe of the Roman Traiane, who commanded Emperor. that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subjects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselues in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of Rome. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as reteiners, are priviledged to roave abroad, and permitted to publish their Temples mametree in everie Temple of God, and that throughout England, with plaies. vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeves and adulterers." p. 75-8. A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters, 1580.

"Whosoeuer shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde Theaters the there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vtterlie past al chappels of Satan. shame: who presse to the fore-frunt of the scaffoldes, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an object to al mens eies. Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceaue by their wanton gestures, wherevnto they are giuen; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of The open the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which wickedness of harlots behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to at plaies. be done in secret; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them" (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

Against (p. 110.) "As I have had a saieng to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, training vp of boies to plaies. When I see by them yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Schoolemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and griefe of hart lament.

"O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes,

\*\*Plaiers the \*\*
\*\*schoolemaisters of sin in the \*\*
\*\*schoole of sin in the \*\*
\*\*schoole of sin in the \*\*
\*\*Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse! what do they abuse.\*

\*\*The section of their lewde teachers, which are the Schoole of abuse! what do they teach them, I praie you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel?

"And as for those stagers themselues, are they not commonlie such kind of men Disposition in their conversation, as they are in profession? Are they not as of plaiers for the most variable in hart, as they are in their partes? are they (p. 112) not part.

good practisers of Bawderie as inactors? Live they not in such sort

<sup>1</sup> maumetrie, idolatry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. the ironical Actors Remonstrance in 1643: "we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-roomes those unwholesome inticing Harlots that sit there meerely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, ib. p. 65.)

themselues, as they give precepts vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong be compared than to the walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and Camelion. saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what euerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceedes in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaier, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor virtue? . . . .

"If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leave examples of goodnes to their posteritie? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroade, as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the Chiefe end louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of infamous other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They persons are infamous men." (End of the Blast extracts.)

"Those also have offended in wantonnesse, that give themselves libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as stage-playes, which serve for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is cloathed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemneth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belying of the sexe." 1615. [R. Cleaver] Exposition of the Ten Commandments, p. 299.

On the 'light-taylde huswiues' at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my Tell-Troth volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also Harrison, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

"as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition." 1603.—J. Florio, Montaignes Essayes (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

"Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappie in

## 304 Notes on pp. 144-147. Men and girls at Theatres.

their choyces for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, The Black Yeare, C 3. "There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall have the greatest Auditory, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." Ib. B 2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his Schoole of Abuse, 1579 (old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays:

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering, to sytte by women; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte: suche masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins¹ to passe the time; such playing at foote saunt without cardes; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

"If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretely practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verye cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth, flocke too theaters, and there keepe a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abrode, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. playhouse.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's Guls Hornbook, 1609, "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

#### LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. Lords of Misrule.—See Brand's Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, 1841, 1. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281: the latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

See the extract from Gosson's Playes confuted (ab. 1580) in Harrison, Pt. I. p. lxxx: 'they give them pippines; they dally with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [= specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

"... that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that no folks be suffered to dance in the same."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. Maie games. See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming, marke
How each field turns a street; each street a parke
Made green, and trimm'd with trees: see how
Devotion gives each house a bough,
Or branch: each porch, each doore, ere this,
An arke, a tabernacle is
Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove;
As if here were those cooler shades of love.
Can such delights be in the street,
And open fields, and we not see't?

And open fields, and we not see't?

Come, we'll abroad; and let's obay

The proclamation made for May:

And sin no more, as we have done, by staying; But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying. There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day, But is got up, and gone to bring in May.

A deale of youth, ere this, is come Back, and with White-thorn laden home. Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame, Before that we have left to dreame:

And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth, And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth:

Many a green-gown has been given;
Many a kisse, both odde and even:
Many a glance too has been sent
From out the eye, love's firmament:
Many a jest told of the keyes betraying
This night, and locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES. 20

## 306 Notes on pp. 149, 150. Maygames, &c.

p. 149. Maygames. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"Littlewit. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions; he has given over his trade.

Quarlous. I remember that too: out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, I. i.; Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns, according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's Letter, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. Church-Ales, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's Pop. Antiq. i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see Archaelogia, xii. 11-17.'

Church-Ales on Sundays: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the Sabbath day and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's 'Saboth,' the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncying, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games,' &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.-A. H. A. Hamilton, Quarter Sessions from O. Elizabeth to Q. Anne, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shauelings . . preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy asshes / hal-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Gifford's Ben Jonson, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's Popular Music, pp. 130—135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblynge of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church ales, in the whiche, with leappynge / daunsynge / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)."

1544.—A Supplicacion to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght. E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. Ale sold in Churches, &c.

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Churchyard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, Injunctions (?) in his Later Writings (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, Later Writings (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tippling-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130, Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. Hufcap.—See Harrison, I. 295: "there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . 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."

I thought at first that the huftie-tuftie of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this Huf-cap: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his Haue with you to Saffron Walden, sign. L4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robbd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch:

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,
With huftie-tuftie, let vs all be merrie,
Forgetting how the time did passe away:
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,
How my friends follie he could scarce disgest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe, Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tipple,

#### 308 Notes on p. 150. Church Ales, &c.

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come.
Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling;
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see
My friend disguisde thus without sense or feeling.
Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,
Backward and forward staggring like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,

I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—

Begins to looke into this goodly toy,

And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure showes:

Into his pocket diues, and being alone,

Pursse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone."

1600.—Quips upon Questions, sign. B 4, back, and C I.

huffty tuffty, adv. bravely, finely.

"I have a tale at my tungs end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse reuelling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there: to which place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling it out huffty tuffty in his suite of veluet." 1596.—T. Nashe, Have with you to Saffron-walden, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. Church-ales. "There were no rates for the poor in my grand-fother's days 1; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This church-ale is doubtless derived from the  $\dot{a}\gamma\dot{a}\pi a\iota$ , or love-feast, mentioned in the New Testament." — Aubrey's Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire, in his Miscellanies (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. Church-Ales & Dancing. Compare the Bride-Ales:

"Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to exceade in superfluous eating & drinkyng | wherof they spytte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether | therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all maner of pompe and pryde | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

<sup>1</sup> Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

### Notes on pp. 150, 152. Bride-Ales and Wakes. 309

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and vayne wantonesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a vayne | madd | and vn-manerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynging amonge them | then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoueringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles soeuer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen tyll supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they have no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delayes in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fidlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, Satiromastix. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many . . . Other petty Abuses things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.— Archbp. Whitgift, Works, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. Wakes and Feasts.—See Brand's Popular Antiquities, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

"Wakes: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is: "ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and thear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's Concilia, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to Old English Ditties, p. 81.)'

# 310 Notes on p. 152. Wakes, Sunday Fairs, &c.

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night .- W. C.

p. 152. wakes, &c. See The Chetham Miscellanies, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The Athenaum Review, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1590.1 . . . . The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenes, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon ye Sabboth,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,2 while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

Sabboth: by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly

neglected.
"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vppon ye Sabboth."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the Irreverent behaviour at Prayer

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire

in his Popish day: he died in 1535. Works (1557), p. 1359. 'Out of al, most true is ye old said saw, that the outward behauior & continaunce is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of ye minde, in asmuche as by ye eyes, by ye chekes, by ye eye liddes, by ye browes, by ye handes, by ye fete, & finally by ye gesture of ye whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly ye minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray withal, posed. For as we little passe how small deuocion of hart we come to pray withal, so dooe we little passe also howe vndeuoutli we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it seme, yt on ye holye daies we go more gorgeously apparelled then at other times onely for ye honor of god, yet ye negligent fashion yt we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in ye time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knowen & apparaunte to the world) yt we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in ye church somewhiles solemnely iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette-vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon ye tone knee, & lene vpon ye tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & lene vpon ye tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten ruynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we euery way discouer,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon 'the leades of the churche.' 1

"The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a Pater Noster or a De Profundis. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals 'they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devowtly, on theire knees, make prayers for the dead.'

"This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. The Obsequy of faire Phillida, a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

"The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to 'overtreate the minister to omitt the service,' and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

"Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vnsaid both hauing cleane forgotten, we be fain at al aduentures to ayme what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selfes both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardon of so many horrible offences, & ouer yt in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from parpetuall damnacion? so yt this one offence so vnreuerently to approch to ye high maiesty of God, al had we neuer offended him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished."—R. Roberts.

1 The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York:—'Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.' The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

"In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . .

"Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald's College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls 'poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,' to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul's Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not."

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note:—
"It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that 'thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandeis on pain of viijs.' Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the dies dominica. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—'Hospitabat frumentum... die Sabbatti.' (Poulson's Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

"We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens' accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia:—

""On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation; and record bears, "Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon, [they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured." "—Athenaum, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay's Hist. of Arbroath.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woollcombe's Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord's Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punisht with the stocks; and a barber was brought up for "tryming a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o'clocke in the forenone in sermon time."—Athenæum, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. Dancing.—See p. 297; T. F.'s Newes from the North, 1597, as to the Dancing School; and Northbrooke's Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113-148.

p. 155: kissing. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155: dancing.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I's Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King:—Quart Rev. Oct. 1857, p. 424. Harrison, Part II., p. 58\*. "The masque began. [Ben Jonson's Pleasure reconciled to Virtue, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, 'chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, "Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all; dance!" On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

# 314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. Dancing. Bawdy Songs.

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground."

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library: "A Treatise of Daunses wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or thinges annexed) to whoredome; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit togeather in a rancke or rowe with them. Anno 1581." Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 137. Also "A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing: wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582." Svo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 195.

"Age. What woulde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid's desire ?-truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's grounde, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and when they have set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women togither, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue I Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp," &c. 1577.- John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc., ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171: barody songs.

"He hath all that to villany belongs,

The hugest number of such baudy songs,

You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)

That any man could beare them in his braine.

He hath a song cald, Mistris, will you do ? 1

And My man Thomas did me promise to, [to is too] [2]

1 Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs :-

(2) "My man Thomas
Did me promise
He would visit me this night.
Thomas.] 'I am here, love;
Tell me, dear love;
How I may obtain thy sight.

Maid.] Come up to my window, love;

Come, come, come!

Come to my window, my dear;

The wind nor the rain

Shall trouble thee again,

But thou shalt be lodged here."

He hath the Pinnace rigd with silken saile, [4, 5] And pretty Birds, with Garden Nightingale, [6] He tye my Mare in thy ground a new way, Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play] Besse for abuses, and a number more, That you and I have never heard before. And these among those wenches he doth learne, Which by activity their livings earne. His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes, Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609 .- S. Rowlands, A Crew of kind Gossips, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:- "See my Popular Music, p. 738, for My Man Thomas, A Pinnace riggd, and I'll tie my mare:-

> 'A pinnace rigg'd with silken sail, What is more lovely than to see? But still to see, is small avail; I must aboord, as thinketh me.'

It is full of double meanings." In Pop. Mus., p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung | "Tye the Mare, Tom, boy ! ' of early by Old Merrythought:

"Go from my window, love, go; Go from my window, my dear: The wind and the rain Will drive you back again, You cannot be lodged here.

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy, Begone, my love, my dear! The weather is warm

'Twill do thee no harm; Thou can'st not be lodged here."

(3). "A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile" is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems, for "The lytyll prety nyghtyngale, the Ballad Society.

"A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile, What is more lovely then to see? But still to see is small availe: I must aboord, as thinketh mee. To see is well, But more to tell Lackes more then sight, you will agree." (etc. four other verses.)

in thy ground." There is also another, the wise it call !"-J. W. Ebsworth.

date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) "Mistress, since you so much desire;"
probably resembling "Mistress will
you do?" (7) I believe that "Besse
for abuses" I also have a clue to; and I know of one "Pretty Nightingale," of date 1575,

"Litle pretty nightingale, Among the braunches greene, Geue us of your Christmasse ale, In the honour of Saint Steven."

But this is a "Mock" to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus :-

Among the levys grene, I wolde I were with hur all nyght, But yet ye wot not whome I mene," etc., etc.

(4) I have also one song beginning "Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing; but its date is much later in the 17th century: - the author was not scrupul-ous in availing himself of elder sugges-(6) I have the Catch "I'le tye my Mare tions, and occasionally would "convey,

#### 316 Notes on p. 173. Games and Sports.

My man Thomas, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s Works, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancelld entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's Transcript, ii. 576:

#### 7. marcij [1590-1]

Thomas Gosson Entred for his copie a ballad of a yonge man that went a woaying &c. Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be reformed . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . vjd

#### GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: games and sports. Here is a list of them in 1600:—

"Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,
To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,
To wrastle, play at stooleball, or to runne,
To pitch the barre, or to shoote off a gunne:
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes;
At Ticktacke, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe;
At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe;
To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne;
To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan:
To daunce the Morris, play at barly-breake:
At all exploytes a man can thinke or speake:
At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile:
At beshrow him that's last at yonder style."

1600.—S. Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's Brand, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: "noe manner of person.. shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe... or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlaufull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge.. or sufferinge any suche Game to be.. playde.. fourtie shillinges..." By § II "noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy crafte or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, servaunte at husbandrye, jorneyman or servaunte of artyficer, mariners, fysshermen, watermen, or any servyngman, shall.. playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under peyne of twentye shillinges to be forfeyt for everie

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tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viijd."

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tennys.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. Dicing. "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dicyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomynation: they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discouer." 1586.—Geo. Whetstone, The Enemie to Vnthryftinesse . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vnsufferable Abuses now raigning in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, ... where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also .. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into [bolling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." Sermons, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. Football. Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football, 'p. 27. "Fatal Accident at a Football Match .- An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances :- Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park, and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollected being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."-Daily News, March 19, 1875.

"Shocking Football Accident at Derby .- On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebræ were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."-Daily News, March 20, 1876.

"Football and the Rugby Rules .- The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebræ. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the Birmingham Daily Post, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone :- 'I. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle: sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—Daily News, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the Echo, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1:—

"Killed at Football.—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14; also his Satyres, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. Bearbaiting.—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. Accident at the Bear-Garden. Stowe says—Annales, Eight persons 1605, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about killed by the fall of a foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, garden, on the Southside of the river of Thamis over against the citie of London, overcharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their lives. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabboth daies exercise."

p. 184: wrestling in the City of London:—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sheriffes, are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sheriffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service The Shoot- performed as upon Bartholomew day; but if it bee Sunday, the ing day. Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633. Continuation of Stowe's Survay, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: bawdy songs, &c. (See p. 314-16, above.)

"... our own children ... the first words
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests:
Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it!

#### 320 Notes on pp. 185, 186. Song-writers, &c.

A witty child! can't swear? The father's darling! Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it!"

1598-1601. - B. Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, II. iii. Works, i. 22, col. I.

p. 185. Bableries, &c. "& in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money? What wyl they not faine for gaine? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which every rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and every ignorant Ale knight will breath forth over the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liverie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood." 1590.—T. Nashe, The Anatomie of Absurditie, B 4.

p. 186: putting good Laws into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.

Queene E. "Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

"If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshippe, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be rejected and cast oute of thys common wealth; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swingebucklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruauntes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

#### APPENDIX.

# POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days

IN GERMANY

AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A. D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

"The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, written in Latine verse by Thomas Naogeorgus (or Kirchmaier), and englyshed by Barnabe Googe. . . Anno 1570."

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos-two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. Trag. nova, Pammachius, Wittemberg, 1538, in 80 of 81 leaves. II. Tragadia nova, Mercator seu Judicium 1 (Bâle, 1540), in 80 of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif representées, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8º 1561, in 12º with the "Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin" (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 160, 1594 in 120. The translation of the "Marchand Converti" is attributed to J. Crespin. III. Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the 'Politica imperialia' of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjunctæ sunt dua Sophoclis tragedia, Ajax flagellifer et Philocletes, carmine versa (Stuttgard), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. Agricultura sacra libri V., ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. Regnum papisticum, 1553, small 80 of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the Errata and Index (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. Annotationes in canonicam Joannis primam epistolam, 1544, in 8°; XIII. Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scazonibus; XIV. De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," etc. Conclusiones, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. Epitome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroïca. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's "Discourses" from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the letters of Synesius (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the Deliciæ poetarum Germanorum, vol. 4 .-Biographie Universelle, 2nd edition.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tragœdia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.

#### APPENDIX.

#### The Popish Kingdome.

The fourth booke.

[The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.]

S Papiftes doe beleue and teach the vaynest things that bee, So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump Their feafts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the Papists' Feasts and Holidays are idolatrous and Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare: heathenlike. Whereby though they do nothing teach, but should their doctrine hide, (Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be fpide) Thou eafily mayft knowe whether true Catholikes they bee, And onely truft in Chrift, and keepe th'affured veritee. 8 They don't trust in Christ alone. Be therefore here a perfite Iudge, and all things warely way, With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay Most plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,) But fuch as best are knowne to vs in Germanie that dwell. 12 And first betwixt the dayes they make no little difference, Con. 26. q. 7. Si quis. Non obser. Quis. 16 q. 2. Nos pla-net. Sed & illua For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminence. But fome of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardee, And fome againe befide the rest, both good and luckie bee. Like diffrence of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king, q. 5. Non liceat. That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing. Befide they give attentive eare to blinde Aftronomars, About th'aspects in euery howre of sundrie shining stars: They attend to And vinderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred, the Stars, and think folk's for-What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer enery hed. tunes are ruld by Hereby they thinke affuredly to know what shall befall, the Planets. As men that have no perfite fayth nor truft in God at all: But thinke that every thing is wrought and wholy guided here, By moouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare. No vaine they pearfe nor enter in the bathes at any day, They'll not be bled, bathe, or Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away: 28 They also put no childe to nurse, nor mend with doung their ground, Nor medicine do receyue to make their crased bodies found, take medicine,

without looking to the Moon's place.

[leaf 44, back]

Advent.

On Christmas eve, boys and girls knock at every door, wish the inmates a happy year, and get fruit and pence from them.

Wanton girls try to find out their husbands' names by Onions,

and their husbands' natures by Faggots.

Christmasse daye.

Some think all [leaf 45] the wine is turnd to water, and back again. Others watch for altar-money.

3 Masses are sung;

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before They marke the Moone how she is placed, and standeth euermore: 32 And euery planet howe they rife, and fet in eche degree, Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.

Which first I showe, least in my course I should be driven plaine, To call to minde these foolishe toyes, now to my theame againe. 36

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace, And on the Thursday Boyes and Girles do runne in euery place, And bounce and beate at euery-doore, with blowes and luftie fnaps, And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houses dwell, A happie yeare, and euery thing to fpring and profper well: Here have they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee, For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee: Wherein they are afrayde of fprites, and cankred witches fpight, And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then have chiefest might. In these same dayes youg wanton Gyrles that meete for mariage bee, Doe fearch to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee. Foure Onyons, fiue, or eight, they take and make in euery one, Such names as they do fanfie most, and best do thinke vpon. Thus neere the Chimney them they fet, and that same Onyon than, That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man. Their husbandes nature eke they seeke to know, and all his guise, 53 When as the Sunne hath hid himfelfe, and left the starrie skies, Unto fome woodstacke do they go, and while they there do stande, Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande, Which if it streight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, A gentle hufband then they thinke shall furely to them fall. But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and theare A crabbed churlish husband then, they earnestly do feare. 60 These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly,

And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust, Than truely God to know, and in him here alone to truft. Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to paffe,

Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruites of faith espie:

Whereas at midnight vp they rife, and euery man to Maffe. This time fo holy counted is, that divers earneftly Do thinke the waters all to wine are chaunged fodainly: 68 In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light, And vnto water streight againe, transformde and altred quight. There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch, That first to aultar commes, which then they privily do match. The Priestes least other should it haue, takes oft the same away, Whereby they thinke throughout the yeare to have good lucke in play, And not to lose: then straight at game till daylight do they striue, To make some present proofe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue.

Three Maffes euery Prieft doth fing vpon that folemne day, With offrings vnto euery one, that so the more may play.

This done, a woodden childe in clowtes is on the aultar fet About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trymly iet, 80 And Carrols fing in prayle of Chrift, and for to helpe them heare, The Organs auniwere euery verse, with sweete and solemne cheare. The Priestes doe rore aloude, and round about the parentes stande, To fee the fport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande, Thus woont the Coribants perhaps vpon the mountaine Ide, The crying noyfe of *Iupiter* new borne with fong to hide, To daunce about him round, and on their brafen pannes to beate, Least that his father finding him, should him destroy and eate. 88

Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man, His horfes iaunt and courfe abrode, as fwiftly as he can. Untill they doe extreemely fweate, and than they let them blood, For this being done vpon this day, they fay doth do them good, And keepes them from all maladies and ficknesse through the yeare, As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horses heare.

Next Iohn the fonne of Zebedee hath his appoynted day, Who once by cruell tyraunts will, conftrayned was they fay Strong poyfon vp to drinke, therefore the Papiftes doe beleeue, That whofo puts their truft in him, no poyfon them can greeue. The wine befide that halowed is, in worship of his name, The Priestes doe give the people that bring money for the same. 100

And after with the felfe fame wine are little manchets made, Agaynst the boystrous winter stormes, and fundrie such like trade. The men vpon this folemne day, do take this holy wine, To make them ftrong, fo do the maydes to make them faire and fine.

Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes strife, Who feeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life, Destroyde the little infants yong, a beaft vnmercilesse, And put to death all fuch as were of two yeares age or leffe. 108 To them the finfull wretcheffe crie, and earneftly do pray, To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away. The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all, (Though nothing they deferue) and feruaunts all to beating fall, 112 And Monkes do whip eche other well, or else their Prior great, Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat: In worship of these Innocents, or rather as we see,

In honour of the curfed king, that did this crueltee. 116 The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to enery frende,' They coftly prefents in do bring, and Neweyeares giftes do fende. These giftes the husband gives his wife, and father eke the childe, And maifter on his men bestowes the like, with fauour milde. And good beginning of the yeare they wishe and wishe againe, According to the auncient guife of heathen people vaine. These eight daves no man doth require his dettes of any man, Their tables do they furnish out with all the meate they can: 124 With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Cuftards great, they drink with flaring goes on. They rowte and reuell, feede and feaft, as merry all as Pyes:

and a wooden Child drest up, set on the altar. Boys and Girls daunce and sing round it, the Priests roar, and the Parents clap.

Saint Steuen. Dec. 26. Horses are gal-lopt till they sweat, to keep em well all the

Saint Iohn. Dec. 27.

Priests hallow wine, and sell it,

and make Manchets with it. against storms.

[leaf 45, back] Childermasse. Dec. 28.

Parents beat their children, servants and Monks beat one another.

Newyeares day. Gifts are made to every one.

For 8 days no man asks a debt. Great feasting

As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die, Yet would they have theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie, 128 The wife mens day here followeth, who out from Persia farre, Twelfe day. January 6. Brought gifts and prefents vnto Chrift, conducted by a starre. The Papiftes do beleeue that thefe were kings, and fo them call, And do affirme that of the same there were but three in all. 132 Here fundrie friendes togither come, and meete in companie, Every set of friends chooses a And make a king amongst themselues by voyce or destinie: King, and has a Who after princely guife appoyntes, his officers alway, feast. 136 Then vnto feafting doe they go, and long time after play: Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie dishes stande, Till that their purses emptie be, and creditors at hande. Their children herein follow them, and choosing princes here, Children choose With pompe and great folemnitie, they meete and make good chere: a Prince too. With money eyther got by ftealth, or of their parents eft, [leaf 46] That fo they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft. Then also every housholder, to his abilitie, Every householder makes a Doth make a mightie Cake, that may fuffice his companie: 144 big cake, and Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire, puts a penny in it. It's cut up, This he deuides according as his housholde doth require, And euery peece distributeth, as round about they stand, 148 Which in their names vnto the poore is given out of hand: But who fo chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies, and the man who gets the penny, Is counted king amongst them all, and is with showtes and cries is King, and is lifted up to the Exalted to the heavens vp, who taking chalke in hande, roof to make Doth make a croffe on euery beame, and rafters as they flande: crosses on the Great force and powre haue these agaynst all injuryes and harmes rafters, against spirits. Of curfed deuils, fprites, and bugges, of conjurings and charmes. So much this king can do, fo much the Croffes brings to paffe, Made by fome feruant, maide, or childe, or by fome foolith affe. 156 Twife fixe nightes then from Christmasse, they do count with diligence, At night, Frankincense is Wherein eche maister in his house doth burne vp Franckensence: burnt, and all the And on the Table fettes a loafe, when night approcheth nere, family smoke their noses and Before the Coles, and Franckensence to be perfumed there: eyes in it, to keep 'em sound. First bowing downe his heade he standes, and nose and eares, and eyes He fmokes, and with his mouth receyue the fume that doth arise: Whom followeth streight his wife, and doth the same full solemly, And of their children euery one, and all their family: Which doth preferue they fay their teeth, and nofe, and eyes, and eare, From euery kind of maladie, and ficknesse all the yeare. When every one receyued hath this odour great and fmall, Then one takes up the pan with Coales, and Franckensence and all, Then they carry An other takes the loafe, whom all the reaft do follow here, the pan in procession round And round about the house they go, with torch or taper clere, the house, to keep witches off. That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme, Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172 There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this foolish geare, They foretell the To this intent, and thinke themselues in safetie all the yeare.

year's weather

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside, They judge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176 Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time, The youth in euery place doe flocke, and all appareld fine, With Pypars through the streetes they runne, and fing at euery dore, In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: Which on themselues they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though The people were not plagude with Roges and begging Friers enough. There Cities are, where boyes and gyrles togither ffill do runne, About the fireete with like, as foone as night beginnes to come, And bring abrode their wasfell bowles, who well rewarded bee, With Cakes and Cheefe, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.

Then commes in place faint Agnes day, which here in Germanie, Is not fo much efteemde, nor kept with fuch folemnitie: But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree, As fpring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee.

For in faint Agnes Church vpon this day while Maffe they fing, Two Lambes as white as fnowe, the Nonnes do yearely vie to bring: And when the Agnus chaunted is, vpon the aultar hie, 193 (For in this thing there hidden is a folemne mysterie)

They offer them. The feruaunts of the Pope when this is done, Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeses twaine, Whereof being sponne and drest, are made the Pals of passing gaine: Three fingars commonly in bredth, and wrought in compasse so, As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest, Haue labels hanging fomething lowe, the endes whereof are dreft,

And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vefture blacke arayde,

And last of all to make an ende, with knots are furely stayde. O ioyfull day of Agnes, and to Papistes full of gaine,

O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe. O happie they that spin and weave the same, whose handes may touch This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. For by the same the Bishops have their full aucthoritie,

And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie. Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes, Ere halfe the yeare be full expirde, for these same pelting gownes. 212 Ne can they vie the Pall that was their prediceffors late,

Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate, Till that he get one of his owne: with fuch like fubtiltie, The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. Perchaunce fuch force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine,

Nor of it felfe the wooll fo much, nor all the weauers paine, As these same powlers seeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought, The Palls are Are ftreight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought, And vnderneath the aultar all the night they buryed lie, Among faint Peters reliques and faint Paules his fellow bie.

[leaf 46, back]

Young men dresst-up, go singing thro the streets with Pipers.

Saint Agnes. Jan. 21.

Is kept at Rome solemnly.

2 snow-white lambs are offerd on the altar,

196 then put to grass and shorn; and their wool is made into narrow Palls,

> with labels tipt with lead.

These Palls, Bishops and Archbishops are forc't to buy at high prices.

[leaf 47]

put under the altar in St. Peter's, among his relics, for one night, and thence

	328 Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.
are thought to	From hence the facred iuyce they draw, and powre celeftiall,
draw heavenly power.	As if the holy ghoft should give these Clarkes his vertue all.  Straunge Reliques sure, and bodies eke of passing fanctitie, That to such lowsie clokes can give so great aucthoritie.
	Who would not more efteeme you nowe then when you here did liue, When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Bifhops giue,  228
Foul deceits!	Nor fed fo many paunches great, nor shauen companies, With foule illusions and deceytes and shamelesse futtelties? Now silver do you give and heapes of golde togither rake
	From euery realme, and for a denne of theeues prouision make. 232 Farre be it from me that I should thus of you beleeue or fay:
What holy thing hav'n't the Papists turnd to gain?	But what fo holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day, That this fame wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine? Th'almightie Lord himfelfe aboue in fafetie cannot raigne.
	Now here the Papiftes do declare from whom at first did spring, The vse of this same pelting Pall, and this vnseemely thing.
12/10/13	And here a thousand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde, They say the first inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde To burthen Peter with the same, for feare they faint in proofe,
	But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of aloofe. Such folly and ambicion great, whereat you wonder may.
They say these Palls were insti- tuted by St. Peter's successor,	For Linus he that Peter first succeeded as they say, And guyded next the sea of Rome, first tooke this same in hande, That woollen garment might in steede of lynnen Ephod stande.
[leaf 47, back]	But where was Agnes at this tyme? who offred vp and how, The two white Lambes? where then was Masse as it is vsed now? Yea where was then the popish state, and dreadfull Monarchee? 249
treat 47, many	Sure in faint Auftens time, there were no Palles at Rome to fee: When Bishops all had equal powre, although as stories tell,
	The romishe Bishop did the reast in worthinesse excell.  Thus Papistes neuer count it shame, nor any fault to lie,  So they may get great summes of golde, and rayse their kingdome hie.
Candelmasse. Feb. 2.	Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Christ vnto The father chiefe, as Moyses law commaunded hir to do.  256
Big Tapers are blest in Church, then lighted, put	Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare.
out, and kept to light against thunder, devils, and spirits that walk by night.	This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefest seemeth hee, Whose taper greatest may be seene, and fortunate to bee:  260 Whose Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might
want by man	Doth in these Candels lie, which if at any time they light, They sure beleue that neyther storme nor tempest dare abide, Nor thunder in the skies be heard, nor any deuils spide,  264
	Nor fearefull sprites that walke by night, nor hurts of frost or haile, How easily can these fellowes all these hurly burlyes quaile?
Plane P.	That needlesse is it nowe to put their trust in Christ alone, Or to commit all things to him that sittes in chiefest throne.  Then followeth good fir Blase, who doth a waxen Candell giue,
Blase. Feb. 3. The Holy-Water man.	And holy water to his men, whereby they fafely liue.

I diuers Barrels oft haue feene, drawne out of water cleare, Through one fmall bleffed bone of this fame holy martyr heare: 272 And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away, Ech fuperstition doth require such earnest kinde of play:

But in the meane time no man feekes for Christ and God aboue, Nor dare content themselues to have his favour and his loue. Now when at length the pleafant time of Shrouetide comes in place, Shrouetide

And cruell fafting dayes at hande approch with folemne grace: Then olde and yong are both as mad, as gheftes of Bacchus feaft, And foure dayes long they tipple fquare, and feede and neuer reaft. Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings euery wheare Do fwarme: the Dice are shakte and tost, and Cardes apace they teare: In euery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route, And daintie tables fpred, and all be fet with gheftes aboute: With fundrie playes and Christmasse games, & feare and shame away, [leaf 48] The tongue is fet at libertie, and hath no kinde of flay. All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleafure paffed by, That in their mindes they can deuise, as if they then should die: 288 The chiefest man is he, and one that most deserueth prayse,

Among the reft that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes. On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with luftie cheare, Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and fuch like other geare. 292 He in the meane time thinkes himfelfe a wondrous worthie man, Not mooued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatfoeuer they can. Some fort there are that runne with flaues, or fight in armour fine, Or shew the people foolishe toyes, for some small peece of wine. 296

Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe, That readie are to turne themselues, as fortune lift to bowe, But fome againe the dreadfull shape of deuils on them take, And chafe fuch as they meete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake. Some naked runne about the streetes, their faces hid alone, With vifars close, that so disguisde, they might be knowne of none.

Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes aray, And wanton wenches dreft like men, doe trauell by the way, And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best, Perhaps vnto fome auncient friend or olde acquainted gheft, Unknowne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,

That is before them fet, and cleane they fwinge of euery cup. Some runne about the ftreets attyrde like Monks, and fome like kings, Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other flately things.

Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and speedie lucke, Or as the Goofe doth vie to do, or as the quacking ducke. Some like wilde beaftes doe runne abrode in skinnes that divers bee Arayde, and eke with lothfome shapes, that dreadfull are to see:

They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight, And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts vpright. cranes or apes. Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and fome like fooles are dreft, Which best beseeme these Papistes all, that thus keepe Bacchus feast.

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one of his bones.

(Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9). Is a regular Carnival. Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

Every one does as he likes,

and the best man is he who finds out the silliest games.

Some men get up fights;

some dress like Devils;

some run about

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

Some folk dress up like wild beasts, or

Some carry	But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,	
about a turd on a cushion.	And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away.	320
[leaf 48, back]	I would there might an other be an officer of those,	
	Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery not	e.
Some make a	Some others make a man all fluft with flraw or ragges within,	
Guy, and toss him in a blanket.	Apparayled in dublet faire, and hofen paffing trim:	324
	Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,	
	In blanket hid they beare about, and ftreightwayes with the fame	3
	They hurle him vp into the ayre, not fuffring him to fall,	
	And this they doe at divers tymes the Citie over all.	328
They dance lewdly.	I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,	
ionaly.	Nor other wanton fportes that on these holydayes are had.	
	There places are where fuch as hap to come within this dore,	
	Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer feene before	332
	And fay not first here by your leaue, both in and out I go,	
They tie folk's hands behind	They binde their handes behinde their backes, nor any difference	e tho
their backs, and	Of man or woman is there made, but Basons ringing great,	
dance before them, jingling	Before them do they daunce with ioy, and fport in enery ftreat.	330
basins.	There are that certaine prayers have that on the Tuefday fall,	
	Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.	
	But others than fowe Onyon feede, the greater to be feene,	
	And Persley eke, and Lettys both, to have them alwayes greene.	340
	Of truth I loth for to declare the foolishe toyes and trickes,	
700	That in these dayes are done by these same popular Catholickes:	
If there's snow, they pelt one	If fnowe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee, Then fooles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see:	211
another with snowballs.	For balles of fnow they make, and them one at another caft,	344
SHOW DALIS.	Till that the conquerde part doth yeelde and run away at laft.	
	No Matrone olde nor fober man can freely by them come,	
TO SHE STORY	At home he must abide that will these wanton sellowes shonne.	348
Rich men and	Befides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,	240
their families, in	Leaft they with common people should not seeme so mad to bee	
waggons with fast horses, and	There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,	•
100 jingling bells	And luftie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete	352
round their necks, gallop	They put therein, about whose necke and every place before,	00
madly thro the streets.	A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.	
Strouts.	Their wives and children therein fet, behinde themselues do stan	de,
	Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hand	de,
[leaf 49]	With all their force throughout the streetes and market place they	ron,
	As if fome whirlewinde mad, or tempest great from skies should c	ome.
	As fast as may be from the ft[r]eates, th'amazed people flye,	
	And gives them place while they about doe runne continually.	360
	Yea fometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte ar	nd all
	They ouerthrow, with fuch a force, they in their course doe fall.	-
	Much leffe they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the	vaye,
Contract of the last	Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye:	364
This madness	But even till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make	,
goes on up to midnight,	Whereby they hinder men of fleepe, and cause their heades to al	ce.

But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare, So they may have their pleafure still, and foolish wanton geare. 368 Ashrvednesday The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go, (varies from Feb. To fponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so, 4 to March to). They money giue, and on their heddes, the Prieftes doth ashes lay, Priests lay ashes on folk's heads, And with his holy water washeth all their sinnes away: and wash all In woondrous fort against the veniall finnes doth profite this, their sins away with holy water. But still they go Yet here no flay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is, With mirth to dinner ftraight they go, and to their woonted playe, on with their And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightish fonde araye. 376 Some fort there are that mourning go, with lantarnes in their hande, While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skies doth stande: And feeke their fhroftide Bachanals, still crying enery where, Where are our feaftes become? alas the cruell faftes appere. 380 Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore, They carry about a herring on a Herrings, herrings, flincking herrings, puddings now no more. staff, and sing And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes, doggrel rymes; or horse a man, And what befide they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384 and heave him into a pond. Some other beare upon a ftaffe their fellowes horfed hie, And carie them vnto fome ponde, or running river nie, That what fo of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne, May vnderneth the floud be plungde, and watht away againe. Some children doe intife with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play, And finging through the towne they go, before them all the way. In fome place all the youthfull flocke, with minftrels doe repaire, And out of euery house they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392 Others pull girls And them to plough they straitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit, [leaf 49, back] Another holdes the plough in hande, the Minstrell here doth fit out, harness em in a plough, Amidde the fame, and drounken fonges, with gaping mouth he fings, Whome followeth one that fowes out fande, or afthe fondely flings. 396 When thus they through the streetes have plaide, the man that guideth and drive em thro the streets Doth drive both plough & maydens through fome ponde or river and some stream; And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee, To fupper calles, and after that to daunfing luftilee. 400 and then sup and dance. The follie that these dayes is vide, can no man well declare, Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare. On Sunday at the length they leave, their mad and foolish game, Even on Sunday they drink and And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the same. Thus at the last to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare, Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approching doe appeare: Lent. In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate, For 40 days (Ash-Wensday And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a trespasse great: 408 the rst) only salt-Both Ling and faltfishe they deuoure, and fishe of euery forte, Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte: But onyans, browne bread, leekes and falt, must poore men dayly gnaw onions, brown bread and leeks And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuisde this law are eaten.

The Images in Churches are coverd up, and painted cloths shown declaring God's wrath.

Care Sunday. Passion or Carle Sunday, the 5th in Lent.

[leaf 50]
All folk are
absolvd.
The boys draw a
guy of Death into
the country.

They have 2 guys of Summer and Winter, and make Summer beat Winter.

Palme Sunday (varies from March 15 to April 18).

They set a wooden Ass, ridden by an image, on wheels, before the Church door. Folk bring boughs.

Two lubbers sing that the Image is Christ, For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull, Beleeuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full.

Yet here these wosfull soules he helpes, and taking money fast, Doth all things set at libertie, both egges and flesh at last.

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretlie,
In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,
The wrath and furie great of God, and times that sasted are.

Then all men are constrained their sinnes, by cruell law to tell,
And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.

From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth still arise,
And of the Pope the shambles doth appeare in beastly wise.

Now comes the funday forth, of this fame great and holy faft, Here doth the Pope the shriuen blesse, absoluing them at last, From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow, As if the power of God had not fufficient bene till now. 428 Or that the law of Moyfes here, were still of force and might, In these same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne wt heavenly light. The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here, And call him death, whom from the towne, with prowd & folemne chere To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby, From whence they ftragling doe returne, well beaten commonly. Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about, And two they have, whereof the one is called Sommer flout: Apparalde all in greene, and dreft in youthfull fine araye, The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye: These two togither fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get, From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whiftles wet. The other toyes that in this time, of holly fastes appeare, I loth to tell, nor order like, is vied euery wheare.

Here comes that worthie day wherein, our fauior Christ is thought, To come vnto Ierufalem, on affes fhoulders brought: When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue, With pompe and great folemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue. A woodden Affe they haue, and Image great that on him rides, But vnderneath the Asses feete, a table broade there slides, 448 Being borne on wheeles, which ready dreft, and al things meete therfore The Affe is brought abroade and fet before the Churches doore: The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere, Which things against the tempest great, the Parson coniures there, And straytwayes downe before the Asse, vpon his face he lies, Whome there an other Priest doth strike with rodde of largest fife: He rifing vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall, In ftraunge attire and lothfomely, with filthie tune they ball: 450 Who when againe they rifen are, with stretching out their hande, They poynt vnto the woodden knight, and finging as they ftande Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to faue, 460 And to redeeme fuch as in him their hope affured haue:

And even the fame that long agone while in the streate he roade, The people mette, and Oliue bowes fo thicke before hym ftroade. This being foung, the people cast the braunches as they passe, Some part vpon the Image, and fome part vpon the Affe. Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly, This done, into the Church he ftrayght, is drawne full folemly: The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast, Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast: 468 For falfely they believe that thefe, have force and vertue great, Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flashing heate. Are Idoles worshipt otherwise, are these not wicked things? Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472 Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees have kneelde, Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yeelde. In fome place wealthie Citizens, and men of fober chere For no fmall fumme doe hire this Affe, with them about to bere, 476 And manerly they vie the same, not suffering any by, To touch this Affe, nor to prefume vnto his prefence ny: For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue, And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deferue. If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this, I fure beleeue he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis. When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport, The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church refort: The Sexten pleafde with price, and looking well no harme be done, They take the Affe, and through the ftreetes, & crooked lanes they rone, Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise, The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largest cife. Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue, Least he alone without his portion of the Asse shoulde liue.

From Thurseday then till Easter come, the fondest toyes have place Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace First three dayes space the belles are wilde, in silence for to lie, When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie. The boyes in euery streat doe runne, and noyses great they make, While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496 Thre nightes at midnight vp they rife, their Mattens for to heare, Appoynted well with clubbes and flaues, and flones in order theare: The Sexten ftraightwayes putteth out the candles speedely, And ftraight the Prieft with ruftie throte, alowde begins to cry. Then furious rage begins to fpring, and hurlyburly rife, On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise: Thou wouldst suppose they were possest, with sprightes and deuills all, Or fury fuch as forceth them, that vpon Baccus call. Some beaten downe with clubbes and flaues, amongst the pewes do ly And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally. Well ferues the darckeneffe for these deedes, and thereto doth agree, The fathions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee.

the people cast their boughs on the Image.

[leaf 50, back]
The Ass is
drawn into the
church, and folk
pick up the
boughs to protect them from
storms.

(Some rich men hire this Ass and take it about with em.)

484 After dinner boys drag the Ass about the one, streets, and get money and eggs for it; half of which goes to the Priest.

Maundy
Thursday
(Day before
Good Friday).
For 3 days the
bells are still,
and then rung
lowdly. 3 Midnight services
are held in
Church, the
lights are put
out, and a
regular shindy
follows,
[leaf 51]

men being beaten and wounded.

Here wicked Iudas all to torne, with vile reproches lies,

Then candles are lighted, and a lantern's hung round an image's neck.

The Bishop's oil and glasses are blest, and the altar-cloths washt.

The Monks make their Maundy, and wash each other's feet.

Then they take to loaf and pot.

[leaf 51, back]

Good friday (varies from March 22 to April 25).

2 Priests lay the Image of the Crucifix on Turkey carpets, and worship this wooden God.

The simple folk bring gifts, sweet to the poll-shorn crew.

And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries. That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee, And through hir powre deliuer them, from hurt and miferee. 512 These things vnto these feastes belonges, the candles being light, An Image fastned to a crosse is caried all vpright: A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to flew the way, Are not these population foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play? 516 This day the oyle and glasses of the Bishop hallowed bee, And twife three times faluting them, he lowly bendes his knee. The Cannons after doe the fame, with laughter wouldft thou faint, And woonder farre to fee them make, their speechelesse glasse a faint. Their dinner done, from th'aultar all their coftly clothes they take, And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make: Then water on they powre and wine croffwise there on they lay, And to the patron of ech aultar, humbly doe they pray, 524 That they vouchfafe to looke vpon theyr feruaunts worshipping, And to aswage the furie great, of *love* the thundring King. And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie folemne rights And fignes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleafaunt fights. Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie, With hatefull minde, and fecret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye As if that Chrift with his examples, did these thinges require, And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free defire, 532 Ech one fupplying others want, in all things that they may, As he himfelfe a feruaunt made, to ferue vs euery way. Then strait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in euery place they skinke Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleafaunt damfels drinke, 530 And fure with no diffembling heart, for true as feele they bee, And often times they put in proofe their great fidelitee. Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders beare, The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare: 540 Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they fing At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they straight him bring, And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly, With cushions vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie: Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kiffe both hande and feete,

And worship so this woodden God, with honour farre vnmeete.

Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,
As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin:

And after them the simple soules, the common people come,
And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some:
And others corne or egges againe, to poulshorne persons sweete,
And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship meete.

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here
Be Catholike, and like the spowes of Christ accounted dere?
Besides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.
And Christ that every where doth raigne, a laughing stocke to make,

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade, 557 The Priests dress and bring With legges firetcht out at length and handes, vpon his body fpreade: an image of And him with pompe and facred fong, they beare vnto his graue, Christ. His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farcenet braue, 560 The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyfes make, Boys make The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take: noises with clappers And downe they kneele, or kiffe the grounde, their handes helde vp abrod And knocking on their breaftes they make, this woodden blocke a God. And leaft in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565 The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie: Singing bread is laid with the The Prieft the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne, image in the And franckensence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne: grave; With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriars flay, Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray: And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue flowers are strewn about it They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they have. and Dirges The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule [leaf 52] Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574 sung. On Eafter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place, Easter eue. And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemne grace: All fires are put out; and a brand blest, to The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one, A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home, 578 keep off storms. That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise, By lighting this he fafe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skies: A Taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse, The Paschal And franckensence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse: Taper is burnt day and night. This burneth night and day as figne, of Christ that conquerde hell, As if fo be this foolish toye, suffiseth this to tell. Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight,

Is that they vide the yeare before, nor can they any more,

Yong children christen with the same, as they have done before. With woondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go, With candles, croffes, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho: 590-Nine times about the font they marche, and on the faintes doe call,

And thrife the water doth he touche, and croffes thereon make,

And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon,

And holfome waters conjureth, and foolithly doth dreffe, Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did bleffe: And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode,

The people staring hereat stande, amazed euery one:

Beleeuing that great powre is given to this water here, By gaping of these learned men, and such like trifling gere.

Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,

Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake:

And thrife he breathes thereon with breath, that flinkes of former foode:

Therefore in vessels brought they draw, and home they carie fome,

Against the grieues that to themselues, or to their beastes may come.

Water is made That for their baptisme is reserved: for now no more of waight 586 holy for next

year's baptisms.

A Procession marches 9 times and the Priest Water,

pouring his Chrism on it.

Folk carry some home, and

336 Appendix.	Popular and	Popish	Customs, A.D.	1553.
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fasting is over.  Easter day.	Then Clappers cease, and belles are set againe at libertee,  And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.  At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries,
[leaf 52, back] They take the buried Image	The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies: 608  The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)
out of the grave,	They take, and Angels two they place in vefture white, And rounde about ech place appeares, all voyde of franders by Saue onely that the watchmen there, amazed feeme to ly.  612
	But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer fee, Nor of the heauenly messenger, the slaming maiestie. An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,
put another on the Altar, and sing 'Christ is risen.'	And on the aultar place, and then, they luftly doe fing, That Gates of hell a funder burft, and Sathan ouerthrowne,
	Chrift from his graue is rifen vp, and now aliue is knowne.  Which yet they thinke not fo to be, as plainely doth appeare,
	By their Religion, doubtes, and feare, and by their doings here. 620 In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,
Pageants are playd by	With fundrie fortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,
maskers: as the	As where the Maries three doe meete, the fepulchre to fee,
Sepulchre.	And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 024
	These things are done with lefture fuch, and with 10 pleasaunt game,
ASSESSED BY	That even the grauest men that live, woulde laugh to see the same.
Feasting begins	At midnight ftrait, not tarying till the daylight doe appeere, 627
at midnight.	Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.
3000	They roft their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store, And trisles, clouted creame, and cheese, and whatsoeuer more
12 20 20	At first they list to eate, they bring into the temple itraight,
1	That to the Prieft may halow them with wordes of Wondrous waight.
Friars and	The Friers besides & pelting Priestes, from house to house doe roame,
Priests get fees.	Recogning gaine of enery man that this will have at home.
Radishes are	Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate,
eaten against the quartan ague.	Auguilli life (maildh ague and tuest estate
	What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrifie, When as of Chift they doe receive the dredfull misterie?
100	Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,
Papists don't	For none of them beleeueth here, nor none of them doth hope 040
believe in life by Christ alone.	That they receive eternall life, and everlatting teate,  By death of Lefus Chrift, and by his croffe and triumph great.
	For who should teache to them the same, since every Popes decree,
	Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644
[leaf 53]	Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,
Then folk fall to their old life again.	Co nave and laugh the lewes to fcorne, and all the Turkes that bee,
-	For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree.  Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare
1	The solid that a dollish Panifes here. That Dillide and beauty die.
Procession	No some the day wherein they gad aprode, with crone in hands
weeke.	To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande:
(Rogation	To bounded of oder, more,

And as they go, they fing and pray to euery faint aboue, 653 But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in, And looke what faint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him, That he preferue both corne and fruite, from ftorme and tempest great, And them defend from harme, and fend them store of drinke and meat. This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, Where downe they fit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine, So much that oftentymes without the Croffe they come away, And miferably they reele, till as their stomacke up they lay. These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport, With many Croffes often they vnto fome Church refort, Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there streight doth spring, A bawling noyfe, while enery man feekes hyghest for to fing: The Priestes give eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content, And wine to them that passe the reast, is from the Parson sent. 668

Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate, Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate. Then every man fome birde must eate, I know not to what ende, And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. The blocke that on the aultar still, till then was seene to stande, Is drawne vp hie aboue the roofe, by ropes, and force of hande: The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie, For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw, Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho, The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall, And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces fmall. 680 This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while, With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile. With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet. And thus this folemne holiday, and hye renowmed feaft, And all their whole denotion here, is ended with a leaft.

On Whitfunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in ftrings from heauen flie, And one that framed is of wood, ftill hangeth in the fkie.

688
Thou feeft how they with Idols play, and teach the people to, None otherwise then little gyrles with Puppets vse to do.

Then doth ensue the solemne feast of Corpus Christi day,
Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play?
The hallowed bread with worship great, in siluer Pix they beare 693
About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and theare.
His armes that beares the same, two of the welthiest men do holde,
And ouer him a Canopey of silke and cloth of golde 696
Foure others vse to beare alouse, least that some silthie thing
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should sling.
Christes passion here derided is, with sundrie maskes and playes,
Faire Ursley with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes: 700

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES,

Sunday is the 5th after Easter Day.) Bounds are beaten.

Then folk dine and drink at the tavern or in the fields.

This lasts 3 days.

Ascention day (varies from April 30 to June 3).

Birds are eaten (as ascenders). The Image on the Altar (p. 336), is heavd above the roof.

One of Satan is thrown down, and broken to pieces.

[leaf 53, back]

Water is let fall on people below.

Whitsunday (varies from May 10 to June 13). White Pigeons are flown.

Corpus Christi day (Thursday after Trinity Sunday, May 17 to June 20). Hallowd bread is borne about the Church under a canopy.

Plays of Christ's Passion are 700 acted; of Ursula

and her Virgins;	And valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here;	
St. George and the Dragon,	The deuils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere A wondrous fort of damned sprites, with soule and fearefull looke; Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke:	١
St. Sebastian,	Sebaftian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele; 705	١
St. Katherine,	There walketh Kathren with hir fworde in hande, and cruell wheele:	١
St. Barbara, and other	The Challis and the finging Cake, with Barbara is led, And fundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred, 708	1
Pageants.	That pleafe the foolish people well: what should I stande vpon,	١
	Their Banners, Croffes, Candleftickes, and reliques many on,	ı
	Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Priestes with countnance hie, Or rude and common people beare about full solemlie?	1
St. John walks	Saint John before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him,	١
before the Hallowd Bread.	Doth flow the fame to be the Lambe that takes away our finne:	1
Alanona marana	On whome two clad in Angels thape, do fundrie flowres ning,	1
[leaf 54]	A number great of facring Belles, with pleafant founde doe ring. 716 The common wayes with bowes are ftrawde, and euery ftreete befide,	
tron 342	And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide.	1
	The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are fent,	١
	The Priestes and schoolemen lowde do rore, some vse the instrument. The straunger passing through the streete, vpon his knees doe fall: 721	1
Strangers fall on their knees to it.	And earneftly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call.	
	For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take	1
	The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake. 724	
Armd men keep order, and look	A number great of armed men here all this while doe ftande, To looke that no diforder be, nor any filching hande:	
out for thieves.	For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee	
	A bootie good, if every man might have his libertee. 720	
0	This bread eight dayes togither they in prefence out do bring,	١
Organs play, folk fall on their	The Organs all do then refound, and prieftes alowde do fing: The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie,	3
faces, the Bread is lifted up, &c.	Releaving that they fee their God, and foueraigne maiette. 732	
	The like at Maffe they doe, while as the bread is lifted well,	
	And Challys shewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell.  O blessed God, why suffrest thou such wickednesse to raigne,	
Britan Britan	And bringst them not into the steppes of fathers olde againe, 730	5
	Whereof they do so often boast? yet so vnlike them be,	
	That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree.	
Priests ride	In Villages the husbandmen about their corne doe ride, With many Croffes, Banners, and fir Iohn their Priest beside: 740	0
thro' the corn, and read the	Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the bleffed breade,	
Gospel to keep off storms.	And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Golpell lowde doth reade.	
	This furely keepes the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blaft Such fayth the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papiftes holde it faft:	
	Not taken from the Gospell, nor the worthie doctors olde, 74,	5
	But from the minde of man, and from blinde reason mintene bolde.	
Saint Vrban (May 25).	Straight after this comes Vrban in, the Vintners God deulie,	
()	Whose day if that it pleasant be, and Sunne abrode do shine, 74	

Good lucke to them they count it then, and Bacchus holinesse, His Image and his Church they decke, and curioufly do dreffe, About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde, And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to fome tipling house, With luftie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carroufe: Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie, In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handsomly, Till myftes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake, Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & scarce a word they speake. But if the day be clowdie nowe, or given vnto raine, On him they lift not to beftow fuch honour, nor fuch paine, 760 him into the Poore knaue into some ryuer than, they cast him cruellie, And all to-fouse him in the streame, or durtie let him lie. And if this madneffe be not fuch, as may be laught at well, What thing should mooue vs for to laugh, I furely can not tell. 764 The next is Vitus fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,

Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire: The cause whereof I doe not know, I thinke for some disease,

Which he is thought to drive away from fuch as him do pleafe.

Then doth the joyfull feaft of John the Baptift take his turne, When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in euery towne doe burne: And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery freete, With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or elfe with Veruain fweete, And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whofoeuer ftandes, And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine. When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine At night they With ftriuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they caft therin, And then with wordes deuout and prayers, they folemnely begin, 778 Defiring God that all their illes may there confumed bee, Whereby they thinke through all that yeare, from Agues to be free. Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside, Which couered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide:

And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light, They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night: Refembling much the Sunne, that from the heavens downe should fal, A ftraunge and monstrous fight it seemes, and fearefull to them all: But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell, And that from harmes and daungers now, in fafetie here they dwell.

Wherefoeuer Huldryche hath his place, the people there brings in, Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mullets fat, his fauour here to win. 790 Amid the Church there fitteth one, and to the aultar nie, That felleth fish, and so good cheepe, that every man may buie: Nor any thing he loseth here, bestowing thus his paine, For when it hath beene offred once, t'is brought him all againe,

That twife or thrife he felles the fame: vngodlinesse fuch gaine Doth still bring in, and plentiously the kitchin doth maintaine.

He's the Vint-ners' God, and has cups and bowls hung round his neck. They drink [leaf 54, back] to him till they're

drunk.

But if it's a bad day, they shy

Vitus (June 15). Hens are offerd to him. Why?

Iohn Baptist (June 24). Bonfires burn ; youths and girls dance all day with flowers in their hands.

run thro the

Others run a wheel stufft with blazing straw and tow, down a mountain.

[leaf 55] Saint Huldryche (Ulric, July 4). Fish are offerd to him.

A man sits near the altar, and sells the same fish over and over again to the offerers.

Whence comes this fame religion newe? what kind of God is this Same Huldryche here, that so desires, and so delightes in fishe? Which neuer any heathen God, in offring did receaue, Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leaue. Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe, But we the chiefest will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

Assumption of the Virgin Marie (Aug. 15). Folk bring bundles of Herbs to Church, to be blest by the priest. These priest. serve as charms.

The bleffed virgin Maries feaft, hath here his place and time, Wherein departing from the earth, she did the heavens clime: Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare, The which against all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare. Thus kindle they and nourish still, the peoples wickednesse, And vainely make them to beleeue, whatfoeuer they expresse: For fundrie witchcrafts, by these hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes, And cast into the fire, are thought to drive away all harmes, And every painefull griefe from man, or beaft, for to expell, Farre otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

Martyn (Nov. 11). Roast geese are eaten, and wine drunk.

Schoolmasters go

about singing

Nicholas (Nov. 13).

gifts in their

with their boys.

To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline, Whom all the people worshippeth, with rosted Geese and wine: 814 Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes His veffels all, and of the Must oft times the last he takes, Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,

Therefore they him vnto the fkies extoll, with prayse deuine: 818 And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compasse wide, Yea by these fees the Schoolemaisters have profite great beside: For with his fcholers euery one, about do finging go, 822

Not prayfing Martyn much, but at the Goofe reioyceing tho, Whereof they oftentymes have part, and money therewithall, For which they celebrate this feaft, with fong and muficke all.

[leaf 55, back] Mothers hide children's shoes, &c., and say St. Nicholas brought

Saint Nicholas money víde to giue to Maydens fecretlie, Who, that he still may vie his woonted liberalitie 826 The mothers all their children on the eeue doe cause to fast, And when they euery one at night in fenfeleffe fleepe are caft: Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things befide, As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which fecretly they hide, And in the morning found, they fay, that this faint Nicholas brought: Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught. What should I tell what Sophisters, on Cathrins day deuise?

Catheryn (Nov. 25).

em.

Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercise.

Andrew (Nov. 30). All Lovers court him.

To Andrew all the louers, and the luftie wooers come, Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonies done, (While as to him they prefentes bring, and coniure all the night) To have good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and fweete delight. 839

834

Church holyday. The anniversary of each church's dedication.

The dedication of the Church is yerely had in minde, With worship passing Catholicke, and in a wondrous kinde: From out the steeple hie is hangde, a Crosse and banner fayre, The pauement of the temple strowde, with hearbes of pleasant ayre, The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are feene, And every pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is deckt with

boughs.

#### Appendix. Popish and Popular Customs, A.D. 1553. 341

A board stands

full of Pardons

for every one

who'll buy em.

Harlots and

[leaf 56]

youths and

come; and all

the neighbours armd; trim

maidens, jesters,

pedlers, and pots of drink.

After service,

grand feasting and suppers go

Then the young

folk dance,

leading and

fairings.

Lovers buy their sweethearts

The tabernacles opned are, and Images are dreft, But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest: A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thick they lay, That given are to every one that keepes this holy day: 848 The Idoll of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande, And beggeth fast of euery man, with pardons in his hande: Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill In common peoples languages, when they fpeake well or ill: 852 He hath his owne interpretor, that alwayes flandeth by, And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry: Defiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde, And Popishe pardons for to buie, release of sinnes to finde. 856 The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue, His harlot for to bring, and all the fwarme of Baftards that they haue: On every fide the neighbours come, and fuch as dwell not nere, Come of their owne good willes, and fome required to be there. 860 And euery man his weapon hath, their fwordes, and launces long, Their axes, curriars, pystolets, with pykes and darts among. The yong men in their best array, and trimmest maydes appeare, Both Ieasters, Roges, and minstrels with their instruments are heare. The Pedler doth his packe vntruffe, the Host his pots doth fill, And on the table bread and drinke doth fet for all that will: Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all, To them th'aduauntage of this feaft, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868 The feruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie, Or to their neighbours house, whereas they feede vnreasonablie: For fixe or feuen courses, they vnto the table bring, And for their fuppers may compare with any heathen king. 872 The table taken vp, they rife, and all the youth apace, The Minstrell with them called go to some convenient place: Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Muficke fine, And vnto fuch as are preparde to daunce hath given figne, Comes thither streight both boyes and gyrles, and men that aged bee, And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to see, Old wrinckled hagges, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft, and old hags Then fundrie pastimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft: When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight, the Drunkards That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plight: The streames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is seene The carkaffe of fome ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. Here many for their louers fweete, some daintie thing doe buie, And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for companie, Whereas they foolish songs do fing, and noyses great do make: Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and fome the Dice do shake. Cards and Dice Their custome also is, the Priest into the house to pull: are playd. The Priest is Whom when they have, they thinke their game accomplished at full: head reveller, and looks after He farre in noyfe exceedes them all, and eke in drinking drie the spewing Drunkards. The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their heades that speewing lie,

And that with fuch attendaunce good, that often therewithall His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all: Whom if the lyquor that he taftes doe hap to handle fo, As on his feeble legges vnto his house he can not go: But reele and ftagger here and there, as oftentymes is seene, They friendly fet him on a horse, and home they cary him cleene: To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray, 899 Is alwayes vide vpon this feaft, and venerable day. For foules departed from this life, they also carefull bee, The shauen fort in numbers great, thou shalt assembled see, Where as their feruice with fuch speede, they mumble out of hande, That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande, But foberly they fing, while as the people offring bee, 906 For to release their Parents foules that lie in miferee. For they beleeve the shauen fort, with dolefull harmonie, Do draw the damned foules from hell, and bring them to the fkie: Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine, 910 And neuer troubled are with care of any foule in paine. Their feruice thus in order fing, and payde for Maffe and all, They to the Tauerne streightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall, Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke, Whereas these Cathlicke fathers have such lewde and beastly talke, As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes, 915 And fuch as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vse. These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare, Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare: 918 And doth declare thou feeft the mindes of these same holy men, What vertues great they have, and what religion lyes in them. The like their temples teach, dreft vp in more than Pagan guife, That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies, As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane, And Banners, Croffes, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in fecret put, That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut: 926 That furely not vnworthily the Turkes beleeue and fay, The Papiftes are Idolaters, and haue no perfite way In feruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly, The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry. Seeft thou how in their life they doe beleeue, and when they die, How doubtfull they? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie, Regarding not what happe vnto the fimple people falles: For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, 934 Their finging and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit Himselfe to God, his heyre should be constrained to furnish it, And punisht fore if any thing herein shall wanting bee, Of all the toyes that doth belong, to fuch folemnitee. 938 Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heavens doe attaine,

And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine?

When the Priest can't walk, [leaf 56, back] he's carrid home on horseback.

All soulne day (Nov. 2).

Folk give fees to free their parents' souls;

then drink in the tavern, or the Parson's hall, where he talks beastliness.

Churches.

They have Idols, always-flaming lights, &c.

The Turks rightly call em Idolaters.

Funerals.

[leaf 57] The rites are held only for Shavelings' gain,

Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse, For to be iust, and innocent, and dye in blessednesse:  Their parentes for their funeralles, constrayned are to pay, Least of the Popish tyranny, should any part decay.	Even for inno- cent children parents are forcd to pay.
No fayth nor perfit godlinesse doth any where appeare, But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and such deceitfull geare. Beholde againe their prayers and the bookes they occupie, Wherewith to God, and to the saintes, they pray continually: And to the Angells vse the like: which supersticious kinde,	Prayers.
They doe not reade with any sprite, or zealousnesse of minde: 950 No cause prouoketh them to praye, this onely them assinde, To babble much, for otherwise woulde want no wordes nor minde,	Are not prayd with zeal, only babbled
Ne shoulde they neede so many prayers, appoynted them to say, Nor thus to tire their weeried tongue, with mumbling all the day.  Likewise before the heapes of bones, prepared for the same 955  They stande, and to the spirits and soules in graue, they prayers frame:	and mumbled
And for their good estate they pray, that measure none they know, Of foolishnesse, nor wicked deedes doe euer ceasse to flow:  958 To Church they come with beades of bone, or of some other thing, Whose middles pierced through are tide, and joyned with a string:	Papists have Rosaries of bone- beads on a
Thus fastned, fiftie Rofaries, they still account the same, And thrife so many Pfalters they accustomde are to name.  With these vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his faintes,	string,
They number all their babling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes.  So that they number onely feeke, not caring for the minde:  That woman holyeft is by much, and of deuouteft kinde,  966	and count their babblings by em.
Whose beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydens so Drest vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Church doe go.	woman is she who has beads to her foot.
Befides for Charmes and Sorferies, in all things they excell, Both Dardan and the Witches foule, that by Mæotis dwell.  The reason is, that yet to trust in God they have no skill, Nor will commit themselves vnto th'almightie fathers will.	[leaf 57, back] Charmes.
If any woman brought abed, amongst them haps to lie, Then every place enchaunter lyke, they clense and purifie: 974 For feare of sprightes least harme she take, or caried cleane away, Be stolne from thence, as though she than in greatest daunger lay, When as hir travailes overpast, and ended well hir paine, With rest and sleepe she seekes to get, hir strength decayde againe.	When a woman's brought to bed, they purify the place from spirits,
The like in trauailes harde they vie, and mariages as well, And eke in all things that they buy, and euery thing they fell. About these Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes,	Charms hang
That ferue against all miseries, and all vnhappie harmes: 982 Amongst the which, the threatning writ of Michael maketh one, And also the beginning of the Gospell of Saint Iohn:	about every Papist's neck.
But these alone they doe not trust, but with this same they haue, Theyr barbrous wordes, & crosses drawne with bloud, or painted braue. They swordes enchaunt, and horses strong, and slesh of men they make So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take	Crosses drawn with blood, &c.,

keep men from hurt by bows.

They shut up spirits in crystal as charms.

Holydayes.

Folk dress fine, and walk in the streets or the fields.

Others drink as long as they can stand. [leaf 58]

Few go to church.

After dinner they play at ball, and wrestle,

or fence.

Others play cards, or backbite.

All drink.

No Sunday is without a drunken fray.

Some court girls,

dance, and go further,

Stewes. The Papist Priests keep And viing Necromancie thus, them felues they fafely keepe, 989
From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe:
No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare;
Besides in glistering glasses fayre, or else in christall cleare
They sprightes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same
They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame,
And when theyr Kine doe give no milke, or hurt, or bitten sore,
Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.

Now last behold how they do keepe, their sabboth daies throghout, First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about:

998
With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace, And rapyres long about them girt, their great and chiefest grace.
Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate,
They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate.

1002
An other fort togither come, and drinking hande to hande,
They quaste so long, till none of them be able for to stande:
Yea oftentimes they in their seates, with drinke are strangled quight,

Yea oftentimes they in their feates, with drinke are strangled quight, And yeelding vp their dronken ghostes, doe bid their mates godnight. But sew of them doe care for Masse, though every one doe saye, And thinke it holiest is, nor to the Church they go to praye: 1008 But eyther breakefastes long they make, at home when they arise, Or drinke vntill the evening starre, begin to shine in skies. Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketsted. Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well have fed,

To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoote,
To tosse the light and windie ball, alost with hande or soote:
Some others trie their skill in gonnes, some wrestle all the day,
And some to schooles of sence do go, to gaze vpon the play:
An other fort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame,
But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame:

Some vie to fit before their doores, and backbite euery man,
Or newes deuise, or some debate, and strife whereas they can.
The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sportes and play,
Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away,
Of every worde ariseth blowes, their manhoode to assay,

Of euery worde arifeth blowes, their manhoode to affay, So that no funday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray. And thus of custome endeth still, this solemne festivall, With dronkennesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all. To Ensong are they called straight, by towling of the bell,

To Enfong are they called ftraight, by towling of the bell,
But from their place they lift nor ftirre, being occupied fo well:
They forwarde with their game doe go, and Church and feruice all,
Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.

Some others to their Ladies fues, being amorous all the while, Or frame deceytes or fubtilties, yong maydens to beguile, The wanton youth to daunfing goes, and wickedly doe draw,

The maydes in ring, and wantonnesse hath neyther bondes nor law.

And least the youth their pleasure sull of whoredome should not take,
In every Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:

And Bawdes they fuffer openly, and cherish them withall, Brothels and Bawds, in every Of whome no flender price doe here receyue nor profit fmall: These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie, The fame that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks deftroy. To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes, Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042 To these Whatfoeuer they be that have not yet, the yoake of mariage tride, unmarrid folk. No kinde of shame doth drive them hence, nor any care beside. For lawfull here they doe it fee, and not to be dispifde, But with the Popish fort to be, an exercise deuisde. 1046 Sometime it also haps, that maried men doe here refort, If any marrid ones are caught there, they get thrasht. But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay, And oftentimes are vfed ill, and beare the blowes away: 1050 But at this fame the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye, For Papiftes, whordome doe alow, and count it but a playe. For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow still, That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill: The lawe Scatinian is extinct, and Iulian laught at now, The Papiftes, euery kinde of vice, and wickednesse alow: Papists allow every kind of And not alonely in themselues, they doe the same permit, But also vnto all that lift, with Golde to purchase it. 1058 But here I faine woulde vnderstande, what straunge Apostle hee, What Apostle said they could take the hire of That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee? That where they freely might enjoye, and haue them openlye, whores, and yet be servants of And they themselues to take the hier of beastly letcherye? 1062 God ? And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine, The perfit feruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine? Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full, That they with emptie shadow thee not into errour pull. This was the guise of Corynth great, and Cyprus eke of olde, While darckneffe raind, and Sathan foule, his fcepture there did holde: Their excuse is, that men 'ud But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vile, otherwise rape Least that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile. maidens. Who would not muse to see the witte of these same catholickes, Their tharpe inuentions, and deuife, in all their proper trickes? This thing coulde Moyfes not perceyue, that all things elfe did fee, Deut. 23. Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee: 1. Cor. 5. 6. And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise, 1076 7. 10. Nor Paule it faw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skies: Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right, Heb. 13. [lf. 59] To be the dwelling place of Chrift, and of the holy fpright: Ephe. 5. Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the fame thereby to be, I. Thes. 4. The body of a hore, this ftaine and blot commaunded he 1080 To be excluded farre from faintes, and fuch as christned be. Papists don't care But they have nothing for to doe, with Moyfes nor with Paule, for Moses or Nor any honeft things they will obey, nor lawes at all. Paul: they pardon Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispensing wondrouslye, themselves.

### 346 Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.

As men that onely here possess the keyes of heaven hye.

I many things doe over passe, nor have they every where,
Their customes like, for every realme hath his devised gere:
Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,
There are that doe such doltish dreames, defende maliciously,
That quight contrary are to Christ, and to religion right,
Which neyther canst thou easily knowe, nor well in verse resignt.

But if we say these Papists are not members of Christ,

we're calld Heretics, and punisht or

and lose our goods.

banisht,

Tho' they see they can't stand against God's word and light,

[leaf 59, back]

they won't confess they've errd,

but hate us Reformers, and pour out our blood.

It's often been agreed that Papist and Protestant should keep his own faith, but

Now when these Popish lothsome limmes, by no meanes we can see In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Christ to bee, Nor can in anye wife imbrace, the fonde religion vaine, And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine, Nor doctrine of fo wicked fayth, to Christian people giue, But rather as the Apostles teach, doe simply seeke to liue, 1096 Rejecting toyes and mans deuice, as which we furely know, To be detefted of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw: We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee, Of halter, fworde, confuming fire, and ech extremitee. 1100 We punisht are, our houses sealde, or from our countrie farre We banisht be, or else opprest at home with civill warre: Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth confume, and cleane deuours, The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours. These things these Catholikes attempt, when in so many yeares, By scriptures sure they cannot plant, this foolish fayth of theirs: Nor ours with scriptures ouerthrow, that now they seeke to make The Prince of hell and Christ to ioyne in one, and partes to take. For (all ashamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot stande, With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe shine, The twelue Apostles doctrine, and that blessed court deuine. Nor good it feemeth yet to them (fuch is their wifdome hie,) To graunt that they have erd in any thing or gone awrie. III4 For thame it is that learned men, and fuch as famous bee, For Mitars and for Crofiar staues, amongst the Christiantee Christ nor the Apostles fayth to know, that perfit is and just, But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may fafely truft. From hence proceedeth all their griefe, and all their cruell hate, That with effusion of our bloud, they stablish their estate: 1120 And will not here be pacified by any other meanes, Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monftrous dreames: And altogither runne in one, like flockes for company, To false and wicked worshippings, and vile idolatry: 1124 And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,

Although they teache no doctrine of the King celeftiall.

And neyther part the other for to trouble or moleft,

Their owne religion, seruing God as best they list to chuse:

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part thoulde freely vie

With warres or bookes, that Germany might live in peace or reft.

### Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553. 347

But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write, the Papists won't be true to And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite: this compact. Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endurde, But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here assurde. If tumults on our partes arife, or any great ado, Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therevnto, If we take arms to protect our-And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie, selves, the 1138 Papists say it's And take the pillage of their foes, immediately they crie: the Gospel's The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight fault, declare the Gospel's Turkish, These fellowes liue, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light: It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago: And fpightfully they flaunder it, with many raylings mo: 1142 As if that any Preacher here, did euer this alow, Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow. They know full well themselues that none of ours did euer teache, 1146 To vie fuch violence, nor this vnto the people preache: and they hell-Yet with their vile infective tongues, and mouthes envenemde tho, ishly defame its Preachers, With poyfon that in hellish lakes, and Stygian streames doth flo, The Gospell of the Lorde they doe, most spightfully defame, [leaf 60] And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same. 1150 But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuife, To keepe them in, from ving force against their enimies? The Papists Why doe they not as well difwade their Catholikes, and blame Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very fame? 1154 And boldely euery where deftroy, and euery man moleft, Yea even their very friendes at home, that faine woulde live at reft. What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that even openly persuade men to With bitter wordes and bookes perfwade men to fuch cruelty? persecute us. The Pope Are these to any man vnknowne? doth Fraunce and Italy 1159 pardons those Not openly declare the fame, and plainely teftify? who fight us. Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perfwade this martiall might, And pardons every man hys finnes that in their quarrell fight? 1162 But fure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe, And better others faultes they fee, than what themselues doe lacke: Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine, And others all as heritickes, and wicked people plaine: 1166 Wherefore the chiefest members of this holy popish state, Their cerimonies and their dayes, they yearely confecrate. Their foolish fayth and beastly life, I openly doe showe, That all the worlde may vnderstande, and euery man may know, That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way, They don't care for Christ, but But onely feeke to looke aloft, and boldely for to fay, 1172 only to claim that they are That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes, holy, and we And we vnhappie caftawayes, and curfed heritickes. cursed heretics. But wherein are they Catholickes? bicause they follow here The truth? but what they follow and believe, doth plaine appere. If they are Catholicks, so So it is that in number they and countries vs excell, are Turks and Moors. So mayft thou both the Turkes and Mores, call Catholickes as well.

### 348 Appendix. Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.

Let all true men see how right we've been in giving up this monstrous Popish faith!

Herewith I judge that euery man, that hath an vpright heart, Doth vnderstande how iust our cause hath beene for to depart From this their monftrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatree, And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree: As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde, Nor fuffer fuch as woulde, but keepe them still in darcknesse blinde.

#### FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

Superstitions about Storms. Compare part of The thirde Booke,

Belles

are rung against storms and thunder.

Ratio, divino.

A Bell

[leaf 42] nam'd Mary, that said it put thunder and spirits to flight.

Candles are also lighted, and Holy Palms us'd, against storms.

Other folk sit out in the open air.

Others hide in caves.

Where then is their trust in Christ?

Are these 'Catholics,' that defend themselves by Bells and such humbug? The Heathens did the same.

leaf 41, bk, 42:--

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and ftormie tempest shake, A woonder is it for to fee the wretches howe they quake, Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor trust in any thing. The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, With wondrous found, and deeper farre, than he was woont before, Till in the loftie heavens darke, the thunder bray no more. For in these Cristned belles they thinke, doth lie such powre & might, As able is the tempest great, and storme, to vanquish quight. I fawe my felfe at Numburg once, a towne in Toring coaft, A Bell that with this title bolde, hir felfe did prowdly boaft, "By name I Mary called am; with found I put to flight II The thunder crackes, and hurtfull ftormes, and euery wicked fpright." Such things when as these Belles can do, no wonder certainlie It is, if that the Papistes to their tolling alwayes flie, When haile, or any raging forme, or tempest comes in fight, Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that every place doth fmight: Befides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all, And Willow braunches hallow, that they Palmes do vie to call. This done, they verily believe, the tempest nor the storme, 19 Can neyther hurt themselues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne. But fome there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit Their liues to this, but vnderneath the ftarres they feeke to fit; For there (they fay) the lightning can no kinde of creature fmight, Nor fall vpon the feeble corfe of any fearefull wight. There are, that hide themselues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie, When as they heare the roring found, and rumbling in the skie. Where here appeares the confidence, and trust vnto the hiest?

And hope in all aduerfitie caft wholy vpon Christ? Where doe they here commit themselues, and all that they possesse, Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do expresse? Are not these Papistes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well, That are defended in the flormes, by founde of brasen Bell? And fleps of flayres, and braunches burnt, with flames encompast round, And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground? Such Gods, and fuch defenders here, the heathen woont to haue, To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themselues to saue.

### INDEX (NOT EXHAUSTIVE).

40/21 means page 40, line 21.

Abortiues, sb. pl. 188, abortions. 'Abortiue or borne before tyme. Abortiuus, a, um.' 1552. Ric. Huloet. Abcedarium Anglico-Lat. Abroche, 150, adj. on tap. To set abroche, to tap. "Brochyn or settyn a vesselle abroche. Attamino, dipsidro." Prompt. Parv. Abrupte, 22/27, corrupt, E. F. Abuses, S. Rowlands's list of, 232 Abuses in Ailgna (England+), how they may be reformd, 186 Accidents, 105, sb. pl. component elements Accidents at football, &c., 318, 319 Actors and theatres, 140, 144, 301 Acts against certain games, 316, 317; idleness and vagrancy, 186, 320; cottage-building, 281; drunkenness, 285; bearbaiting and games on Sundays, 298; church-ales, 306 Acuate, 128, vb. sharpen, inflame, make more desirous; 'whette,' in F. 1595 Adam's fall, how caused, 36 Adieu, bid, 167 Adjuments, 138, supports (F.), aids Aduertiseth, 26, pr. s. warns Adultery in England, 88, 98, 101, 280-4

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† A Looking Glasse for Englande. Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth. London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an "old tract in S. Cypr. de 12 abusionibus seculi" (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho' it was the "dailie and hourlie looking glasse" of "noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde," and its englisher "long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke." sign. (iij.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an vniust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law The treatment of all is quite general.

may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. (So of 'toward' and 'towardes,' &c.)

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† K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspition of vnchast life neuer touched him: and having in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breastes laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.' " 1605. Jn. Stow, Annales, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter, 12mo, 1678.

1 Huloet has a good compound of Barley: 'Barley bunne gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meaned by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlye. Hordiarius, ij.

§ Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Pible class is over the first to see any line to be desured to the state of the second state of the sec Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diverBlase, St., the Holy-Water man: customs on his day, 328-9 Blaunch, 180, vb., whitewash, represent bad as good

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sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked:— "St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter: 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"—Echo. Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. I.

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+ They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeues 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 diverslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [ ] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

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+ Woman. "In some places with vs, if a woman beat hir husbande, the man that dwelleth next vnto hir, shal ride on a cowlstaffe: & there is al y\* punishment she is like to haue." 1580, T. Lupton. Sivgila, p. 50.

‡ "If I see my brother sinne, I may between hym and me rebuke him, and damne

his deede."—Tyndale (1573), f. 144.

"O see witles men of galathie who deceyuede sou for to not bileue to the treuhe bifore whos ysen iesu crist is dampnyde (or exilde)."—Epistle to the Galatians, cap. iii, 6, Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test. (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies damned persons called) do no common worke, but as euery private man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man."-Sir T. More's Utopia, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso .-- R. Roberts.

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Daunger, 153, sb. power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. domigerium. So "out of debt, out of danger," i. e. independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, s. v.

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Disgesture, 103/15; 106/15, sb. digestion

Dishcloute, 51, sb. rag, dishcloth Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

+ "You have another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and death deal mildely with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life Against Creditors. in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his cares to sleepe vppon, when you have (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get; what seeke you to have him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot mooue you; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heavie, the greater and more glorious is your pitty to worke his freedome; if they be light, the sharper is the Vengeance that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart. Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the Diueil that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes make Dice of mens bones, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debter that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in Ieronimo) crying Reuenge." 1606. T. Decker. Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

ruins the character of. 'Dishonesten or make dishoneste.

Collutilo, as. Contamino, as..

Dishonest or defyle a woman.

depudico.' 1552. Huloet

Disparcle, 78/17, v. spread, scatter

abroad

District, 46/9, strict Diue, 52, v. steep

Document, 100/13, lesson, cp.

Hamlet, IV. v. Doen, 66, pp. done

Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268

Donnington, Leicestershire, 59\*

Doomsday, near, 187

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Dregs, 63, sb. pl. rubbish

Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man's station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer's time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48

Dress of men, 239, 75\*, 77\*, 78\* Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257\*, 77\*, note

Drink, names for, 150, 307

Drinking half-pots or whole cans of beer, game at, 316

Dromming, xi, sb. playing on drums

Dronets, xi/8, 145; sb. pl. drones
Droye, 78/2, sb. droil, drudge,
slavey, common girl. 'Drudge
or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a
house whych doth all the vyle
seruice. Mediastimus, a, um.'

1552. Huloet Drummer, 172

Drunk, names for getting, 307
Drunkards worse than beasts, 108:
"Accoustré pour aller au guet.
Thoroughly tipled, soundly whittled, that hath seene the diuell."

tled, that hath seene the diuell."
1611. Cotgrave. See Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for

Droonkardes,' 1576

Drunken alestake, 78\*, drunkard Drunkenness and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285 Drunkenness in England, 107; testimonies against, 109; a caueat against, 112

Duetie, 112, sb. duty

Dumb creatures, Stubbes's care for,

50\*, 178, 182

Dunghill gentleman, 122. 'Dungehyll, mixen, or muckhyll. Priuetum.' 1552. Huloet

uetum.' 1552. Huloet Durance petticotes, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares

Dutch drunkards, awful example of two, 113

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Easter-eve, popular customs on,

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Effeminacy of men, 54, 103, 246 Effeminate, vb. 160, make woman ish and weak

Efficiente, 27, pr. p. effecting EGERTON'S Sermons, mentiond by

T. Nashe, 37\* Egham races, 47\* Elements and Skyes, 188

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Els what, 76; what not ELVOT, Sir T., against Dicing, 90\*

EMMES, William, Stubbes's fatherin-law, 51\* to 53\*

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foreign trifles, 33, 235 Englishmen have become effeminate from dress and luxury, 54,

103, 246, 250; cut of one, 249 Enlocnilshire, 135, Lincolnshire Enterludes, viii, sb. pl., interludes Entierly, 117, adv. earnestly, heartily. See Intirelie

Equivalent, 144, of equal weight Erichssehcshire, 135, Cheshire Errata in the early editions, 192 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot Estraunged, 96, pp. separated,

removed

Estridge feathers, 253, 270-1

Euangely, sb. 120, gospel Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one

by Nashe, 39\*

Evibrate, vb. 108, footnote 7, shake Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, vb. heap up, gather. 'Heapely, in a mungley, wythout order. Aceruatim, Aggestim.' 1552. Huloet Examples against drunkenness,

109-112

Exorable, 75/29, adj. gaind over by entreaties, ready to yield to solicitation

Extenuate, 54/25, v. lengthen out Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers, vagrants, stragglers

Extravagance in dress, &c., its results, 53, 245

Eye: 'Black is their eye,' 96

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259, 279 False breasts, &c., 257; hair, 257-8 Familiars, 87, sb. intimate friends Fangles, new, 80/20; 82/25, fanci-

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Fans, and flaps of feathers, 261

Faraginie, 103, margin, Lenten diet Far-fetcht and dear-bought, is good for ladies,‡ 33/16, 65/16, 236, 254

Farmers' silken geere, 244

Farthingales and dress, 261, 272 Fashions, 243, 256, sb. a disease in

a horse, farcy

Fashions in bands, 52, 243; in coats and jerkins, 58, 248, 250; in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241; in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270; in hats, 50, 240, 241; in hose, 56, 246; in netherstocks (stockings), 57; in rapiers, swords, and daggers, 62, 252; in ruffs, 51, 52, 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in shoes, 58, 248; of women, 71, 259; change every day, 76

Fashions of dress frequently changed

in Ailgna, 31, 76

Fauchone, 110/19; 162, sb. a sword

or falchion

Feade, 62, vb. please, feed Feare, 98, v. frighten

Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243 Feight dog, feight bear! the deuill part all! 178 (at Bearbaiting)

Felles, 36/21; sb. pl. skins

Fellowship of Animals' Friends, 50\*, note 1 i, 331. 'Felowshyppe, brethren or companye, whych be all of one brotherhode, corporation, fraterternitie, guilde, or misterye. sodales.' 1552. Huloet. Felowes, 48, sb. pl. companions;

A.S. felagi

Femenine, 161, 170, vb. effeminate, or, as just below, womannisheth

Filides, 256, foot (?) Fine living hurtful, 105

Fish: all is fish that comes to the net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huld-

ryche or Ulric, 539 Fixnet, 35/5; sb. shower-off, upstart; 'Thraso' in later editions

+ Huloet says under 'Alume . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. Zucharinum made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe, the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and

visages with, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

1 Next the entry of Udal's Rauf Ruyster Duster (Ralf Roister Doister) in the Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-7, is "Received of thomas hackett for his lycense for the pryntinge of a playe intituled farre fetched and Deare bowght ys good for ladious". Arbor's Transcript is corrected. Arber's Transcript, i. 331. lad [i]es.

Flaunes, 148, sb. pl. custards, pancakes

Flaunt, 34, vb. to make a show Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing,†

Fleer, 145, vb. grin, make faces

Flip flap, 51, phr. flapping Flipping and flapping, 58/17; flop-

ping, floundering
FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd)

praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*
Flower in a fop's ear, 78\* note, 94\*.
Flowting, ix, adj. mocking. "Brocarder, to quip, cut, gird, reach ouer the thummes; ieast at; flout, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. As You Like It, I. ii. 42

Fluter, 172

Foist, 71, footnote 8; '1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. crepitus. Foist, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.

Fond, 81, adj. foolish

Food of Englishmen in the olden times, 103, 287

Football, playd on Sundays, 137; the dangers of, 184; accidents at, 318, 319

Football and other games, S. Rowlands's list of in 1600, 316

Foot saunte without cards, 304; toying with girls' feet?

Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77\* note, 94\*: see *Dress*, Fashions

Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.;

97, impers. pr. matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothinge. Susque. ferre. Vacat.' 1552. Huloet.

Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251

Foreign goods preferred to homemade, 33

Forked cappes of Popish Priestes, 69 Fornication, prevalence of in England, 101, 282

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FORREST, Sir (= parson) W., on the food of Englishmen in 1548, 287

Fox's Book of Martyrs, 185; Stubbes wrote 8 prefatory Latin lines to it, 64\*

Frankincense, burning, carrid about houses on Twelfth Night, 326

FRAUNCE, Abraham, the poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*

French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77\* note

Frizes, 32, sb. pl. friezes Frontiers, 67, sb. foreheads

Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342

Furdest, 56, adj. furthest, most removed

Fyled, 23, pp. filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, Descript. of Britain, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of filed utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-torned and true-filed lines"

† Fleas.—Matthew Grove (Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 344) gives the following humourous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoyned sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House, Hazlitt's Handbook).

"A perfect tricke to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber."

"Take halfe a quart of barly graine,
A quart of strongest beere,
And boyle withall in earthen pot
A pint of water cleere,
Till all these three consumed be
To ounces twelve or lesse,
And then the place to which you will

These fleas in heaps to presse,

Anoynt with that; this water hath,
In it this verture raw,
That all the fleas will thither come.
Then take a slender strawe,
And tickle them on the small ribs,
And when you see one gape,
Thrust then the straw into his mouth,
And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be opend till wanted for use.' When opend, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

Gallant's dress, cost of, 245 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the: Ruffs so called, 53

Gally-hose, or gally-gascoynes, 56/1; 246, sb. wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on Codpiece.

Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89\*-91\*

Games and sports, 316† Garagantua breeches, 247

Garded, 60, pp. trimd, edgd. See Henry VIII., Prologue 16, and Merchant of Venice, II. ii. 143

Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279 Gardes, 74, sb. pl. trimmings, edgings#

Garnishe, 33, v. adorn: 'Garnish. Adorns.' 1552. Huloet

Garters, French, 243; of Granada silk, 244, 265; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280; poniards hung in, 280

GASCOIGNE the poet, praisd by

G. Harvey, 42\*

Gascoynes, 242, breeches: "Guerguesses: f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611." Cotgrave

Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, pp. galled Geare, 97, sb. matter, business

Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340

Generoseous, a. 132

Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles

Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart: 'Gentleman of the first head, or Ironice to be applyed to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no poynt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. Filius terræ.' 1552. Rich. Huloet. Abcedarium

Gentlemen sheepmongers and graziers, 290

Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31

Geugawes, 62, sb. pl. baubels, trinkets

Giese, 111, pr. noun, Gehazi

Gingered brests & spiced stomacks, 106, last line

Gingerlynes, 78/26, sb. affected nicety, dainty manners

Girls and men at theatres, 304

Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304; are harnesst in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392; seduced at thirteen, 232

Girls' way of finding out husbands'

names, 324

Glistering, 79, pr. p. shining, glit-

Globe Theatre (Shakspere a sharer), Southwark, 252, 303

Glory of, 155/2, glory in

Gloves, scented, worn by women, 79 Gluttony, a temptation of the devil, 104

Gluttony and drunkenness in England, 102; forbidden by God, 110; God's judgments on, 113; 85\*

Gluttony and drunkenness, 284 God's ape, man is, 77\*, note

God's punishment of pride, 85, 86 Wm., on women's GODDARD, fashions, 259

GOLDING, Arthur, on Sabbath breaking, 80\*, 81\*, note

Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 275 (see Harrison, Part II. Forewords)

Good Friday, customs on, 334-5 'Good Men': brawlers and fighters

wrongly calld, 88\*, note

GOOGE, Barnabe, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*; his englishing of Book IV of The Popish Kingdome of T. Kirchmaier or Naogeorgus, 323

+ 'Actiue parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre,

daunsinge, leapyng, runnyng, shotyng, shypping. Pancraciastes. Et pancratius: tij, ang. he that doth exercyse suche actiuitie.' 1522. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

† 'Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bourders or trayles fynely wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber: Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, Segmentum; and that whiche is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, Segmentatus, a, um.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium. um.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities

Got-money, drunken, not spent on

the church, 152

Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony

GRAFTON the Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*

Grime, 67, adj. grim, fierce

Grograins, 32, sb. pl. a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, grograines," &c., 231

Groping and vncleane handling in

dancings, 155

Grosly, 23, adv. plainly, unrefinedly

Grosser, 53, adj. thicker

Guage, 123, sb. security, pledge

Guilte, xii, pp. gilt

Guise, 31, sb. manner, habit. "The Norman guise was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's Peramb. of Kent, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, Descript. of England, I. 168

Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling Gun-shooting, game at, 316

Guys carrid about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images caried aboute in pageauntes wyth greate chekes and wyde mouthes. Manduces.' 1552. Huloet.

Guyses, 63, sb. pl. customs Gyrdlestead, 60/24, sb. waist. "Gyrdell stede, faulx du corps." Palsgrave

Habits of the young men, 252 Hainous, 80, adj. hideous, odious. See Haynous Hair, fashions in wearing †, 67-69; sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68,

Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47\*; cp. 149

Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88 Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward,

set forth to

Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242 Harbers, 88, sb. pl. arbours Hard fare wholesomest, 103

Harde-quilted, 55, adj. padded

stiffly

Harlots and brothels, 280

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Harlots  $\downarrow$  use face-painting, (q. v.)65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281

HARVEY, Gabriel, on Stubbes and other writers, 42\*; chafft by T. Nashe, 308; abuses Nashe, 42\*-43\*

Hasardour §, Chaucer's, made 'disesour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90\* Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's

work, 246

Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252

Hautie, 63, adj. proud, haughty Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182

Haynous, 28, adj. heinous, odious. "Haineux. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."-Cotgrave

'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakspere, in Rich. II, III, Cymb. &c.

'The king he,' &c. Head-dress of women, 253

Heare, iv; Heyre, v. sb. hair; Heir,

Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's Guls Hornbooks, 1609,

ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

† 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires."

Aquarioli.' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlotte whyche medleth wyth a man for a farthynge. Quadrantaria.' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. Zucarinatæ mulieres.'—ib.

§ Besides Hasarder, Aleator, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. Vide in Lurker.' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley

men, Grassator. Lurkers, called hasarders. Vide in hasarders.' 1552, Abcedarium.

Hell, the reward of pride, 39 Helthfuller, 103, adv. more healthily, with better health Hens offerd to St. Vitus, 339 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341 Hermaphroditi, 73 HERRICK, on May-games, 305 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331 Hethnical, 177, adj. heathenish HEYWOOD praisd by G. Harvey, 'His, for possessive 's, 75, l. 10, 11, &c. Hoast, 84, sb. host, company Hobbyhorses, 147, 231 HOLINSHED the Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*; one of Stowe's insertions in his Chronicle, 65\*, note Holsome, 65, adj. wholesome: 'Holesome, incolumis . . saluber.' 1552. Huloet. Holy Days, how spent by folk, 344; see Sabbath Holy-water, barrels of, through St. Blase's bone, 329 Home-keeping folk, 22/11, 233 Hoops of women's dresses, 263 Horses gallopt on Christmas Day, in Germany, 325 Hose, extravagant fashions in, 56, 61, 239, 246, 251; trunk, 56, 246; cost of, 56, 61 Hot-cockles, the game, 316 HOWARD, Lord Henry, Earl of SURREY, poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 43\* Howleglasse, 41\*, a rough jester Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement Hufcap, 150, 307, sb. strong ale Huftie-tuftie,† 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly Huggle, 97/13; 281, v. hug, cuddle HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on

his Day, 339

Humaine, iii, adj. human. 'Humayn, as of man, Humanitus, humanus.' 1552. Huloet. Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, not so calld till 1603, 72\*; Q. Elizabeth's procession to it, 71\*. See too engraving and woodcut by the title-page Hunting and hawking on Sundays, 181-2; now, 48\* Hurly-burlyes, 328/266 Husbands, 115, sb. pl. economizers Husbands, future: their names found out by Onions, and their natures by faggots, 324 Idle Jesting and Scoffing, Bp. Babington against, 87\* Idleness, Acts against, 320 Idolaters, Papists are, 342 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate chil-Imbrodered, 77, pp. embroidered Immured, 23, pp. surrounded as with a wall Impale, 124, vb. inclose, fence in Impe, 111, sb. child Implicate A, entangled F., 139 Impolished, vi/24, pp. unpolisht, unrefined Importable, 58/19, insupportable Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, adj. Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with Incident, 90, adj. proper, suitable Inclosures, 117, 289 Incorporate, 44, adj. incorporated, united. See Ingenerate Indented, 77, pp. with the edges worked Indifferentlie, 35, adv. without dis-'Indifferently, indistinction:

criminatim, Passim.' 1552. R.

Inferreth, 168, pr. s. brings in,

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your huftie tuftie can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knauery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603). [A" coy Jame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."] p. 11, col. 2.

Huloet

induces

Infirm, 95/31, vb. weaken: 'In- | Jaques & Orlando, 50\* fyrmed. Infirmus.' 1552. Huloet

Ingenerate, 44, adj. engendred. In English the adjective in -ate formd directly from the Latin pp. preceded the verb in -ate, which was formd from the pp., and the final -d was added to the already - existing adjective from a mistaken idea that it was a pp. formd from the verb. Thus in Shakspere we find consecrate (Titus And. I. i. 14); create (Midsumm. N. Dream, V. i. 412); articulate ( Hen. 1V., V. i. 72); felicitate (Lear, I. i. 66), &c.

Ingrate, 23, adj. ungrateful Ingrauen, xii, pp. engraved

Ingurgitate, 104/2, v. drink heavily, swamp, fill to excess: 'Ingurgitation of meate and dryncke, or beastely feadynge. Alogia.' 1552. Huloet

Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of the Anatomie (1583) simplified in the 6th (1595), 62\*, 63\*

Inough, Ynoughe, 46, adv. enough. A.S. genoh.

Insaciablest, 102, adj. most insatiable

Insolency, 57, sb. excess, outrageousness

Intellective, 107, adj. intellectual Interest or usury should not be taken on loans, tho' allowd by law, 124

Interludes, bawdy, and other trumperies, 180; 140

Intestine, 24/5, adj. inward, in-

Intirelie, 225, adv. heartily, earnestly. See Entierly
Inuegled, 68, pt. s. inveigled, en-

Inuisories, 80/5, sb. pl. masks Invested, 38, pp. clothed

Irish, a game, 316

Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's time, 95\*

Irrationable, 92, adj. without reason, not rational

It, 44/8, its

Jarnsey, 57/7, adj. Guer (yarn); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22 Guernsey Jephthah's daughter's dancing, 161 Jew who died in a privy rather than violate his Sabbath, 139/13;

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Judith and Holfernes, 162 Jumping hedges and ditches, 316

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Kissing, 260, 313; kissing and bussing at plays, 144

Kissing hands in saluting friends, 247

Knacks, 74, sb. pl. tricks Korked, 77, adj. corkt (shoes) Kyrtles, 75, sb. pl. gown, jackets

Lace, use of, 74, 264 Laced, 49, adj. coverd with lace Laced mutton, 240, whores Lacedomians, the, on Dicing, 176 Lacing of women, tight-, 264, 77\* LAMBERT, (? a poet, or Wm. Lam-barde of Kent), praisd by G. Harvey, 43\*

Lambs, 2, offerd on St. Agnes Day,

Jan. 21, 327 Land turnd into apparel, 245 Landlords, hard, denounst, 76\*,

note: see Poor Largeous, 105/17, adj. free, openhanded, liberal

LATIMER, Bp, on dicing, 317 Latrones, 119/21, sb. pl. thieves Latter - Day - Pamphlets (T. Carlyle's), commented on, 49\*

Lattice, 69, sb. as adj.

Laughing and fleering at plays,

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Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38\*

Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; En cueros, in leather, in buff; usd by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy

Leaude, 89, adj. lewd

Legittimats, 97, children born in wedlock

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Life: 'my life for yours,' 171 Light-brain, sb. 250, idiot, goose

Litter, Queen Elizabeth carrid in one, by 6 Knights, 71\*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, Lectica.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium

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93\* Lord of Misrule, May-Games, &c., 146-150, 251, 304

Lothsom, 111, adj. loathsome, filthy

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Cotgrave, under both aimer and chien, gives Bertrand for Stubbes's Jean: 'Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien: Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we).'

Lovers court St. Andrew, 341

——buy girls fairings, 340; give
em pippins at the theatre, 304;
green gowns on Mayday, 305

Loyting, xi, sb. loitering, lounging about

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Lurdens, 138, sb. pl. idle vagabonds Lyllie-white, 53, adj. purely white

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Maistered, 122, calld 'Master,'

Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey

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Manchets made with holy wine, 325
Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose
garment without sleeves, or if
with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands
(Knave of Harts, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old mandilions." See also Harrison, I.
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Manure, 36, v. work by hand March paynes, Tartes & Custards,

Margarets, 70, sb. pl. pearls. "Margery, perle. Margarita." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note

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Marrid men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

+ London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England.. by Iohn Carre, Citizein of London... 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. 11 leaves,' Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 108.

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dolls (cp. Rom. & Jul. III. v.). See Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, Ydolum, simulacrum) and Wedgwood, s. v. Maycocks, 101/11, sb. pl. meacocks, effeminate, spiritless fellows. See Shakspere, Taming of the Shrew, May games, the fruits and dangers of, 149, 305 Maypole, its bringing from the woods, 149, 306 Medietie, 104, margin; moderation Meditations and Prayers, Stubbes's, 215-230 Meeres, 124, sb. pl. bounds, limits MELCHIOR, Reginald, 52\* Melitean, Maltese, dogs, carrid in women's bosoms, 268 Men, absurd dress of, 239 Merchants' tricks to get high prices, Middest, 55, sb. middle Middlemen, mischief of, 46\* MILWARD, Mrs. Katherine: Stubbes dedicates his Pathway to, in 1592, Mincedness, 78/25, mincing man-Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety Minions, 70, sb. pl. affected minxes Minstrels and Musicians, 171 Minstrels pipe up a dance to the devil, 172 Misrule, Lords of, 146 Mizzeled, 87/19, pp. muddled, con-

fused, fuddled

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Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, sb. pl. new fashions. 'Louer of newe fangels, and trifles. Elucus.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium New-Year's Day, customs on, 325 Nice, 158, adj. foolish

Nicelings, 79/14, sb. pl. dainty creatures

Nicenes, 58, sb. daintiness

Nicholas, St., his gifts to children,

NICHOLS, Mr. J. G. on Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, 72\*

Nifles or paltry stuff, 235

Night before May day, spent by girls and men in the woods, 149, 305 foot

Nine-holes, a game, 316

Nippitatum, 63, 150, sb. a cant name for strong liquor, especially ale. See Nares, s. v. Pain benist de la S. Cy. Wine, good liquor. Nippitatie.' 1611. Cotgrave

Nisitie, 103, sb. daintiness, squeam-

ishness

Nobility, true, springs from virtue,

Noddie, a game, 316

NORDEN, John : quoted, on pride in England, 236-7

NORTON, Thomas, joint author of Ferrex and Porrex, praisd by G. Harvey, 43\*

Nusled, 101/17, pp. pamperd Nusseled, 54, pp. nuzzled, cuddled,

pamperd

Oaths and cursing, 129-136, 294,

Obnubilate, 78/16, v. cloud, darken Obtestation, sb. 131, calling to witness. Obtestation. obtestawitness. tio, onis, it is properlye wher one taketh God to wytnes, Et obtestor, aris, to take God to wytnes.' 1552. Huloet

Obtused (dulled, F.), 170 Ointment to grease Lawyers' fists

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Ordinary, 2-shilling, 75\*, note Orlando and Jaques, of As you like it, 50\*

Ornaments worn as head-dresses by women, 69, 258 Ostenting, 30/7, sb. showing off, boasting, Lat. ostentans Ostrich feathers, 253, 270-1

Othersome, 60, adj. some others

Ouches, 67, sb. pl. ornaments, jewels. See Mr. Way's note in Prompt. Parv., s. v. Nowche Ouermuche, 34, adj. excessive

PAGE, Wm., his right hand cut off, 54\* note

Padded shoulders, women's, 254 Pageants playd by Maskers, on Easter-Day, 336, and Corpus Christi Day, 337-8

Painting of women's faces, 64, 80, 271, 273: see Sibbersawces

Palled, 88/8, adj. surrounded with palings

Palls of St. Agnes's lambs' wool: Bishops forct to buy, 327

Palm Sunday, customs on, 332 Paned, 56, adj. formed of stripes, with small panes or squares of silk or velvet

Panther smells sweet to beasts

only, 40\*

Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239, sb. pl. slippers, patterns. "A shooe called a pantofle, or a slipper, crepida, sandalium." -Baret's Alvearie, 1580. Baret also gives the form Pantaffle. 'Short-heeld pantoffles,' 37\*/16

Papist Bloodsuckers, Stubbes's 8 lines on, 64\*

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Papists keep stews, and don't care for Apostles, Moses, &c., 344-5; they hate Heretics, and persecute em, 346; call the gospel 'Turkish,' and defame its Preachers, 347; are no more 'Catolics' than Turks and Moors are, 347

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Parent's neglect to train their children properly, 75, 265, 82\*

Paris Garden, Southwark, 296
PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65\*
Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings,
93\*

Parted, 76\* n. having good parts or abilities, clever

Particularities, 56, sb. details, minute items

Partlets, 70, sb. pl. rufs or bands worn by women. "Amiculum. A neckercher or a partlet." Withals. Partlet, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman's ruff. Dunton's Ladies' Dict. 1694, in Nares, ed. 1859; with other quotations. 'Partlet, Strophium.' 1552. Huloet

Paste, 112, pp. past
Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse
Patrociny, vii, 27, patronage
Peacemeale wise, 39\* (at foot), in
pieces, tatters

Peaking, 51, pr. p. running to a peak or point

Pearking, 50, pr. p. (? peaking), rising into a peak

Pedagogie, 37/32, sb. instruction, example, guidance

Pelts, 36/21, sb. pl. fleeces.

Peltyng, 72/9, adj. violent, furious Pendices, 35/11, 67; sb. pl. hangings, vails, pendants

Pen-and-inkhorn Sir John, a game,

PENNELL, Francis; judgment on his serving-man, 57\*

Perfumes and musks used by women, 77, 266, 269

Permissive law, a, 123/16

Perpended, 124, pp. weighed, considered

Perriwincles, 69, sb. pl. periwigs, wigs

Pesteruing, 102, pr. p. ? = pestering, crowding

Pestiferouse, 45, adj. pestilent

Pet dogs, 268

Pezants, 40, sb. pl. peasants Phantasies, 50, sb. pl. fancies Philip's, K., leather, 243, Spanish

leather (boots)

Pick, vb. 184, pitch, throw Picktooth in a fops's mouth, 78\* n.

Pies, 87, sb. pl. magpies. 'Pye byrde. Citta, &, Pica, &.' Huloet Pigeons, white, flown on Whitsunday, 337

Pillage and pollage, 116

Pinched, 50, adj. with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form pinked

Pinions, 73, sb. pl. skirts

Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, sb. pl. small thin-soled shoes. 'Pynson, Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ. Pynson wearer. Osatus, a, um.' 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium Pipers and bawdy Minstrels thought more of than Divines. 172

thought more of than Divines, 172 Pippins given to girls at theatres,

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Pirrus, 46, pr. ncun, Pyrrhus Pithonicall Hidraes, 130

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Plash, 115, 168, sb. pool, puddle Players, masking, you painted sepulchres, 141; idle lubbers and buzzing dronets, 145; beggers, roagues and vagabonds, 146, 301-4; 83\*

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evil of them, 83\*, 85\*
Pleated, 59, pp. plaited
Plowman's fine dress, 244
Pluresie, 108, sb. pleurisy
Poals, 97, sb. pl. poles, trees
Poll, 116, pr. pl. plunder, rob

Pollage, 116, sb. plunder, robbery. 'Pollynge or pillynge. Exactio.'
1552. Huloet

Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots,

77\*, note

Pomanders, 77, 266, sb. pl. A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, s. v. 'Pomander or sweete perfume. Diapasma.' Huloet

Pope of Rome, that Italian Philistin, and archenemy of all trueth, 161/3

Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116, 169; house and land got from them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead outside London walls, 288

Port, 117, sb. state, behaviour Potestates, 33/21, sb. pl. those in authority, the powers that be, men in high places

Powlyng, 117, pr. p. robbing, cheat-

Pozie, 134, sb. inscription, verse Prayers, Stubbes's, 224-230; babbled by Papists, 343

Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69\* Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to+ Preparaunce, 72/21, sb. preparations President, 118, sb. precedent (see Huloet below)

Pretely, 87, adv. pretty well, toler-

ably Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2 Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97 Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Stafford and Harrison I., New Sh.

Soc. Pride, 26; the cause of all evils, 27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28, 234; vainglorious, 29; in England, 33, 235, 236; hell, the reward of, 39; the child of proud apparel, 44; punishment of, by

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Primacie, 94, sb. headship, priority Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung, wurse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293 Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93\* Procession or Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, 336-7 Profanation of the Sabbath and its

results, 137, 297, 298, 344

Profluous, 105, footnote 13, bounteous, extravagant

Promulgate, 48, pp. promulgated, published. See Ingenerate

Proper, 72, adj. fine, handsome: 'Proper, feate, and well fashyoned. Concinnus . . Elegans . . Proper man. Graphyrus uir.' 1552. Huloet.

Proud apparel deformeth man, 40; does not always cover wisdom, 41; abhorred by the godly, 45; condemned by our Lord, 48

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Pseudo-christian, sb. 182

Puff-wings, 260

Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's,

Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99,

Puppits, 75, sb. pl. dolls

Puritan embroidresses, 245; laundresses, 260

<sup>+ &#</sup>x27;Preiudice, praiuditium, ij, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contraye to the lawe. It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych remayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determyne and discusse semblablye; Or els it may be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yeres [Year-Books] whiche be as precidences; and thereof commeth thys verbe praiudico. 1552. R. Huloet. Abcedarium.

Puritans abusd by T. Nashe, 39\* Pursie, 107, *adj*. fat, bloated Pusels and fusles, of women's dress,

Pussle (pucelle), 78/3; 266, sb. a maid, girl, drab, I Hen. VI. I. iv. "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of poesele, Du.], a dirty slut." Bailey's Dict., ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.

Puttockes, 116, sb. pl. kites, avaricious persons

Quaile, 124, vb. sink, fail
Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, adj.
squeamish, dainty
Quayemire, 115, 168, sh quagmire.

Quavemire, 115, 168, sb. quagmire, bog

Quirks, 57, sb. pl. the same as clocks, q. v.

Rabbied, 122, pp. addressed as Rabbi, master

Rackte rentes, 76,\* note: see Landlords

Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636

Ragged-School anecdote, 49\*

Rapiers, gay, 62, 252 Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18;

Ravished in (with) her behaviour,

Rayling, ix, adj. railing, mocking REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of

Stubbes's tracts, 58\*
Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop,
(S. Gosson), 258; "Porte-fraise,
m. A Rebato, or supporter for a
Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered,
and cut into divers panes." 1611.

Cotgrave. See Supportasse Redintegration, 90, sb. renewal Reduce, 25/19, bring back Refelled, 40/21, refuted Refelleth, 160, pr. s. refutes

Refelleth, 160, pr. s. retutes
Refrain men from, 137, restrain,
rein back: 'Refrayne, Cohibeo,
contineo, reprimo.' 1552. Huloet

Reguilte, xii, pp. regilt Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328 Renowmed, 167, renowned Repentance, not to be put off

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Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291

Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide,

Rich, the benefit of being, 238,

Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116

Riueleth, 95/33, pr. s. wrinkles: Ryueled, 74/26, pleated

Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300

Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300
Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7

Roisteth, 41, pr. s. acts riotously. Harrison, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and roist it out." Tusser, Five Hundred Points, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."

Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343

Rose in a dandy's ear, 77\*, 94\*

Rose shoestrings, 240

ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316

Ruffle, 45, pr. pl. dress grandly. See Roist,

Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71\*

Rugges, Ruggs, 33, sb. pl. rough cloths

Running, play at, 316 Rushbearings, 310, n.

Russet, 50, adj. reddish-brown; russet boots, 253

Ryall, 57, sb. a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, sb. profligacy Ryueled, 74, pp. wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, sb. (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, Advance of Learning, II. 24; and in Spenser, Faery Queen, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in Ivanhoe, ch. x.

Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like

Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna, 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it,† 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344,78\*; works to be done on, 140

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Saciete, 104, sb. excess Saints' Days, customs on :-

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St. Blase (Feb. 3), 328

St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340

St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27), 325

St. John the Baptist (June 24), 339

St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325

St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4),

339 St. Urban, 338-9

St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :-

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, sb. a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205

Sate, 77, pp. sat Saturday Review and swearing,

46\*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50\*, note

Scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers, 167

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Scarsly, 60, adv. scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

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Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly,

Scotch daggers, 250

Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128,

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seelie, xix, adj. simple. A.S. selig Semblable, vi, adj. like, similar:

'Semblable, Idem. the neutre gendre of Isdem, and some time signifyeth the same man, or the

same thyng.' 1552. Huloet Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women: 'Sempronia, that renowmed whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot Sereous, 88, adj. serious, import-

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the Monthly Mag., 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :-- " If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holiedaies, shall be found in the alehouse or taverne, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churcheyarde, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offende, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge the performance therof.

"If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarilie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute."—From the Cecil Papers in the 27th Volume of the Lansdowne Col-

lection in the British Museum.

Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276

SHAKSPERE: on men's dress, 44\*, his Cuckoo-song, and Words-worth's contrasted, 45\*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carrid in girls' bosoms, 268

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Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77 Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose,

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Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252 Shove-groat, a game, 316 Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30

Shurts, 53, 245, sb. pl. shirts Sibbersawces, 67, sb. pl. washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: also Slibber

Sawce +

Sidenes, 56, sb. width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the anckle.

Talaris.' 1552. Huloet Sielie, 225, adj. simple Signitor, 138, pointer, index Silver hilts to rapiers, 252 Simples, 65, sb. pl. specifics

SINGLETON, printer of the Gaping

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Slaightes, 118, sb. pl. tricks

Slashed, 56, adj. cut

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buttery, oily, made-up sawces Slops, big breeches, 246-7

Slut, 51, sb. a sloven Sluttered sutes, 40\*/6

Small, 106, adj. poor, weak (drink)

Smick-smack, 269, kissing

Smouthing, 155, 165, sb. loud smacking kisses

Snowball playd, 330

SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain

Theatre, 270, 307

Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdye parasits,'

Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.

Sodomites, 145, fornicators

Sodomitical, 153

Solomon on dancing, 164

Somedeal, 53/8, adv. somewhat, rather

Spagnolized (pincht-in) body, 77\*

Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320

Sour sauce, 96, 98

Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251 Spare, 105, adj. stingy, sparing Sparkled, 71, pp. sprinkled:

'Sparple here and there, segrego . . spargo.' 1552. Huloet

+ Slibber sauce: this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce. Wherein is explaned the wilfull blindnesse of subtill mischiefe, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Moonen, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. Nulla pietas prauis,—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere

Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a woonder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry collours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of slibber sauce, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayned modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Ægypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchauntments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besotteth other with

these bitter smyles."—Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 28.

Speare, sphere (note), 50, sb. spire, steeple Spicke and spanne, adv. quite, entirely Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344 Splendente, 39/11, splendid Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, vb. garnish Spoke, pp. 188, spoken Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296: see Sabbath Spurs, gingling, 242 Square-toed shoes, 252 Stage-plays and Enterludes, 140; unlawful, 142; the cause of much mischief, 145, and Notes, 296, 298, 301-304, 83\*, 85\*; Nashe's allusion to players, 39\* STANYHURST, poet, &c., praisd by G. Harvey, 42\* Starch, use of, 52, 71, 238; made of various colours, 52; the devil's liquor, 70, 260; yellow, 236 Starcht ruffs and rabatas, 51, 242 Stationers' Registers: entries of Stubbes's books in, 55\*, 56\* Stays, abuse of, by women, 262; Stelliferous, 79/23, adj. lit. starbearing, bright, radiant Sternes, 51/9; 68/5, sb. pl. standards (so glosst in F. at p. 68) Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist Priests, 344-5 Stile, match at running to one, 316 Stimule or pricke, sb. 90 Stinginess of the rich to the poor, 104, 288 Stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection, 156 Stint, xiv, vb. cease, stop. A.S. astyntan Stiptick, 98, adj. bitter, astringent Stockings (netherstocks), fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 265; extravagance in, 57, 247; silk, 246

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† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, "Of the rudenesse and rusticitie of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englishing of Stephen's World of Wonders, 1607: "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful]: so that they yeeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked." STUBBES—his Works:

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pronounce no good Englysh, &c.
Offensator. 1552. Huloet. He
has also 'Stamber, Titubo;
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and stamber, Idem.'

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† "If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemer or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havinge only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the Monthly Mag., 1813, Aug. 1, vol 36, p. 43.

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† 'It happed that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchaunt sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod I, it were pitie but that an euil priest were punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame.'—Sir T. More's Works, p. 26, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

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1552. Abcedarium Anglico-latinum pro Tyrunculis.

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would have said to have been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. Is anything lighter than a woman?" 1617. Fynes Moryson. Itinerary, p. 13.

## PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY

OF THE

# ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART II.

The Display of Corruptions.



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FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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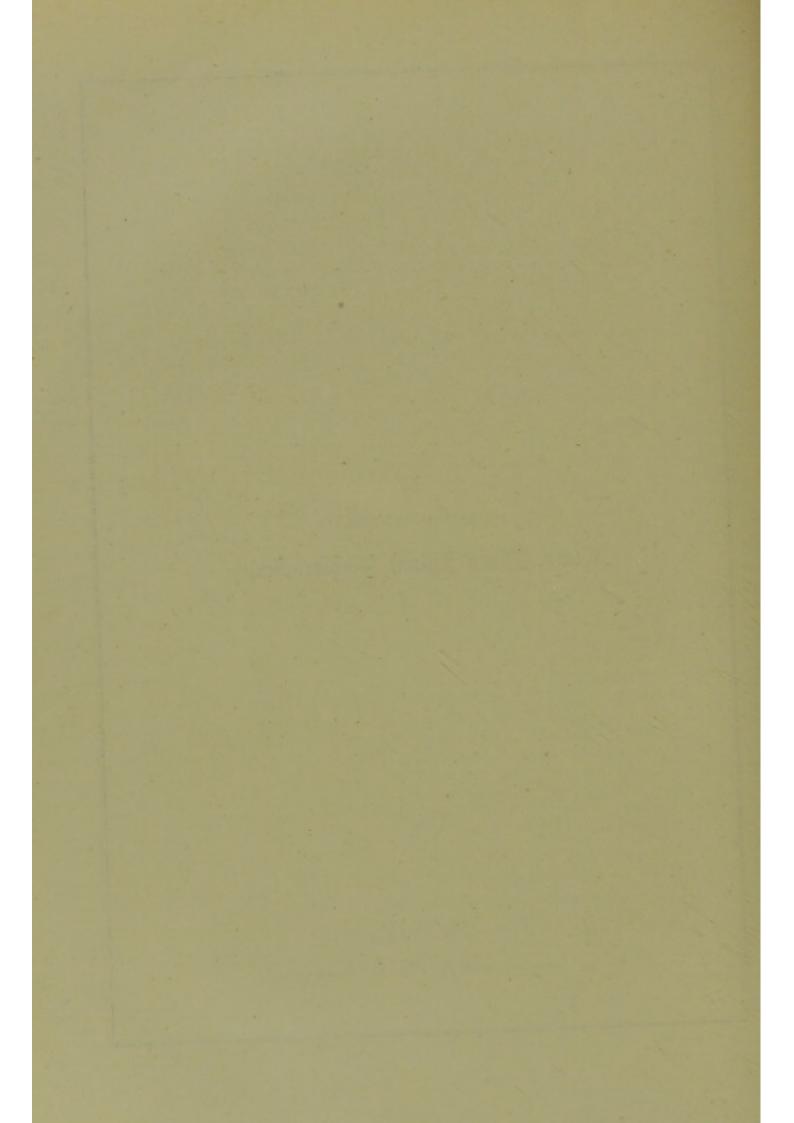
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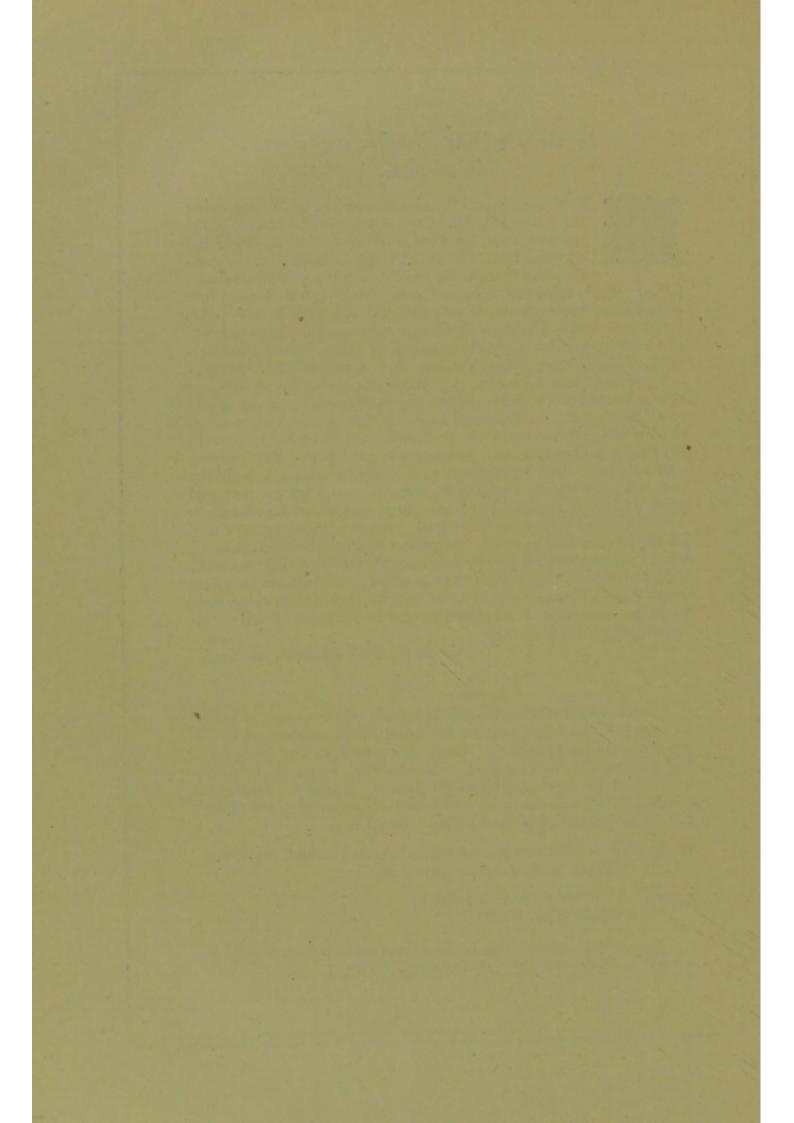
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A | Godlie and fruitfull Treatise of | Faith and workes. | Wherein is confuted a certaine opinion of me- | rit by workes, which an adversary to the Gofpell | of Christ Iesu, held in the conference, had | in the Tower of London. [Quotes Mat. 7 ver. 31, four lines in B.L.—John 6 ver. 40, four lines italics.] London | Printed for Gregory Seton, and are to be sold | (sic) his shop vnder Aldersgate | 1583. | A (counts 4) to G in eights. Small 8vo.

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Signed "Your honors most humble to Commaund, H. D.

[I find not this article in any bibliographical work; nor can I assign the initials, H. D., to any writer of the period.—A. Wallis.]



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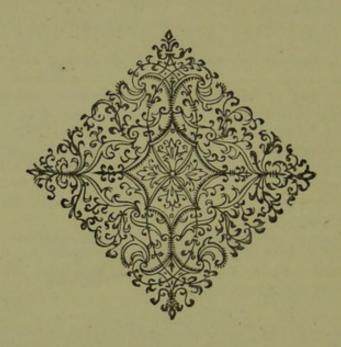
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This Second Part of Stubbes's Anatomie is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's Restituta, i. 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House and Poking-Stick bits (p. 35-6), and the scene in the Barber's Shop (p. 50-1). On p. 527 Haslewood says "that a limited impression of the whole work would materially assist the spirit of modern researches." A note on p. 530 states that "Copies of this edition [Part II] are attached to the third edition [1585] of the first part."

There is a copy of Stubbes's Motive to good Workes, 1593 (see Forewords to Anatomie, Part I, p. 67\*), in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—W. C. Hazlitt. Bibliog. Collections and Notes, 2nd Series, 1882. I hope we may be able to print it some day in our Shakspere's England Series.

Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, ao 1634," had for his 4th wife a "widow of Mr. Stubbes, but no issue." Harl. MS. 6164 (Visitation of Sussex, 1634), lf. 22, bk.



The Committee of the New Shakspere Society give express notice that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible for the opinions exprest in it.

#### FORETALK.

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§ 2. Proofs of the Abuses he complains of in Education and Trade, from Elizabeth's and James I's Statutes, &c.;—
Colleges and Benefices, 1588-9, p. xiii†
Clothiers, 1592-3, 1597-8, p. xiv†; Tanners and Shoe-

makers, 1603-4, p. xv+

Brokers, 1603-4, p. xviii†

Regraters of Corn, and Failers to keep up Hospitality, 1596, p. xx†

§ 3. Poor Law and other Reforms cald for by Stubbes, since wrought, p. xxi+

§ 4. Sum fresh news of Stubbes p. xxiii+; none of his Family, p. xxv+

A few Notes from Latimer, &c. p. xxix+

Corrections and Notes for Part I. p. xxxiii+

§ 1. In the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's Anatomie for the New Shakspere Society in 1877-9, I said that I meant to reprint this Second Part, and I gave a list of the subjects treated in the first Division of it, that describing the Corruptions of the Temporalty. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spiritualty, I gave only a mention at the foot of p. 35. Now pages viii-ix of the Contents above sufficiently sketch it.

Readers must not, as I warnd them before, expect to find in this Part II as much amuzement and interest as they found in Part I<sup>1</sup>. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-I below, the humour of which I commend to those who look on Stubbes as "a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan." But the Men and Women who are in ernest themselvs now, will find Stubbes in like ernest in this Second Part, as in his First, dealing with real abuses in the Life of his time, demanding that Justice be dealt to the Poor as

The pages against Ruffs, those Cartwheels of the Devil, is as fierce as anything in Part I. See too the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 35-6, p. 50.

### xii† § 1. Stubbes's Fault-finding, & liberal Church-views.

fairly as to the Rich; that endowments be kept for the Poor who dezerve them, and not jobd in favour of the monied folk who abuze them; that Tradesmen shall deal honestly with their Customers,—Drapers and Clothiers not cheating, Butchers not selling diseazd meat;—that rich men's Pleasures and Profit shall not, by Parks and Sheep, eat up poor men's Homes and Lives; that Landlords shall not rack their Tenants to their ruin; that strong and able Beggars shall be made to work, or be hung, while an Almshouse shall be set in every Parish for the sick and aged Poor; that Doctors shall tend the Poor as well as the Rich, and that a Parish-Doctor shall be provided for the Poor; that the evils of Forestalling shall be checkt, Astrologers punisht, and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spiritualty and Church matters, the view that Stubbes was a mere narrow Puritan utterly breaks down. He comes out as a preacher of implicit obedience to the Sovereign even when he orders what is wrong (p. 17-18); he accepts Bishops, 'My Lord Bishop' too (p. 104-5), Surplices, Forkt Caps, and other externals which the Puritans held as signs of the Whore of Rome (p. 109—112); and his advice about all the trifles of garments about which men then, and since have, made such a needless fuss, is (p. 116):—

"And seeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth having alone God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauiour, one holy Spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree togither in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, and to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow?"

This is surely as much a proof of his good sense, as are his demands that every Congregation shall have the Patronage of its own living (p. 79), and nominate its own Pastor—presenting two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 5 Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1562-3. "An Act agaynst fonde and phantastical Prophecyes" only applies to folk who put them forth "to thintent therby to make anye Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, losse of Lief or other Disturbance within this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions."

### § 2. Stubbes right as to corrupt Presentations. xiii+

or three to the Bishop that he may pick the best (pp. 90-2, 100), that the abuses of private Patronage shall be stopt (p. 80-2), Pluralism (p. 75-6) and Simony abolisht, and that every Church shall have power to alter its form of external government from time to time (p. 101).

On the whole then, I claim that this Part II of the Anatomie more than bears out the favourable opinion of Phillip Stubbes that I utterd in my Forewords to Part I.

- § 2. In proof that Stubbes was not inventing the Abuses of which he complaind, I've thought it right to make some extracts from the Statutes and a Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, and the Statutes of James I, I. on the corrupt Presentations to Scholarships and Benefices; 2. on the tricks of Clothiers; 3. the bad work of Tanners and Shoemakers; 4. the thefts and evils (which we still know so well) arising from the wrongly-named 'Brokers'—our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers;—and 5. from the practice of Regrating. As of old, I quote mainly the words of the Statutes. Any one who finds em too long and tedious, will skip em.
- (I.) A.D. 1588-9, 31 Eliz. chap. VI. "An acte against Abuses in Election of Scollers and presentacions to Benefices."

"Whereas by the intent of the Founders of Colledges, Churches Collegiat, Churches Cathedrall, Scoles, Hospitals, Halles, and other like Societies within this Realme, and by the Statutes and good Orders of the same, the Eleccions, presentacions and Nominacions of Fellowes, Schollers, Officers and other Persons to have roome or place in the same, are to be had and made of the fittest and most meete persons beinge capable of the same Eleccions, presentacions, and Nominacions, freelye without anye Rewarde, Guyfte, or thinge given or taken for the same; And for true performaunce whereof, some Ellectors, Presentors and Nomynators in the same, have or should take a Corporall Oathe to make their Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions accordinglye; Yet notwithstandinge it is sene and found by experience that the saide Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions be many tymes wrought and brought to passe with Monye, Guyftes and Rewardes, whereby the fyttest persons to be presented, elected or nominated, wanting Money or Friendes, are sildome or not at all preferred, contrarie to the good meaninge of the saide Founders, and the saide good Statutes and Ordynaunces of the saide Colledges, Churches, Scholes, Halles, Hospitalls and Socyeties, and to the great prejudice of

Learning and the Common Wealthe and Estate of the Realme: For Remedye whereof, Be it enacted "—that all Elections effected by Bribery of any kind shall be void, and that the Queen or other Presenter shall appoint fresh persons to the void Offices. § 2 enacts that any one bribing to procure the resignation of a Fellowship or Office, shall lose the place, and that the Resigner accepting the bribe shall forfeit double its value.

§ 4 declares Simoniacal Presentations to Benefices, Dignities, &c. void; and that the Presentations shall devolve to the Crown, both Briber and Bribee paying a fine of double the amount of

the Bribe

- § 5 fines any one corruptly instituting a man to a Benefice, double the yearly value of it; declares the Institution void, and empowers the Patron to present some one else.
- (II.) As to Cloth, the 35 Eliz. c. 10, A.D. 1592-3, recites the Queen's Proclamation of the year before "for the Reformacion of thinsufficiencies growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Invencions and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceiptes in Weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceiptes in Tuckers," and then enacts that the Cloths shall be properly made, of good wool, and "without rackinge, stretching, streyning, or other Devise to increase the Lengh therof."

In 1597-8 "An Acte aginst the deceitfull stretching and taintering of Northerne Cloth," 39 Eliz. c. 20, is passt, because "the said Northern Clothes and Karsies doe yeerely and daylie growe worse and worse, and are made more light and muche more stretched and strayned... which great Enormities your faythfull Subjectes doe chieflye impute to the great nomber of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Counties for the stretchinge and strayninge of the said Clothes and Karsies." So the Act forbids this stretching, and puts a penalty of £20 on any one who "shall have use or occupie any Tenter, of what sorte or kynde soever, or any manner of Wrinche, Rope, or other Engins to stretch or strayne any Clothes, Kersies, Dozens, Penystones, Rugges, Frises, Cottons, Kighley Whites, Plaine Grayes, or any other Clothes" made within the said Counties. (By the next-quoted Statute this

Act is extended to all English Cloths.)

### § 2. Stubbes's complaints of Clothiers and Tanners. xv†

The abuse stretching over other Cloth Districts, and adulteration also prevailing, in 1601 "An Acte for the true workinge and making of Wollen Clothe" was past, saying that the former Acts "for the true makinge and workinge of Wollen Clothe" had been

"frustrated and deluded by strayninge, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtill sleightes and untruethes, soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrincke rewey, pursey, squallie, cocklinge, baudy, lighte, and notablie faultie, to the great dislike of forraine Princes, and to the hynderance and losse of the buyer and wearer."

#### It is therefore enacted that

"no persone or persons shall put any Haire, Flocks, Thrummes or Yarne made of Lambes Wooll, or other deceivable thinge or things into or upon any broade Woollen Clothe, Half Clothe, Kersey, Frize, Dozen, Pennystone, or Cotton, Taunton Clothe, Bridgewater, Dunston Cotton... or other Clothe... upon paine to forfeit every suche Cloth... And that no persone... shall... have use or occupye... any Tenter, Instrumente, Engine, or other Device... with any lower Barre, Pynne, Ringe, or other Engine or Device... wherebie... any rough and unwroughte Woollen Broad Clothe, Halfe Clothe, Kersey, Cotton, Dozen, Pennystone, Frize, Rugge... shall or may be stretched or strayned in breadthe," under a penalty of £20.

- (III.) The Statute 1 James I. chapter 22 (A.D. 1603-4), not only confirms Stubbes's complaints about Leather-sellers, but also names another fault of theirs:—
- § x. "Much dammage hath redounded to the Common Wealthe by reason that divers Tanners for theire private lucre have used to convert to Sole Leather suche Hides as are altogether insufficient for that use, which Hides they doe raise in the workemanshippe by divers Mixtures, therebie making the same to seeme verie stronge and substantiall Leather, whereas the same doeth in the wearinge proove hollowe, deceitfull, and altogether unprofitable for the Common wealth,"—and enacts that all such raizd and converted Hides shall be forfeited.
- <sup>1</sup> Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte againste deceit-full making of Cordage": the makers of 'Cables, Halsers and other kinde of Cordage' made em of 'oulde, caste, and overworne' stuff, tarrd em, and sold em as new, whereby not only Ships of the Queen and her Subjects "but also the Lyves of diverse of her saide Subjectes have bene loste, perished and caste awaye."

## xvi† § 3. Stubbes's complaints against Tanners.

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (I Jac. I, c. 22, A.D. 1603-4. Record Statutes, vol. iv. Pt. 2, p. 1041):

§ xii. "... if any person or persons usinge, or which shall use, the Misterie or Facultie of Tanninge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter offer or put to sale any kinde of Leather which shalbe insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or which shall not then have beene, after the tanninge thereof, well and thorowlie dried, so that the same by the Triers of Leather lawfullie appointed accordinge to this present Acte for the tyme beinge shalbe founde to be insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried, as aforesaide, that then all and everie suche person and persons so offendinge shall forfeite and loose so much of his or theire said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dryed as aforesaide . . "

Then, as to what Stubbes says of the Tanners taking "vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned," the Statute goes on in § xiii:

"And whereas divers Tanners, for greedines of gaine, doe overmuch hasten the tanning of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtile Practises, sometimes layinge theire Leather in theire Fattes set in theire old Tanhils, where it may be tanned in the hott Woozes, takinge unkinde heate in the same Hill, and sometimes by putting of hot Woozes into their Tanne Fats where the same Hides or Leather lie, by which and other like Fraudulent Practises they make theire Leather to seeme bothe faire and well, and sufficientlie tanned within a very short space.2 For Reformation whereof, be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That after the saide Feaste of St. Bartholomew next comminge, no person or persons shall sett their Fattes in Tanhils or other Places where the Woozes or Leather that shall be put to tanne in the same, shall or may take any unkinde heates, or shall put any Leather into any hotte or warme Woozes, or shall tanne any Hide, Calve Skinne or Sheep Skinne, with any hote or warme Woozes whatsoever, upon paine that everie person so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such Offence, Tenne Poundes; And shall also, for everie such Offence, stand upon the Pillorie three severall Markett Dayes in the Market Towne next to the Place where the saide Offence shall be committed."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare its clauses with those of 5 Eliz. ch. 8, from which some are, more or less, taken.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The right time is enacted by § ix: "Nor shall suffer the Hides for utter Sole Leather to lye in the Woozes any lesse tyme then Twelve Moneths at the leaste, nor the Hides for upper Leathers in the like Woozes any lesse time than Nyne Monethes at the leaste. . ."

## § 3. Stubbes's complaints against Shoemakers. xvii†

The Shoemakers, and their selling Horse hide for Ox-hide, &c. (p. 37, Stubbes), are dealt with in § XXIII. (p. 1043).

And forasmuch as Leather well tanned and curried, may, by the Negligence, Deceite, or evill Workmanshippe of the Cordwainer or Shoemaker, be used deceitfullie, to the hurte of the Occupier or Wearer thereof: Be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That no person or persons which, after the saide Feast of St. Bartholomew next comminge, shall occupie the Misterie or Occupation of a Cordwainer or Shoemaker, shall make or cause to be made any Bootes, Shoes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or any parte of them, of Englishe Leather, wet curried (other then Deere Skinnes, Calve Skinnes, or Goate Skinnes, made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanish Leather) but of Leather well and truelie tanned and curried, in manner and forme aforesaid, or of Leather well and truelie tanned onelie, and well and substantiallie sewed with good Threed well twisted and made, and sufficientlie waxed with waxe well rosoned, and the stitches harde drawen with Hand Leathers, as hathe bene accustomed, without mixinge or minglinge Overleathers, that is to say, parte of the Overleathers beinge of Neates Leather, and parte of Calves Leather, nor shall put into anie parte of anie Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, any Leather made of a Sheepe Skinne, Bull Hide or Horse Hide, nor into the upper Leather of any Shooes, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or into the neither [nether] parte of any Bootes (the inner parte of the Shooe onlie excepted) any parte of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cutte, called the Wombes, Neckes, Shancke, Flancke, Powle, or Cheeke, nor shall put into the utter Sole any other Leather then the beste of the Oxe or Steere Hide, nor into the inner Sole any other Leather than the Wombes, Necke, Poll, or Cheeke, nor in the Treswels of the double soled Shooes, other then the Flancks of any the Hides aforesaide: nor shall make or put to sale in any yeere, betwene the laste of September and the twentieth of Aprill, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles, meete for any person to weare exceedinge the age of foure yeeres, wherein shall be any drie English Leather (other than Calve Skinnes or Goate Skinnes made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanishe Leather, or any parte thereof); nor shall shew, to the intent to put to sale, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles upon the Sunday; upon paine of forfeiture for everie paire of Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers and Pantofles made, solde, shewed or put to sale contrary to the true meaninge of this Acte, three shillinges and fourepence, and the juste and full value of the same."

(IV.) Against the evil of miscald 'Brokers'—really our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers—buying stolen goods, and thus xviii† § 3. Stubbes's complaints against Brokers.

inciting folk to pilfer, which Stubbes condemns on p. 38-40, an Act was past twenty years later:—

I James I, chap. 21 (A.D. 1603-4; p. 1038). againste Brokers." This Act recites that "of large and ancient tyme by divers hundred yeeres . . certaine Freemen of the Citie" of London had been appointed "to be Brokers within the saide Citie and Liberties of the same, and have taken theire Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . to use and demeane themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant Englishe and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contrivinge, makinge, and concluding, Bargaines and Contractes to be made betweene them concerning their Wares and Merchandizes to be bought and solde and contracted for within the Citie of London, and Moneys to be taken up by Exchange betweene such Merchant and Merchantes and Tradesmen, and these kinde of persons so presented, allowed, and sworne to be Brokers as aforesaide, have had and borne the name of Brokers, and bene knowen, called, and taken for Brokers, and dealinge in Brokerage or Brokerie, who never of any ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold stuffe, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garmentes and Apparell, and all thinges that come to hand for Money, laide out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes, and to make open Shewes, and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hathe [bene] and is used by a number of Citizens assuminge unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage, as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie, or Occupation, tearminge and naminge themselves Brokers, whereas in trueth they are not, abusinge the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker or Brokerage: And forasmuch as many Citizens Freemen of the Citie, beinge Men of Manuall Occupation, and Handicraftesmen and others inhabiting and remayninge neere the Citie and Suburbes of the same, have lefte and given over, and daylie doe leave and give over, their handie and manuell Occupations, and have and daylie doe set up a Trade of buyinge and selling, and taking to pawne of all kinde of worne Apparell, whether it be olde or little the worse for wearinge, Houshold Stuffe and Goods of what kind soever the same be of, findinge therebie that the same is a more idle and easier kinde of Trade of livinge, and that there riseth and groweth [p. 1039] to them a more readie, more greate, more profitable and speedier Advantage and Gaine then by theire former manuall Labours and Trades did or coulde bringe them: And Forasmuch as the said kinde of counterfeit Brokers, and Pawnetakers upon Usurie, or otherwise for readie Money, are growne of late to many Hundreds within the Citie of London, and other places next adjoyninge to the Citie and Liberties of the same, and are like to increase to farre greater Multitudes, being Friperers, and no Brokers, nor exercisinge of any honest and

## § 2. Stubbes's complaints against Brokers. xix+

lawfull Trade, and within the memorie of many yet livinge, such kinde of persons Tradesmen were verie fewe and of small number: And forasmuch as there are not any Garmentes, Apparell, Housholde Stuffe or other Goods of any kinde, whatsoever the same be of, either beinge stollen or robbed from any, or badlie or unlawfullie purloyned or come by, but these kinde of upstarte Brokers, under colour and pretence they be Freemen of the saide Citie of London, or inhabitinge in Westminster, where they pretende to have the like overt Market, as the Citie of London, and therebie presuminge to be lawfull for them to use and set up the same idle and needlesse Trades, being the verie meanes to uphold, maintaine, and embolden all kind of lewde and bad persons to robbe and steale, and unlawfullie to get and come by true Mens Goods, knowinge and findinge that no sooner the same Goods can be stollen or unlawfullie come by, but that they shall and may presentlie utter, vent, sell and pawne the same to such kinde of new upstart Brokers for readie Money: For Remedie whereof, and for the avoidinge of the saide Mischiefes and Inconveniences, and for repressinge and abolishinge of the sayd idle and needlesse Trades, and upstart Brokers, and for the avoidinge of Theftes, Robberies and Felonies, and bad People, and for the repressinge of such kinde of Nourishers and Ayders of Theeves and bad People, and for the defence of honest and true Mens properties and Interestes in theire Goods: Be it enacted . . . That no Sale, Exchange, Pawne or Morgage of any Jewell, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffe, or other Goods . . . that shall be wrongfullie or unjustlie purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen from any person or persons or Bodies Politicke, and which at any tyme hereafter shall be sold, uttered, delivered, exchanged, pawned, or done awaye within the Citie of London or Liberties thereof, or within the Citie of Westminster in the Countie of Middlesex, or within Southwarke in the Countie of Surrey, or within two miles of the saide Citie of London, to any Broker or Brokers, or Pawne takers, by any way or meanes whatsoever, directlie or indirectlie, shall worke or make any change or alteration of the propertie or interest, of and from any person or persons or Bodie Politicke from whome the same Jewels, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffe or Goods were or shalbe wrongfullie purloined, taken, robbed or stollen: Any Lawe, Usage of Custome to the contrarie notwithstandinge."

§ 2 enacts that Brokers and Pawntakers who refuse to produce Goods to the owner from whom they've been stolen, shall forfeit Double the Value of them.

§ 3, that the Act shall not affect those folk 'using and exercising the ancient Trade of Brokers betweene Merchant and Merchant.'

(V.) The evil of, and continued struggle of folk and lawmakers

#### xx† § 2. Queen Elizabeth against Regraters.

against Regrating or Ingrating,—that is, buying-up all the get-at-able Corn or other produce, and then selling it out at a large profit—are so well known that confirmation of Stubbes's complaints is hardly needed; but as the Dearth of 1594-6 has appeard before in our Stafford, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the suppozed date of Midsummer Night's Dream and otherwise, I give here short extracts from Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1596 relating to Regraters, and the duty of continuing Hospitality:—

#### "BY THE QUEENE.

The Queenes Maiesties Proclamation, 1. For observation of former Orders against Ingrossers, & Regraters of Corne, 2. And to see the Markets furnished with Corne. 3. And also against the carying of Corne out of the Realme. 4. And a prohibition to men of hospitalitie from remoouing from their habitation in the time of dearth. 5. And finally a strait commandement to all Officers having charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.

HE Queenes Maiestie having had of late time consideration of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme, 1 judging that the Rich owners of Corne would keepe their store from common Markets, thereby to increase the prices thereof, and so the multitude of her poore people hauing no graine growing of their owne, to susteine great lacke, caused speciall orders to be made and published to all parts of her Realme, in what sort the Iustices of peace peace in euery quarter should stay all Ingrossers, Forestallers, and Regraters of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers having Corne to furnish the Markets ratably and weekly with such quantities as vsually they had done before time, or reasonably might and ought to doe: By which orders, many other things were prescribed to be obserued for the staying of the dearth, and reliefe of the people: Yet neuerthelesse, her Maiestie is informed, that in some parts of her Realme the dearth doth not diminish, but rather increase for lacke of due execution of the sayd orders, and specially by the couetousnes of the Owners, forbearing to furnish the Markets, as reasonably they might do, and by secretly selling

In 1598 (May Ao. 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

<sup>1</sup> On July 31, 1596, in consequence of the scarcity of Corn, the Queen issued her Proclamation from Greenwich, forbidding Starch to be made of home-grown Corn, or even from Bran by the holders of the Patent for the manufacture of it from Bran.

### § 2. The Queen on Hospitality. § 3 Poor Relief. xxi+

out of their houses to a kinde of people that commonly are called Badgers, at prices vnreasonable, who like wise do sell and regrate the same out of the Markets at very high and excessive prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the observation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they have any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countreymen, being in need, to cause all and every part of the sayd orders from point to point to be executed, and the offenders against the same

to be seuerely punished, to the terrour of others. . .

Finally her Maiestie is particularly informed of some intentions of sundry persons, of abilitie to keepe hospitalitie in their Countreys, to leave their said hospitalities, and to come to the Citie of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the reliefe of theire poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie privately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company; for withstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall have any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their housholds, nor to come to the said Citie, or other towns corporate: and all others that have of late time broken vp their housholds, to returne to their houses againe without delay. And whilest her Maiestie had thus determined, for reliefe of her people, to stay all good householders in their Countreys, there is charitable sort to helpe hospitalitie, her Maiestie hath had an instant occasion given her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme . . .

The observation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heavie indignation.

Giuen at her Maiesties Mannour of Richmond the second day of Nouember 1596, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of her Maiesties reigne.

#### God saue the Queene."

§ 3. On the subject of the Relief of the Poor, and Stubbes's reazonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's History of the English Poor Law (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reazonable demands I shoud not now include hanging a man who can work and won't; but before Stubbes's time, in 1547, the 1st of Edward VI, chapter 3, enacted that every idle person who ran away from work set him shoud be branded with the letter V, and be adjudgd a slave for 2 years to any person who should demand him; then, if he ran away again, he should be branded in the cheek with the letter S, and adjudgd a

slave for life; and lastly, if he ran away a third time, he was to suffer death as a felon. This act was repeald in 1549-50, by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI, ch. 16; but in 1572-3, measures almost as harsh were re-enacted: beggars and vagabonds were to be grievously whipt, and burnt thro the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless any honest person would take them into service for a year. If he would, and the beggar ran away, then he was to be whipt, and burnt thro the ear; for a second offence to be treated as a felon, unless some honest person would take him into his service for 2 years, and he continued in it; while for a third offence he was adjudgd to suffer death, and loss of land and goods as a felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Stubbes was then, in 1583, only asking that the actual law shoud be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who woudn't work, shoud be hangd.

The same Act of 1572-3 orderd 'abiding places' to be provided for the aged and infirm poor, appointed Overseers to raise and apply taxes for their benefit, and sanctioned a rate on richer neighbours in aid of poor parishes who couldn't support their own poor. This legislation was developt by 18 Eliz. ch. 3, A.D. 1575-6, which enacted that a competent stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other stuff should be got, by taxation, to set the poor on work, and if they wouldn't work, they were to be sent to 'houses of correction' and made to work.

After Stubbes wrote in 1583, came the 39 Eliz. chaps. 3 and 4, in 1597-8; 3 for the Relief of the Poor, and 4 for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars. Chap. 3 makes the appointment of Overseers in every parish compulsory, empowers them to tax inhabitants—and to levy a rate in aid on richer parishes—in order to get material to support the idle poor at work, and provide for the sick and aged, and the care and apprenticing of children. This Act establishes the mutual responsibility of parents and children to maintain one another.

It also, by § 5 (vol. iv, Pt. 2, Record Com. Statutes, p. 897), empowers the Churchwardens and Overseers 'to erect, buylde, and sett upp in fit and convenyent Places of Habitacion . . . at the

#### § 3. Stubbes's Poor-Law Requirements fulfild. xxiii+

generall Chardges of the Parishe . . . convenyent Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore; and allso to place Inmates or more Famylies than one in one Cottage or Howse.'

Chap. 4 provides for the whipping of sturdy Beggars who won't work, and their committal to gaol, their banishment beyond seas, or their death, in case they won't give up their roguish kind of life.

'We are now arrived,' says Sir Geo. Nichols, i. 192, 'at the important period when by The 43rd Elizabeth, cap. 2 (A.D. 1601), the principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was fully and finally established as an essential portion of our domestic policy.' This Act, 'the great turning-point of our Poor-Law Legislation, is still the foundation and text-book of English Poor Law' (i. 194). It carries out more effectually, and extends, the provisions of the prior Acts, and again sanctions the Rate in Aid. In 1610 the 7th of James I, chapter 4, provides for the building of Houses of Correction in every county; but not till 1624 does the 21 James I—'An Act for the erecting of Hospitals and Workinghouses for the Poor'—carry out what I take to be Stubbes's demand for an Almshouse in every parish; while not till 1834 does the Poor Law Amendment Act provide for the Poor the proper Medical Relief which Stubbes cald for in 1583.

As to Education, Harrison (see my Part I. p. 77), Latimer before him (Sermons, Parker Soc. edn. i. 186, 290, 291, 349), and many others, but utterd the same complaints about the jobbing of Scholarships, Fellowships, &c. that Stubbes makes, page 19; and not yet has the jobbing of the nominations of Bluecoat Boys to Christ's Hospital been done away with.

The hardship to the poor of wholesale enclosure of Commons—another complaint of Stubbes's—has been long admitted, and is now partially stopt by the Law. That Stubbes was right in calling for proper examination and licensing of Doctors, the keeping out of tag, rag, and quacks (p. 53), no one will deny. And that he took a reasonable and moderate view of the religious topics disputed in his day, I think every one will admit. His Part II, then, supports the character that I drew of him from his Part I.

### xxiv† § 4. Stubbes's possible 2nd Marriage, and Bond.

- § 4. Of Phillip Stubbes himself I have some fresh tidings; of his family, none.
- 1. He may have married again in 1593, when he wrote his Motive to good Workes. I have a melancholy interest in printing the late Col. Chester's letter to me on the point:—

124, Southwark Park Road, London, S.E. 18 Nov. '79.

"MY DEAR MR. FURNIVALL,

Did I ever send you the following Marriage from the Registers of St. Olave, Southwark?

1593, April 3, Philip Stubbes and Elenor Powell-by License.

It has this moment met my eye in one of my volumes that has recently been indexed.

It would have been only 3 years after the death of your Author's wife Katharine Emmes.<sup>1</sup>

Or, were there 'two Richmonds in the field'?

A search for the License would, I fear, be hopeless, as those for that date issued from the Faculty and Vicar General's Offices are not in existence, and one from the Bp. of London would not have availed in Southwark.

#### Sincerely yours

Jos. L. CHESTER.

"The Powell Wills of the period might reveal the Connection.

The marrying by license, at that period, indicates that they were certainly not of the lower orders."

2. Our Phillip Stubbes may be the man of that name at Benefield in Northampton, who in July 1586 executed a Bond of which Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, got hold in 1879. He writes on 13 Nov. 1879:—

<sup>1</sup> Katharine Stubbes is alluded to in George Powell's 'Very Good Wife, a Comedy. London. S. Briscoe, 1693,' p. 21, Act III. sc. i.

"Well. Death, fight now, or you'll die infamous, was your Mother a Whore?

Squeez. Comparatively she might be in respect of some Holy Women, as the late Lady Ramsey, Mrs. Katherine Stubbs, and such, ha, is that a Cause!"

### § 4. Stubbes's possible Bond. Other Stubbeses. xxv†

'I have now very little doubt that I have in my possession the Autograph of the Author of the "Anatomie," and it may besides furnish a clue to his family, and perhaps bring to light some particulars of his life hitherto unknown. The following is the reason of my forming this opinion: The Bond relates to a "messuage or tenement" in Congleton, Cheshire, which Phil. S. is granting to Will. S. to hold for ever, and the former binds himself to leave the latter in undisturbed possession. The Bond itself is in Latin, the Conditions in English-Now, coupling this with what the Author of the "Anatomie" says of knowing a man "for a dozen or sixteene yeares togither" in Congleton (Part I. p. 136), whose death he relates as a warning to swearers, makes, I think, a very good case to show that they were one and the same person; and the house referred to in the Bond was in all probability where the Puritan spent a good many yeares of his life. He is described in the Bond as "Philippus Stubbes de Benefeild al[ias] Beningfeilde in Com. Northt. generosus," and the other as "Willelmus Stubbes de Ratcliffe in Com. Midd. generosus"-

'I conjecture Phil. in the course of his rambles had settled for a time at Benefeild, as he did afterwards at Burton-on-Trent. It is not stated whether Willm. was any relative, but it seems probable he was; perhaps brother. I enclose two extracts from the Chancery Proceedings relating to Willm., but I am not certain that the second extract refers to the same person. These I got the other day. I have made no searches at Congleton, Chester, or Benefeild.'

#### 'CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

I Nov. 1584. Bill filed by Robt. Wright, Citizen and Goldsmith of Lond. against William Stubbs of Ratcliff, Co. Middx., Gent.

23 Nov. 1598. Bill filed by William Stubbes of Radcliff, Co. Middx., Ropemaker (who about 4 yeares now last past inhabited and dwelt at Boston, Co. Linc., being unmarried and having a great family household by reason of his trade) against Thomas Strangrushe of the same town, Fuller.'

As to Phillip Stubbes's family, Prof. Stubbs felt sure that Phillip STUBBES, 11.

### xxvi† § 4. Stubbes folk and Wills in Cheshire.

came from Congleton, and that a gentle family of the name was still in that neighbourhood. So I wrote there, and found that no Stubbes was known but a sweep. Still, Mr. J. P. Earwaker says in his East Cheshire, ii. 362: "In 1654 I find it stated in a MS. at Capesthorne that "Nell, Nan, and Bess Stubbs, being mother and two daughters, were hanged [at Chester] for bewitching to death Mrs. Furnivall, wyfe to Mr. Anth. [a mistake for Ralph] Furnivall, daughter to Mr. J. Fellowes." Prof. Stubbs sent me this bit, and he finds that in 1595, William Stubbes of Congleton, gentleman, presented to the living of Gauseworth. The Congleton Records are, he says, full of Stubbeses; he has traced three generations of Congleton Jurors in the Town book-Ralph or Reynold, from 1540 onwards; John from 1565 or so; and then another Ralph at the beginning of James I's reign. He also found a Randall Stubbes in the first year of Elizabeth, who would do for our Phillip's father. He thinks the Astbury registers will most likely settle the matter. There is an account of some Stubbeses, he says, among the Rawlinson MSS. I paid for a search of the Chester Indexes, with the following result:

Chester Registry. List of Wills proved and Admons granted in the names of Stubbs and Stubbes from the earliest date of the Indexes, 1540 to 1630 both inclusive

1586 Will of Geffrey Stubbs of Ludlow

1591 Will of Willam Stubbs of Gawsworth, County of Chester 1595 Admon of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester

1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

- 1603 Admon of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester

1617 Admon of John Stubbs of Heaton, County of Chester

1621 Will of Nicholas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of Hulse

1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester 1623 Will of George Stubbs of Knutsford, County of Chester

1624 Will of John Stubbs of Merton

1630 Will of Ann Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

None of these look likely.

### 4. Stubbeses in Lincolnshire, Essex, &c. xxvii†

Mr. Walter Rye felt sure that he'd find some traces of Phillip Stubbes at Donnington in Lincolnshire (where there's a town of that name as well as in Leicestershire): see Forewords to Part I. p. 59\*),—but diligent search showd none, tho' the Will of a Richard Stubbes of Donnington in 1622 is in the Lincoln Consistory Court.

It is clear that our Phillip was not the son of Ralph Stubbes of St. Mary le Wigford in the City of Lincoln, whose will is dated 4 April 1558, prov'd 29 July 1559, and of whose estate a de bonis non grant was issued on Jan. 29, 1562-3. Ralph's will was registered twice over, being in 36 Chaynay and 5 Chare (Somerset House). It mentions his children John, Henry, Justinian, and Elizabeth Stubbes, &c. &c., of whom Justinian may well be the M.A. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, mentiond by Wood, Ath. Ox., in the note on p. 53\* of my Forewords to Part I. In the Chancery Proceedings temp. Eliz., S. s. 25, no. 31, Ralph Stubbes's executors claim £11 6s. 8d. of one Edmund, and in S. s. 23, £4 17s. 11½d. of Thos. Burton's executor.

The Essex Stubbeses yield no result either. There was a Philip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex, Will dated 19 June 1551, to whose estate the first Letters of Administration were granted on Sept. 25, 1555, and the second Letters on Oct. 31, 1561. He had an only son John, and a daughter Margaret. This John Stubbs of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex, and Cotton Hall, Suffolk, made his will dated in 1587, but his son Phillip was not then of age. The Will was prov'd in the Commissary Court of Essex and Hertfordshire on Sept. 10, 1596. The right of Administration to this Philip Stubbs, then late of Clacton Parva deceasd, was renounced by Elizabeth, his Relict, in March 1626; and in May 1627, Administration was granted to Edward Luckin of Tiltey, one of Philip Stubbes's Creditors.

In the Chancery Proceedings of the time of Elizabeth are notes of other Stubbeses:

Richard Stubbe, and Anne his wife, Norfolk. G. g. 4, no. 59. John Stubbs of Norfolk. C. c. 14, no. 57. Richard Stubbs of Norfolk and Shropshire in vol. 3.

### xxviii† § 4. Divers Stubbeses in divers Parts.

John Stubbs of Rutland, with sons William and Thomas, and a grandson Henry, 21 Eliz. 1579.

Wm. Stubbs of Radcliffe, Ropemaker, 23 Nov. 1598.—S. s. 5. Alexander Stubbes of Codsall, Staffordshire yeoman. S. s. 6.

Richard Stubbs of Southwark, yeoman. S. s. 13. Christopher Stubbs of Berkshire and Hampshire.

Edward Stubbs of Norfolk.

William Stubbs of Devonshire.

The name Stubbes occurs in a book dated 1626. John Gee. New Shreds of the Old Snare:—p. 121, "Factors employed for the conveying over of the said Women to the Nunneries. . . .

Master Peeters

Stubbes."

Then Mr. Ellacombe hoped that he'd hit on traces, in his parish, Bitton, Glo'stershire, of our Stubbes, and he sent me up his Register; but the only Stubbes entries in it show that the Rev. Henry Stubbes or Stubbe, when doing duty at Bitton—not being Vicar of it, had a daughter and a son baptized there:

"Mary daughter of Henry Stubbs, Clericus, was baptised February xith 1643."

"John the sonne of Mr. Henrie Stubbs, was babt. October xxvii." 1647.

There is no entry of the burial of any Stubbes from 1594 to 1643 (and a few years later).

Whether our Phillip Stubbes had anything to do with any of the folk above-named, I must leave to some future searcher to decide.

I have not tried to get up many Notes for this 2nd Part. Those to Part I. cost so much, that a second set, even were one possible, must not be indulged in. The text is reprinted from the copy of *The Display of Corruptions* in the Grenville Library, British Museum.

What have Books like the present one to do with Shakspere? They help us to realize the England of his day, and the social evils that he must have seen.

3, St. George's Square, N.W. July 18, 1882.

### NOTES FOR PART II.

p. xxvii+ Wills of John and Phillip Stubbes of Essex, and Ralph Stubbes of Lincoln:-

Jn. Stubbes, 1587.

(In Room 32) Will of John Stubbes of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex (and Cotton Hall, Suffolk), dated 1587, gives Cocks and appurtenances, and lease of Cotton Hall to his son Phillip (under age) when he attains 21. If he dies under 21, then to testator's wife Agnes for life, and then over. Provision for boy Phillip's maintenance, &c. Prov'd in Com. Court of Essex and Herts, 10 Septr. 1596. (Phillip livd. Admon to him ab. 1622.—Grigson.)

#### 19 June, 1551.

- (P. C. C. Bucke, quire 25) Will of Phillip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex—most lands to wife Johane for life, part to son John on attg. 21—if he doesn't, then to daughter Margret. If she dies under 18, then her share of personalty to son John. Evidently, only son John, and daughter Margret. No son Phillip.
- 25 Septr. 1555, authority to administer Ph. Stubbes's goods, granted to Rd. Blaxton, Ed. Assheman, and Edw<sup>d.</sup> Shorte, the exōr Jn. Hockett having died.
- 31 Octr. 1561, Commission to Rd. Godfrey and Alice his wife to administer the goods not administerd.

Ralph Stubbes, Alderman of Lincoln, April 4, 1558 (of the parish of St. Mary's, Wygford, in the suburbs of the City of Lincoln). Will proved, July 29, 1559:—

Gives all his property, less legacies and special bequests, to his 4 children, John, Henry, Justynyan, and Elizabeth. If any die without issue—they're evidently under age—his share is to go to the survivors.

Gives Christabell Bartram his sister, to her marriage, 20£; and if she die or she be maryed, then 16£ to go to his 4 children, and 4£ 'to my thre bretherne, Henry Stubbes, Iohn Stubbes and Thomas Stubbes'.

Gives to his 'father Bartrame xij li. to bye the rest of the said house whiche he shulde purchase. And I wille . . that John Bartrame shalhaue the said house' in fee . . (As to children's bringing-up) 'I will that my mother in lawe [Margarete Smythe] shall have the kepinge and bringyng vppe of my children durynge her lif, and after her death I will that John Stubbes and

## xxx† Notes on p. xxviii†. Two Henry Stubbeses.

Justynyan Stubbes, with theire partes and portions shalbe in the Rule, ordre, and kepinge of Mr. John Hutchynson, and Henrye Stubbes. . of Thomas Dauson my brother-in-lawe' (Elizth. not given to any one). Residue to 4 children Exörs. 4 children, and "Margarete Smythe my mother in lawe."

p. xxviii† Henry Stubbes. See Ant. Wood's Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, 1817;

Henry Stubbe, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Glocestershire, was born in that county, became a student in Magdalen hall in the latter end of 1623, aged eighteen years; admitted bachelor of arts the 26th of January 1627, & master of arts the 8th of July 1630, took holy orders, and became a curate or vicar, sided with the puritans in the beinning of the rebellion, took the covenant, preached seditiously—took the engagement, and as a minister of the city of Wells was constituted one of the commissioners for the ejecting of such whom they then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. After his majesty's restoration, he lost what he had for want of conformity, retired to London, and lived there. He hath, among several things pertaining to divinity, written

Great Treaty of Peace, Exhortation of making Peace with God. Lond. 1676-77, oct.

Dissuasive from Conformity to the World. Lond. 1675, in oct. God's Severity against Man's Iniquity. Printed with the Dissuasive.

God's Gracious Presence, the Saint's great Privilege—a farewel Sermon to a Congregation in London, on 2 Thes. 3, 16. Printed also with the Dissuasive.

Conscience the best Friend upon Earth: or the happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience, very useful for this Age. London 1678, 8vo.; 1685 in twelves, and other things which I have not yet seen; among which is his Answer to the Friendly Debate, an. 1669 in octavo. When he died, I know not; sure I am that after his death, which was in London, his books were exposed to sale by way of auction the 29th of Nov. 1680.

[See a very amiable character of this writer in Calamy, who adds

1. A Funeral Sermon for a Lady in Gloucestershire.

2. A Voice from Heaven; with his last Prayer.

Granger, who mentions a small head of Stubbe, gives us the title of a third book omitted by Wood:

3. Two Epistles to the professing Parents of baptized Children, written a little before his death.

Calamy says that Stubbe was of Wadham college, which I cannot believe. He was certainly matriculated of Magdalen hall, April 16 [18, Col. Chester], 1624. See *Reg. Matric. Univ. Oxon.* PP. fol. 299, b.] He died on July 7, 1678, aged 73, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—(Col. Chester.)

Of this Henry Stubbes, Richard Baxter says in his Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part III. (written in 1670) p. 189 [After his Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock, &c.], § 66. In a short time I was called on, with a grieved heart,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He was born, says Calamy [wrongly], at Upton in this county, upon an estate that was given to his grandfather by king James I, with whom he came from Scotland. *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 319.

## Notes on p. xxviii†. Two Henry Stubbeses. xxxi†

to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. Stubbes went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher, long a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London. I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God in solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me: but of him before.—Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, 1696.

Part III. p. 95, § 205 (written 1670). But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know . . .

11. Old Mr. Stubbs, who joineth with him [Mr. Turner], is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at Dursley in Gloucestershire, an ancient grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of converting impenitent sinners to God: And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth [ = presses out, excludes] the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity with a Spirit suitable thereunto. Reliq. Baxt. 1696.

Ant. Wood gives an account of another Henry Stubbes, whose father was a clergyman at Parterey in Lincolnshire, where he was born on Feb. 28, 163½. He was at Oxford, and ultimately turnd Doctor. He was drownd on July 12, 1676, and buried in the Abbey Church at Bath. Him, Baxter mentions in the following passage of his Reliq. Baxterianæ, 1696: Life, Part I. (written 1664), p. 75-6, "being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they imparte to us the Blood of the King, I fully proved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it; and that it was the Act of Cromwell's Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the Vanists as one sort. . . . Hereupon, Sir Henry Vane being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one Stubbs (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at Oxford) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a Vanist afterwards turned a Conformist; since that, he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Bath."

Chaucer and Stubbes. In a short poem 'The | Laurel, | and the | Olive': | Inscrib'd to | George Bubb, Esq; | By Geo. Stubbes, M.A. | Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxon. | London, | Printed for Egbert Sanger at the Post-Office at the | Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet .M.DCC.X. are some lines 'To the Author' ending thus:

So when revolving Years have run their Race, Bright the same Fires in different Bosoms blaze; Known by his glorious Scars, and deathless Lines, Again the *Hero*, and the *Poet* shines. In gentler *Harrison*, soft *Waller* sighs, And *Mira* wounds with *Sacharissa's* Eyes.

### xxxii† Notes on pp. 6-9. Jesuits. Latimer's Sermon.

Achilles lives, and Homer still delights,
Whilst Addison records, and Churchill fights.
This happy Age, each Worthy shall renew,
And all dissolv'd in pleasing Wonder, view
In Ann—Philippa, Chaucer shine in you.

- p. 6. Papal Plots, Jesuits, &c. Stubbes may allude specially to Campion's conspiracy two years before, of which Stowe—or Antony Munday—gives the following account in his Annales (ed. 1605, p. 1169), and a longer one in his additions to Holinshed's (or Reginald Wolfe's) Chronicle:—
- [1581]. "On the 20. of Nouember, Edmond Campion, Jesuit, Ralfe Sher-Ant. Monday. wine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Orton, Robert Iohnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the and others high bar at Westminester, where they were seuerally, & al arraigned. together indicted vpon high treason, for that, contrary both to loue & duty, they forsooke their natiue country, to liue beyond the seas under the Popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and divers other places, where (the Pope having with other princes practised the death and deprination of our most gracious princesse, and otter subuersion of her state and kingdome, to advance his most abhominable religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent, to aide him in this most traiterous determination. And for this intent & purpose, they were sent ouer to seduce the harts of her maiesties louing subjects, & to conspire and practise her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie they were approoued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled & quartered.

Campion and others executed.

Campion to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled & quartered.

Looke more in my continuation of Reine Woolfes Chronicle."

p. 9, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister Latimer hath said in a sermon made before King Edward the sixt. This is 'The seconde Sermon of Master Hughe Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie, wythin hys graces Palayce at Westminster ye.xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xlix.' Sign. E. I. "I must desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your grace would heare poor mens sutes your selfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is nowe, that mony is harde euery wher: if he be ryche, he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other ar fayn to go home with weping teares, for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere mens suets your selfe, I requyre you in godes behalfe, & put it not to the hering of these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarse knowe them from an auncyent Knyght of the countrye.

"I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desirynge me that I wyll speake that theyr matters maye be heard. . . . I am no soner in the garden

### Notes on pp. 9-24. Angel. Clothiers' Tricks. xxxiii†

and haue red a whyle, but . . some one or other . . . desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter myght be heard, & that [Sign. E. ii.] he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing . . . [E. ii. back]. I beseche your grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

"Heare them your selfe! Vieue your Iudges! And heare pore mens causes. And you proude Iudges, herken what God sayeth in hys holy boke. Audite illos, ita parum ut magnum. Heare theym, sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man—Why? Quia domini iudicium est. The iudgment is Goddes.

"Marcke thys sayinge, thou proude Iudge! The deuyl will [E. iii.] brynge thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Iudges, if they

repente not and amende.

"They are worsse then the wicked Iudge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God nor the worlde. There was a certain wyddowe that was a suter to a Iudge, & she met hym in euery corner of the streete, cryinge: 'I praye you heare me, I besech you heare me, I aske nothyng but ryght.' When the Iudge saw hyr so importunate, 'though I fear neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.'

"But our Iudges are worsse then thys Iudge was. For [sign. E. iii. back] they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunatenes, nor any thynge else. Yea, some of them wyll commaund them

to ward, if thei be importunat."

p. 12, an angell, (for that is called a counsellers fee). The well-known lawyer's 'six and eightpence.' Miss Rochfort Smith sends me the following Epigram, 594, from Wits Recreations:—

"Upon Anne's marriage with a Lawyer. Anne is an angel: what if so she be? What is an angel but a lawyer's fee?"

p. 19. Colleges, &c, abused and peruerted. See my Harrison's Description of England, 1577-87, p. 77. On Education in Early England, see my Forewords to the Babees Book, or Meals and Manners: Early English Text Society.

p. 24, stretching and thicking Cloth. "I here saye, there is a certayne Cloth makers connyng come vp in myxyng of wares.

are become "Howe save you, were it not wond

"Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers

Poticaryes, yea and amonge the should become poticaries.

Gospellers. "Yea, and as I heare saye, in such a place, where as they have professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busic the Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god. Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a racke, A pretti kind of and streach hym tyll the senewes shrinke agayne, whyles he hath multiplyinge. brought hym to xxvii. yardes. When they have brought hym to that perfection, they have a prety feate [sign. E. iiii.] to thycke him againe. He Flocke powder. makes me a pouder for it, an playes the poticary: thei cal it floke

## xxxiv + Notes on pp. 24-33. Commons. Tailors.

pouder: they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider: truely a goodly inuention."

p. 24, Dark Shops. p. 49, False Weights. p. 22, Merchants. p. 47, Farmers. p. 29, Griping Landlords. These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceive their eares with false & flattering words, be they not Vsurers?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight, and selle by another, be they not Vsurers?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme, by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouerishing of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers?

These Farmers that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, & Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therfore the next market day hoyse vp the prises of all manner [p. 46] of victuall, be not these Vsurers?

The Land-Lordes that doe sette out their liuings at those high rates, that their Tenants that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to give a peece of Bread to the Poore, be they not Vsurers? 1614. Barnabee Rych. The Honestie of this Age. p. 45-6.

p. 27, the commons . . . are inclosed, made several. Compare Shakspere's phrase, in Loues Labor's Lost, II. i. 223, Qo. I:—

Bo. So you graunt pasture for me.

Lady. Not so, gentle Beast,

My lippes are no Common, though seuerall they be.

Thomas Greene's Diary says, on 1615, Sept. 1. "Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe" Common. Leop. Shaksp. Introd., p. cix. See p. 45\* and 116 in Stubbes, Part I.

- p. 28. Enclosures of Commons, &c. See Harrison, Part I., p. 306-7, and Latimer's 7th Sermon before Edw. VI, Serm. 14, Parker Soc., p. 248.
- p. 28, rich men's game eating up poor men's corn, grass, &c. This goes on still, as every one in a game-preserving county knows. I heard Joseph Arch once say how his garden was cleard by Lord Warwick's rabbits, and how he in return took his own compensation in game.
- p. 33, Tailors. "now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men, who were good and who were bad, but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were Taylers: would you heare my reason? because I doe see the wisedome of women to be still ouer-reached by Taylers, that can euery day induce them to as many new-fangled fashions, as they please to inuent: and the wisedome of men againe, are as much ouer-reached by women, that canne intice their husbandes to surrender and giue way to all their newe-fangled follies: they are Taylers then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women that can besot the wisest men: so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion be good, that because Iacke, his youngest sonne, ouer-ruled his mother, and Iackes mother agayne ouerruled M. Maior himselfe,

and M. Maior by office ouerruled the Towne, Ergo, the whole Towne was ouerruled by Iacke, Ma. Maiors sonne: by the same consequence, I may likewise conclude, that Taylers are the wisest men: the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all Fooles, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole worlde with their newe inuentions: but are they women alone that are thus seduced by Taylers? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me, if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyres, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish . . . . .

"The holy scriptures have denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the Idole-maker, then to the Idole it selfe; now (vnder the correction of Divinitie) I would but demaund, what are these Puppet-making Taylers, that are every day inventing of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call Attyre-makers, the first inventers of these monstrous Periwygs, and the finders out of many other like immodest Attyres: what are these, and all the rest of these Fashion Mongers, the inventers of vanities, that are every day whetting their wits to finde out those Gaudes, that are not onely offensive vnto God, but many wayes prejudiciall to the whole Common wealth: if you will not acknowledge these to be Idolemakers, yet you cannot deny them to be the Devils enginers, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornifie such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but Idolles, for they have eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they have eares, but they cannot heare the Iudgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie." 1614. Barnabee Rych. The Honestie of this Age, p. 23.

- p. 35. Ruffes. See Part I, p. 52, 240-2.
- p. 41, 42. The Poor, and Beggars. See my Harrison, Part I, p. 213, &c.
- p. 51, long hair. In 1614, Barnabee Rych asks: "And from whence commeth this wearing, & this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men, in freziling and curling of their hayre, this gentlewoman-like starcht bands, so be-edged, and be-laced, fitter for Mayd Marion in a Moris dance, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage, that should be in a gentleman?"—The Honestie of this Age, p. 35. "There are certaine new inuented professions that within these fourtie or fiftie years, were not so much as heard of," says Rich, p. 24, "& yet have become flourishing, namely, 'Attyremakers,' Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainful trades are," he says, p. 28, "the first is to keepe an Ale house, the 2. a Tobacco House, and the third to keepe a Brothell House."
- p. 57. A marvellous strange coniunction. This alludes to R. Harvey's notorious tract addrest to his brother the author Gabriel Harvey, "An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Conjunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583," 18 mo. black letter. H. Bynneman, 1583. The years 1588 and 1593 were to be "dangerous years" too. See my note in N. Sh. Soc. Trans., 1875-6, p. 151-4.
- p. 82. Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in every apple. This is in "The fifte Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche

he prached before the kynges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palaice at Westminster the fyft daye of Aprill "[1549]. Sign. R. iii. "Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of The merye tale of the patrone that sold a gaue them hys man to carrye them to hys mayster. It is like he gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and so ther was .xxxi.

"This man commeth to his mayster, and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge: 'Syr, suche a man hathe sente you a [R. iii. back] dyshe of frute, and desyreth you to be good vnto hym for suche a benefyce.' 'Tushe, tushe,' quod he, 'thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde.' The man came to the preest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. 'Then,' quod the priest, 'desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for.' He cut one of them, and founde ten peces of golde in it [£10 = 30 Angels]. 'Mary,' quod he, 'thys is a good apple. The prvest standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, 'they are all one apples, I warrante you, Syr, they grewe all on one A graft of gold tree and have all one taste.' 'Well, he is a good fellowe [sign. R. iiii.], let hym haue it,' quod the patrone, &c. Get you a grafte of worth a great deale of thys tre, and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede, learnynge. for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute." See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge flayd alive by Cambyses; the pudding-story, p. 140.

#### NOTES FOR PART I.

- p. 60\*, note 2. The woodcut is at the back of the Dedication, p. 2\*.
- p. 86\*. See too the Homily against Idleness.
- p. 89\*. Dice, wine, and women, wonne, drunke, & spent all, And now he liues a vassall at each call.
  - 1600. Quips vpon Questions, sign. E. 2, back, 'On a ruind Gallant.'
- p. 95\*. The cut of Irish Costumes is from the Additional MS. 28,330 in the British Museum: a Dutch 'Short Description of England, Scotland & Ireland,' 1574.
  - p. 97\*. There is no ornamental border round the original 1584 Title-page.
  - p. 231. Velure, &c. See note p. 363-4, Dekker's Works, 1874, vol. iii.
- p. 232. Nash's Anatomie of Abuses was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in advance, on Sept. 19, 1588.
  - p. 236. Farrefetched and deare bought. "we vse to say by manner of

## Notes for Part I, pp. 248-375. Football, &c. xxxvii+

Prouerbe, 'things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.'" 1589. Puttenham, p. 193, ed. Arber.

p. 248. Andrew Boorde's cut is also alluded to in the Homily against Excess of Apparel; and by Dekker, p. 77\* above.

p. 271, 273. Women's face-painting.

"Whers the Deuill? . . .

He's got into a boxe of Women's paint. . . . Where pride is, thers the Diuell too."

1600. Quips vpon Questions, sign. F. 2.

p. 280. See the Homily against Whoredom and Adultery.

p. 284. See the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

p. 293. Prisons. See too in 1618, Geffrey Mynshul's Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.

p. 296. Sunday Sports, &c. See Humphrey Roberts's, 'An earnest Complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises practised on the Sabath day,' 1572. Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, p. 360-1.

p. 307, at foot : beaten with a Brewers washing bittle, drunk.

"these people

Are all brainde with a Brewers washing beetle."

1600. Quips vpon Questions, sign. F. 2, back.

p. 318. Deaths at Football. Coroner's inquest on one Gibbs kild in a game. "The Coroner, in summing up, advocated a return to the rules practised in football twenty years ago, for, as now played, it was only worthy of a set of costermongers." See also the notice of the Mayor of Southampton prohibiting football under Association or Rugby rules, on the town's public lands.—Echo, Dec. 11, 1880. On Saturday . . . Mr. Joseph Hunter at Sheffield had his arm and three ribs broken; at Mexborough a young man named William Howitt had his arm and leg dislocated.—Daily News, Dec. 13, 1880.

p. 349. Insert Abandon, v. t. banish, 125. Ames ace & the dice, 37\*. Deuse ace, 272; a man's genitals.

p. 352, col. 2. Insert Breasts: see Bare, and Naked.

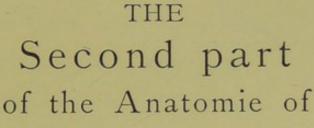
p. 356, col. 2. Disgesture, digestion. "Glut with gazing, surfet with seeing and rellish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preservatives, not poyson, though harsh in disgesture. 1600. Quips vpon Questions, sign. A. iij.

p. 362, col. I. Insert Honeymoon, p. 376, n. I.

p. 371, col. 2, to 'Spanish &c.' add 'boots, 242.'

p. 375, col. I. Insert Venetians 250. 'Grecques; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.' 1611. Cotgrave; and Venetian hose, 56.





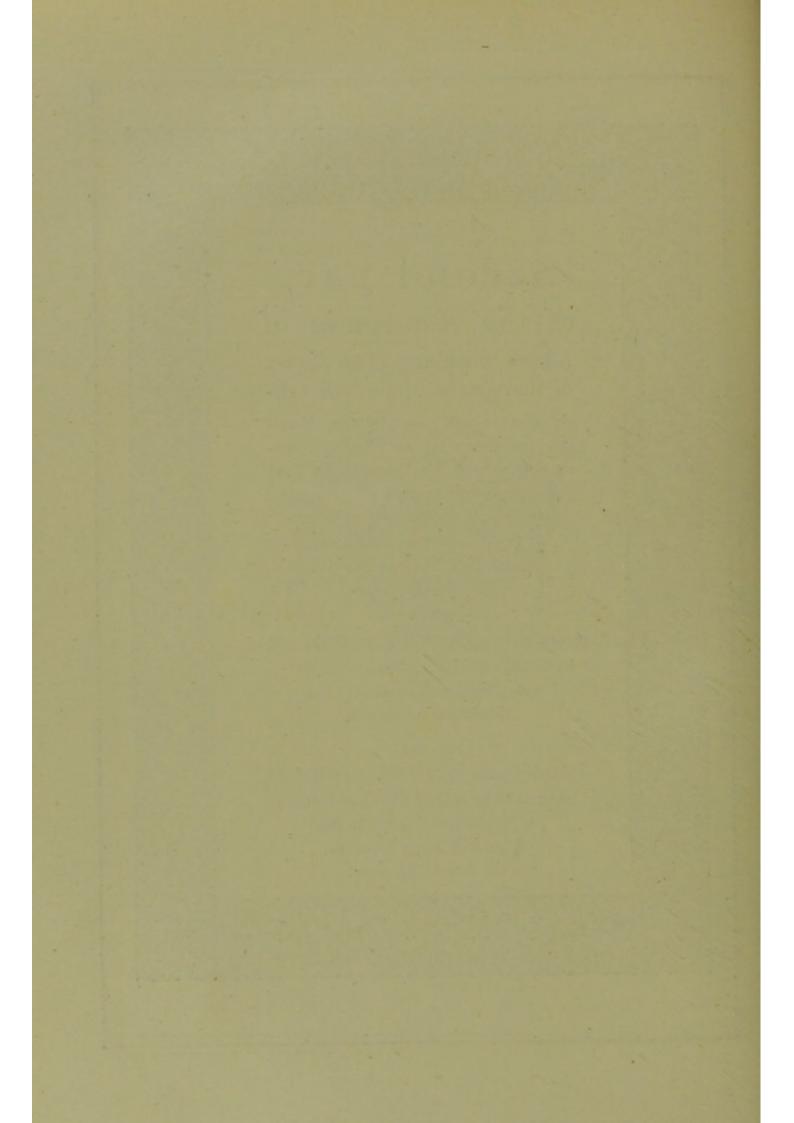
Abuses, containing The display of Corruptions, with a perfect description of such imperfections, blemishes, and abuses, as now reigning in euerie degree, require reformation for feare of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon the people and countrie, without speedie repentance and conucrsion vnto God: made dialogwise by Phillip Stubbes.

Except your righteonsnes exceed the righteonsnes of the Scribes and Pharises, you cannot enter into the kingdome of heaven.

#### LONDON.

Printed by R. W. for William Wright, and are to be sold at his shop ioining to S. Mildreds Church in the Poultrie, being the middle shop in the rowe.

NA WANTON WANTON



# [Sig. B r.] [The Title is the

# THE DISPLAY OF

# corruptions, requiring refor-

mation for feare of Gods iudge-

ments to be powred vpon the people

and country without spee-

die amendement.

The speakers, Theodorvs and Amphilogvs.1

OD bleffe you my friend, and well ouertaken.

Amphilogus. You are hartilie welcome, good fir, with all my hart.

Theod. How farre purpose you to trauell this way by the grace of God?

Amphil. As far as Nodnol if God permit.

Theod. What place is that, I pray you, and where is it scituate? Amphil. It is a famous citie and the chiefest place in Dnalgne: haue you not heard of it?

Stubbes is going to London.

Theod. No truely. For I am a stranger, and newly come into these countries, onely to see fashions, and to learne the state and condi²tion of those things whereof I am ignorant.

Amphil. What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be fo bold as to aske?

Theod. I am of the country and nation of the Idumeans, a cruell, fierce, and feruile kind of people.

Amphil. I have beene in those countries my selfe ere now, and He says he's been in Idumea. therefore it is maruell that you knowe me not.

Theod. Me thinke I should knowe you, but yet I cannot call your name to remembrance.

Amphil. My name is Amphilogus, fomtime of your acquaintance, though now you have (through tract of time, which is Omnium

1 Amphilogus is Stubbes. The side notes are all mine. Stubbes put notes to his First Part only.

<sup>2</sup> B I, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.' SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, IL.

# 4 II. I. England fertile. The 3 sorts of Englishmen.

When Destruction is nearest, folk are securest. graffe with the beafts of the earth; with the like examples, which, for the auoiding of prolixitie, I omit. By all which it appeareth, that when destruction is neerest, then are the people the securest, and the most indurate and frozen in the dregs of their finne; and being fo, the fequele is either confusion in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I befeech the Lord, that both this country, and all others, may repent, & amende euerie one their wicked waies, to the glorie of God and their owne faluation.

Theod. Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie?

England is a plentiful land,

1 Sig. B 4]

but covetous wretches export its goods.

Amphil. There is no nation or country in the world, that for ftore, and abundance of all things, may compare with the fame; for of all things there is fuch plentie (God haue the praise thereof) as they may feeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In fo much as if they were wife people (as they be wife inough, if they would vie their wisedome well) to keepe their owne fubstance within themselues, and not to transport it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne private gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whileft other countries should languish and want. But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

Theod. I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries?

Amphil. It lieth inuironed with the occean fearounde about; vpon the one fide eastwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of France: vpon the other fide westward, vpon Irelande; towards the septentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland; and vpon the fouth fide it respecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three fundrie fortes of people, Englishmen, Cornishmen, and welchmen, all which, if not in lawes and constitutions, yet in language, doe differ one from another. But as they doe differ in toong and fpeech, fo are they [2 Sig. B 4, back] fubiect (and that Patrio iure, By inffice and law) 2 to one Prince, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegeance.

Theod. Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it felfe, or otherwise troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill dissentions?

Amphil. The whole lande (God be praifed therefore, and preferue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained!) is,

It has Englishmen, Welshmen, Cornishmen, whose speech differs from one another.

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it felfe, but England has also abroad, for this foure or fine and twenty yeeres. During all 25 years. which time there hath beene neither wars, inuafions, infurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a fort of archtraitours, who have received but the same reward they deserved, and the fame that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receive hereafter, if they practife the same which they have done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioied fince hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preferve hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

been at peace for

Theod. Are the other countries, lands, and nations about them (for as I gather by your former intimations, this country is scituate as it were in the centrie, or midst of 1 others) their friends, and well- [1 Sig. B 5] willers, or their enimies?

Amphil. It is an old faieng and true: Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis est: Of things vncerteine, a christian man ought to judge and hope the best. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too But it has liptrue) that they are fo far from being their friends (Nisi verbo tenus, From mouth outward onely) that they have vowed and fworne their destruction, if they could as easily atchive it, as they secretly intend it. Which thing to be true, some of their late practises have (yet to their owne confusion, Gods name be praised) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of finne, that fonne of the diuell, that That son of the Italian Antichrist of Rome, interdicted, excommunicated, suspended, and accurfed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he fent foorth his roring buls against hir Maiestie, excommunicating (as I have faid) hir Grace, and discharging hir Highnesse liege people and naturall fubiects, from their allegeance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conspired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of has conspired the hir Maiestie and Nobilitie, by con2iuration, necromancy, exorcismes, [2 Sig. B 5, back] art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie befides, wherein the most part of them are skilfuller than in diuinity? And when these deuises would not take place, nor effect as they wished, then attempted they by other waies and meanes to ouerthrowe the estate, the Prince, and tried to over-

nobles, people and country: fometime by fecret irruption, fometime

Devil, the Pope,

throw the land.

# 6 п. 1. Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.

The Pope has sent here bloodthirsty Papists

to stir up rebellions.

[1 Sig. B 6] These Devil's agents are calld Jesuits,

but their every deed and word is directly contrary to Christ's.

They delude the world with their trash.

[2 Sig. B 6, back

by open inuation, infurrection, and rebellion, fometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimes by one meanes, fometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and fubuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by fending into the realme a fort of cutthrotes, false traitors, and bloudthirstie Papists, who vnder the pretence of religious men (in whom for the most part there is as much religion as is in a dog) should not onely lurke in corners like howlets that abhorre the light, creepe into noble mens bosoms, thereby to withdrawe hir Maiesties fubiects from their allegeance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take fword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselfe (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuouslye behaue themselues. And forfooth these goodlie fellowes, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the 1 diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preests, and catholikes, vfurping to themselves a name neuer heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously derived from the name of Iefus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it prevaile them to be like vnto Iefus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themfelues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, togither with their corrupt liues and conversations are directly contrarie to the doctrine, religion, life, and profession of Christ Iesus? There is nothing in the world more contradictorie one to another, than all their proceedings in generall are to Chrift Iefus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promife to themselues such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, fuch as doth merite Ex opere operato, Eternall felicitie in the heavens. And thus they deceive themselves, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them inough.

Theod. Surely that country had neede to take heed to it felfe, to feare, and ftand in awe, <sup>2</sup>hauing fo manie enimies on euerie fide. And aboue all things next vnto the feruing of God, to keepe themfelues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soeuer the make them. The sweeter the Syren singeth, the dangerouser is it to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice neuer meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth upon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

meaneth to fucke thy bloud. The stiller the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true faieng: Sub melle iacet venenum, Vnder honey lieth hid poifon. Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber, vnder the pleasantest grasse, lurketh the venemoust adder. Take heed of those fellowes that have Mel in ore, verba lactis, fweet words and plaufible speeches: for they have Fel in corde, and Fraudem factis, Gall in their harts, & deceit in their deeds. So falleth it out with these ambidexters, these hollowe harted friends, These Jesuits are where they intend destruction, then will they couer it with the cloke hollow-hearted friends, or garment of amity & friendship; therefore are they not to be trufted.

Amphil. You fay the truth. For I am thus perfuaded, that he who is false to God (as all 1 Papists with their complices and adherents [1 Sig. B 7] are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. never true to Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

prince or country

Theod. Confidering that this country of Dnalgne is enuied abroad with fo many enimies, and infefted within by fo many feditious Papists, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can stand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wife politike prince, and good gouernors, either else it were vnpossible to preserue the fame in fuch peace and tranquillitie, and that fo long togither. I pray you therefore by what prince is the same gouerned, and after what maner?

Amphil. The whole realme or country of Dnalgne is ruled and England is gouerned by a noble Queene, a chafte Maide, and pure Virgin, who noble Queen, for all refpects may compare with any vnder the funne. In fo much as I doubt not to call hir facred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or storehouse of all true virtue and godlines. For if you speake of virtuous and wisdome, knowledge and vnderstanding, hir Grace is fingular, yea, understanding, able at the first blush to discearne truth from falsehood, and falsehood from truth, in any matter, how ambiguous or obscure soeuer: so as it may justly be called into question whether 2 Salomon himselfe had [1 Sig. B 7, back] greater light of wisedome instilled into his sacred breast, than hir Maiestie hath into hir highnes roiall minde. If you speake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, learned in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vsuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath hir peere, or not. If you speake

godly, wise and

tongues.

# II. I. The Queen's Council, and the Magistrates.

modest, gentle, affable,

merciful,

religious, just,

more divine than earthly.

The Lord preserve her! [1 Sig. B 8]

The Queen's Council are wise and experienst men,

who make the laws, which are carried out by Magistrates.

of fobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentlenesse, it is woonderfull in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace, as fhe will not disdaine to talke familiarlie to the meanest or poorest of hir Graces subjects vpon speciall occasions. If you speake of mercie, and compassion to euery one that hath offended, I stande in suspence whether hir like were euer borne. If you speake of religion, of zeale and feruencie to the truth, or if you speake of the vpright execution or administration of instice, all the world can beare witnes, that herein (as in all godlinesse else) hir Highnes is inferior to none that liueth at this day. So that hir Grace feemeth rather a druine creature, than an earthly creature, a veffel of grace, mercie and compassion, whereinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of his fuperabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increase the fame in hir <sup>1</sup>Highnes roiall breaft, and preferue hir Grace, to the end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiesties fubiects, and confusion of all hir enimies whatsoeuer.

Theod. What is hir Maiesties Councell? It should seeme that they must needes be excellent men, having such a vertuous Ladie and Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

Amphil. The Councell are Honorable and noble perfonages indeed, of great grauitie, wisedome, and pollicie, of fingular experience, modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in giuing counsell renoumed, for the administration of iustice incomparable, finally, for all honorable and noble exploits inferior to none, or rather excelling all. So as their worthie deedes, through the golden trumpe of fame are blowne ouer all the worlde. The whole regiment of the Realme confifteth in the execution of good lawes, fanctions, flatutes, and conftitutions enacted and fet foorth by hir royall Maiestie and hir most honorable Councel, and committed by the same to inferior officers, and maiestrates to be put in practise, by whose diligent execution thereof, iustice is maintained, vertue erected, iniurie repressed, and sinne seuerely punished, to the great glorie of God, and [2 Sig. B 8, back] 2 common tranquilitie of the Realme in euery condition.

Theod. Is the lande divided into shires, counties, precincts, and ieuerall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be maintained? And hath euery county, thire, and precinct, good lawes in the fame for the deciding and appealing of controuerfies that happen

in the same, so that they neede not to seeke further for redresse than in their owne shire?

Amphil. The whole land indeede is divided (as you fay,), into fhires, counties, and feuerall precincts, (which are in number, as I take it, 40). In euerie which shire or countie, be courts, lawe daies, and leets, as they call them, euery moneth, or every quarter of a yeere, wherin any controuerfie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, fo that none needs (except vpon fome speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuerfie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dulie, fo are there corruptions and abuses not a few crept into them. For fometimes you shall have a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeare, yea, a twelue false judgment, month, two or three yeeres togither, yea, feauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can 1 be made. This deferring of [1 Sig. C 1] iuftice is as damnable before God, as the fentence of false iudgement is, as that bleffed martyr of God, Maister Latimer, hath said in a fermon made before King Edward the fixt. Befides this deferring and delaieng of poore mens causes, I will not say how iudgement is perverted in the end. I reed them take heed to it that be the authors thereof. Therefore the reformed churches beyond the feas are worthie of commendations; for there the Iudges fit in the open gates, ftreets, and high waies, that euery man that will, may fpeake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting of 2 poore mens causes be they, as they will not fuffer any matter, how weighty foeuer, to hang in fute aboue one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie feldome. But if the lawes within euery particular countie or shire were dulie administred without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not fo lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to feeke iuftice, when they might haue it neerer home: through the want whereof, befides that their futes are like to hang in ballance peraduenture feuen yeeres, 3 they, having spent al, in the end fall to [3 Sig. C 1, back] extreme beggerie; which inconvenience might eafilie be removed, if and perhaps wait for 7 years. all matters and causes whatsoeuer were heard at home in their owne fhire or countie with expedition. And to fay the truth, what fooles

England is divided into shires and precincts, in each of which Law-Courts are held monthly or quarterly.

But abuses have crept in : causes are delayd, and that's as bad as as Latimer said.

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

## II. I. Englishmen are very fond of going to law.

They spend their all, too, on greedy lawyers.

are they (yea, woorthie to be inaugured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might have instice at home in their owne country, and all matters of controuerfie decided amongst their neighbors and friends at home, will yet go to lawe two or three hundred miles distant from them, and spend all that they have to inrich a fort of greedie lawiers, when at the last a fort of ignorant men of their neighbors must make an end of it, whether they will or not. This, me thinke, if euerie good man would perpend in himfelfe, he would neither go to lawe himfelf, nor yet give occasion to others to doe the like.

Theod. I gather by your speeches that these people are very contentious and quarellous, either else they would neuer be so defirous of revenge, nor yet profecute the lawe fo feuerely for euery trifle.

Amphil. They are very contentious indeed. Infomuch as, if one giue neuer fo fmall occasion to another, sute must straight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till 1either both, or at leaft the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

Theod. But on the other fide, if they shuld not go to lawe, then should they sustaine great wrong, and be injuried on every side.

TheLaw was made to do right and to still strife, but it's now perverted to contrary ends.

Englishmen are

very contentious, and fond of going

to law.

[1 Sig. C 2]

Amphil. Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iuftice, for the appeafing of controuerfies & debates, and for to give to every man (Quod fuum est) That which is his owne, but being now peruerted and abused to cleane contrarie ends (for now commonly the law is ended as a man is fr[e]inded) is it not better to fuffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who faith: Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam. 'Vengeance is mine, and I wil reward,' than for a trifle to go to lawe, and spende all that euer he hath, and yet come by no remedie neither? Our fauiour Christ biddeth vs, if any man will go to law with vs for our cote, to giue him our cloke also, and if any man will giue thee a blowe on the one cheeke, turne to him the other, whereby is ment, that if Christ teaches us any man will iniurie vs, and doe vs wrong, we should not refist nor trouble our felues, but fuffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

to suffer wrong patiently, and let God revenge it.

> Amphil. Why? Is it not lawful then for one Christian 2 man, to go to lawe with another?

Amphil. The Apostle saith 'many things are lawfull which are not

[2 Sig. C 2, back]

expedient,' and therefore, though it be after a fort lawfull, yet for euery trifle it is not lawfull, but for matters of importance it is. And yet not neither, if the matter might otherwise, by neighbors at home, be determined.

Theod. Yet forne doubt whether it be lawfull or no for one Christian man to go to lawe with another for any worldly matter, bringing in the apostle Paule rebuking the Corinthians for going to St. Paul rebukes lawe one with another.

the Corinthians, who were Chris-Heathens.

Amphil. The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for to law before going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen judges, which tended to the great difcredite and infamie of the Gospell. But certeine it is, though some anabaptists Quibus veritas odio est, and certeine other heritikes have taught the contrarie, yet it is certeine, that one christian man may go to lawe with an other for causes reasonable. For it being true, as it cannot be denied, that there is a certeine fingularitie, interest, and proprietie in enery thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the fame propriety, but also to restore it againe, being violate, things straight, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this go to law. prouiso, that it is better, if the matter may otherwise be apeased at home, not to attempt lawe, than to attempt it. But if any fchifmatikes (as alas the worlde is too full of them) should altogether deny the vse of the lawe, as not christian, besides that the manifest word of God in euery place would eafilie conuince them, the examples and practifes of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, togither with the example of our fauiour Chrift himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it felfe, is the fquare, the leuell, and rule of equitie and inflice, and Law is the therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, of Equity. may well be accused of extreeme folly. But if the lawes be wicked and antichristian, then ought not good christians to sue vnto them, but rather to fustaine all kind of wrong whatsoeuer.

But as it's Law's business to keep Christians may

[1 Sig. C 3]

Theod. Then it feemeth by your reason, that if the lawe be so necessarie, as without the which Christian kingdomes could not stand, then are lawiers necessarie also for the execution thereof.

<sup>2</sup> Amphil. They are most necessarie. And in my judgement a man [2 Sig. C 3, back]

Lawyers are necessary, and can serve God; but English ones don't, they've such cheveril consciences,

Lawyers take bribes, and beggar the poor, and

turn Law topsy-

Their fee is an Angel, 10s.

[1 Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are frightful.

A man is clapt in irons, thrown into a dungeon, with only a little straw fit for a

dog; and there he lies, lice-bit, ill-fed, till he looks like a ghost, or dies.

He stops there for 3 months, 3 years, perhaps his whole life. can ferue God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good confcience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have fuch chauerell confciences, that they can ferue the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute inflice parcially, & they receive bribes greedily, fo that inflice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man injuried therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsie turnie, and therefore happy is he that hath least to doe with them.

Theod. The lawiers must needes be verie rich if they haue such large consciences.

Amphil. Rich, quoth you? They are rich indeede toward the deuill and the world, but towards God and heauen, they are poore inough. It is no meruaile if they be rich and get much, when they will not speak two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counsellers fee.) But how they handle the poore mens causes for it, God and their owne consciences can tell; and one day, I feare me, they shall feele to their perpetuall paine, except they repent and amend.

<sup>1</sup> Theod. How be judgments executed there vpon offenders, tranfgreffours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

Amphil. It greeueth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are fo inormous. For if a felone, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greeuous offender foeuer, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is ftraightway committed to prifon, and clapt vp in as many cold yrons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and darke places vnder the ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything elfe to helpe himselfe withall, saue a little straw or litter bad inough for a dog to lie in. And in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of2 his bones. In the meane space having nothing to eate, but either bread and water or else some other modicum scarce able to suffice nature; and many times it hapneth, that for want of the same pittance they are macerate and fhronke fo low, as they either looke like ghofts, or elfe are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, fometimes halfe a yeere, a

## II. 1. Reprieves & Pardons are bought in England. 13

tweluemonth, yea, fometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance 1 all [1 Sig. C 4, back] their life, though they have deferued death, by their flagitious facts committed. Who feeth not that it were much better for them to die at once, than to fuffer this extreme miferie? Yea, the fufferance of this extremitie is better vnto them, than the taft of prefent death it felfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond feas, there is The oversea Renotable order for this: for as foone [as] any fellon or malefactor what- culprits at once, foeuer that hath deserved death is taken, he is brought before the magistrate, witnesse comes in, and gives euidence against him, and being found gilty, and conuict by inflice, is prefently, without any further imprisonment, reprination or delay, condemned, and being condemned, is led prefently to the place of execution, and fo committed to the fword.

formd Cities try and execute em.

Theod. What is the cause why they are kept so long before they go to execution in Dnalgne.

Amphil. Sometimes it commeth to passe by reason of (will doe Will-do-all or all) otherwise called mony, and sometimes by freends, or both, for certeine it is, the one will not worke without the other. Hereby it commeth to paffe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue 2 committed neuer fo heinous, or flagicious a [2 Sig. C 5] deed, whether robbed, stollen, slaine, killed or murthered, or whatfoeuer it be, then letters walke, freends bestir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iuftice conuicteth to get reprie him, and good confcience executeth him, yet must be needes be repriued, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion for sooth, must be purchased, either for friendship or mony.

money. In England the delay's due to Will-Do-All, money.

If a felon or murderer has friends and money, he's safe to get reprievd

Theod. That is a great abuse, that he whom the lawe of God and of man doth condemne, should be pardoned. Can man pardon or remit him whom God doth condemne? Or shall man be more mercifull in euill, then the author of mercie himselfe? it is God that condemneth, who is he that can faue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be faued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murtherer, the adulterer, the exorcift, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or ftrength of man to pardon him his life?

Amphil. Although it be wilfull and purposed murther, yet is the

## 14 II. 1. One law for the Rich, another for the Poor.

The crime is set down to chance medley, accident. [1 Sig. C 5, back]

prince borne in hande that it was plaine chance medley (as they call it) meere cafuall, and fortunate, and therefore 1 may eafily be difpenfed withall. Indeede, the wisedome of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he should flie to certeine cities of refuge, and fo be faued, but if it were proued that he killed him wittingly, willingly, & prepenfedly, then he should without al exception be put to death. And herein is great abuse, that two hauing committed one and the fame fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be fo that both have committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience prooueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greeuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shall be fure of his Sursum collum? But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, feeing a fort of poore men going to hanging, fell into a great laughter. And being demanded wherefore he laughed, he answered at the vanitie and follie of this blind word. For, faith he, I fee great theeues lead little theeues to hanging. And to fay the truth, before God, is not he a greater theefe that robbeth a man of his good name for euer, that taketh a mans house ouer his head, before his yeeres be expired, that wresteth from a man his goods, his lands and liuings whervpon he, his wife, children and familie should 2liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessities fake onely, having not otherwife to releeve his neede? And is not he a great theefe that taketh great fummes of mony of the poore (vnder the names of fees), and doth little or nothing for them? Though this be not theft before the world, nor punishable by penall lawes, yet before God it is plaine theft, and punishable with eternall torments in hel. Let them take heede to it.

[2 Sig. C 6]

hunger?

If a Gentleman

and a Poor Man

commit the same offence, the Gentleman gets

Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping landlord or

lawyer, a bigger thief than the

poor man who steals from

Theod. Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

Amphil. Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogative, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either divine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to faue him, but to execute iudgement and iustice without respect of persons to all indifferently. But in causes wherein Gods lawe doth not condemne him, the prince may pardon the offender, if there appeare likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be sure of this, to answere at the day of

No prince should pardon him whom God's law condemns.

iudgement before the tribunall feate of GOD, for all the offences that the partie pardoned shall commit any time of his life after. For if the prince had cutte him off when the 1 lawe had paffed on him, that [1 Sig. C 6, back] euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I haue heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his fubiectes that had committed murther, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the fecond time also, and yet filling up the measure of his iniquitie, killed the third, and being brought before the king, the king being very forie, asked why he had killed three men, to whom his iefter flanding by replied, faieng: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou hast killed the other two: for if thou hadft hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not beene killed, therefore thou hast killed them, and shalt answere for their bloud." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp ftraightway, as he very well deferued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogative imperial may pardon offenders, but not fuch as Gods lawes and good confcience doe condemne, as I faid before. The power of a prince is comprehended In Relus licitis in Deo, but not in Rebus illicitis contra Deum: In things lawfull in God, not in things vnlawfull contrarie to God. No power or principalitie vpon the earth 1 whatfoeuer may difpense with the lawe of God, but [1 Sig. C 7] what it fetteth downe must stand inviolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for A prince can the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, conftitution, flatute, or fanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had killd 2 men.

only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

Theod. How is iustice ministered there, fincerely and truely, so as the poore have no cause instly to complaine, or otherwise?

Amphil. If any haue cause to complaine (as alas too many haue) it is for want of due execution of the lawes, not for lacke of good lawes. For, God be praifed, there be many good lawes, but indeed now and then through the negligence of the officers they are coldly executed. But if the lawes there in force were without parcialitie dulie executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to fpeake my confcience there is great parcialitie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich and officers.

There's great partiality in Eng-lish magistrates

# 16 II. 1. Lawyers such marrow out of poor folks' bones.

The rich man is favourd against the poor.

[1 Sig. C 7, back]

Judges should go by justice, not by bribes.

Lawyers rob their poor clients by taking big fees,

and fees from 3 people when they can only do one's work.

The fees for warrants, &c. are too high.

[2 Sig. C 8]

The marrow's suckt out of poor men's bones. Bailiffs take bribes to let defendants get away.

All officials should act with a single eye to God's glory.

man and a poore man chance to haue to doe before them, the matter I warrant you shall quickly be ended, and, my life for yours, shall go vpon the rich mans fide, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But 1 if two poore men of equall eftate go to lawe togither, then their fute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peraduenture feuen yeeres, a dozen, yea twentie yeeres, before it be ended, till either the one or both be made beggers. For reformation whereof, I would wish judges and officers to respect the cause, not the perfons, the matter, not the gaine? and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be fent them to peruert true iudgement. And iuftice being ministred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembring what the wife man faith: 'Gifts blinde the eies of the wife, and peruert iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take lesse sees of their clients. For is not this a plaine theft before God, to take ten, twentie, or fortie shillings of one poore man at one time, and fo much of a great fort at once, and yet to fpeake neuer a word for the most part of it? And notwithstanding that they can be present but at one barre at once, yet will they take divers fees of fundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant foorth the warrants, the Subpænas, the Scire facias, and divers other writs, and those who keepe the feales of the fame, I would wish to take lesse fees also. For is not 2this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing fix or feuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the feale, for a little waxe, he must have as much as the other. And thus they fucke out (as it were) euen the very marrowe out of poore mens bones. The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to returne a Tarde venit, or a Non est inuentus, when they have either sent the partie word to avoid couertly, or elfe, looking through their fingers, fee him, & will not fee him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lofe not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peraduenture his whole right of that which he fueth for. Thus let euery officer by what kind of name or title foeuer he be called, or in what kind of calling foeuer he be placed, doe all things with fingle eie, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iuftice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

# II. 1. No Subject may take Arms against his Prince. 17

charged against the great daye of the Lorde, when all flesh shall be convented before the tribunall feate of G O D all naked as ever they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they bee good or badde, and to receive a rewarde according to their deeds. 1 By [1 Sig. C. 8, back] all which it appeareth, that if any for want of iustice have cause to complaine, it is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and infaciable cormorants, who, for defire of gaine, make hauocke of all things, yea, make shipwracke of bodies and soules to the deuill for euer, vnlesse they repent.

Theod. How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things Princes are to be indifferently without exception?

obeyd in all things not contrary to God's

Amphil. In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good law. conscience, which, if they be against God and true godlinesse, then must we say with the apostles, Melius est deo obedire, quam hominibus, It is better to obey God than man.

Theod. If the prince than doe fet foorth a lawe contrarie to the lawe of God, and do constraine vs to doe that, that Gods word commandeth vs we shall not doe. In this or like case, may subjects lawfully take armes, and rife against their prince?

Amphil. No, at no hand, vnleft they will purchase to themselues But their subeternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not any case take lawfull for the fubiects to rife up in armes against their liege prince them. for any occasion what2 foeuer. For proofe whereof we read that our [2 Sig. D. 1] fauiour Christ was, not onely obedient to the maigistrates, and superior powers in all things, but also taught his apostles, disciples, and in them all people and nations of the world, the very fame doctrine. therefore the apostle faith, Omnis anima potestatibus superioribus fubdita sit: Let euery foule submit himselfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that refifteth this power, If subjects do, refifteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth to himselfe eternall they resist God's ordinance, damnation. Peter also giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be given to the fuperior powers, and that praiers and intercessions be made for kings and rulers, and giueth the reason why, namely, that we may lead Vitam pacificam, A peacable life vnder them.

arms against

Theod. Why? How than? If we shall not refist them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, II.

If princes order things against God's law, subjects must lay down goods and life, and

[1 Sig. D. 1, back]

put their necks on the block, rather than disobey God. Amphil. No, not so neither. In all things not contrarie to Gods word we must obey them, on paine of damnation. But in things contrarie to the word and truth of God, we are thus to doe. We must depose and lay foorth ourselves, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our 1 conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serve our God) even all that we have of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selves, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, choosing rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apostles ment when they saide: It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlinesse is forbid, but that obedience to God is to be preferred before the obedience to man.

Theod. What if the prince be a tyrant, a wicked prince, and an vngodly, is he notwithstanding to be obeied?

Even if the prince is ungodly, he's sent by God, Amphil. Yea, truely in the fame order as I have shewed before. For whether the prince be wicked, or godlye, hee is sent of GOD, bicause the Apostle saith: There is no power but of GOD. If the prince be a godlye prince, then is hee sent as a great blessing from GOD, and if hee be a tyrant, then is he raised of GOD for a scourge to the people for their sinnes. And therefore whether the prince be the one, or the other, he is to be obeied as before.

and is to be obeyd. [2 Sig. D. 2]

Theod. And bee kings and rulers to 2 bee beloued, and praied for of their fubiects.

Every one is to love his prince as himself.

Amphil. That is without all doubt. For hee that hateth his prince in his hart, is a contemner of Gods ordinance, a traitour vnto GOD, and to his countreye: yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himfelfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himfelfe. For that an infinite number doe reft and depend vppon his Maiestie, which doe not so vppon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peraduenture) of manye thousands.

Theod. This being fo, then hath *Dnalgne* great cause to praye for their prince, by whose woorthye indeuour, and wise gouernement, the state of that realme is so peaceably maintained.

May every Englishman who won't love and pray for Queen Elizabeth, die straight off!

Amphil. They have great cause indeede not onely to love hir Maiestie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whosoever will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them awaye quicklye from the face of the earth. For by hir Highnesse wise gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flourisheth, and aboundance 1 of al things floweth in the same, [1 Sig. D. 2, back] the Lord God be praifed therefore, and preferue hir noble Grace long to reigne amongst vs. Amen.

Theod. Let vs proceed a little further: I pray you how is the youth As to Education, of that country brought vp, in learning or otherwise?

Amphil. The youth truely is well brought vp, both in good letters,

nurture, and maners for the most part. For the better performance whereof, they have excellent good schooles, both in cities, townes, and countries, wherein abundance of children are learnedly brought vp. But yet notwithstanding, some parents are much to be blamed in the education of their children, for the most keepe their sonnes to schoole but for a time, till they can write and read, and well if all that too, and very feldome or neuer doe they keepe them fo long at their bookes, as vntill they atteine to any perfect knowledge indeed. So that by this means learning doth, and is like, greatly to decay. And if one aske them, why they keepe not their children to schoole till they prooue learned, they will answer, "Bicause I see learning and learned men are little esteemed, and ne thinke the best of them can hardly live by the fame. And therefore I will fet him to an occupation, which will be alwaies fure." As herein they fay 2 true, for I cannot but lament the fmall preferment now adaies that learning getteth in the world amongst men, & the small account that is made of the fame. This is the cause why learning doth, and will in time, greatly decay. For who is he, that having fpent all his fubstance vpon learn-

we've good schools, and plenty of children at 'em,

but the boys stay only till they can read and write;

then they're put to business, because they can't live by Learning, which gets small preferment nowadays.

[2 Sig. D. 3]

Theod. Be there not Vniuerfities, colledges, and free schooles, The free Colleges where youth may bee brought vp in learning Gratis without any charges to their parents?

ing, yea, his bodie, ftrength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himselfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is

both fo chargeable, and painfull to be come by?

and Schools are abused and perverted

Amphil. There are fuch places indeed. But alas they are abused & peruerted to other ends than was intended by them at the first. For whereas those places had great liuings, rents, reuenues & pofleffions given to them, it was to this onely end and purpose, that those poore children whose parents were not able otherwise to mainfrom poor children to rich ones.
[1 Sig. D. 3, back]

Unless a father can bribe the Master,

his son 'll not get into College or School.

The places are jobd, not given to the needy.

In poor schools, Schoolmasters are so badly paid that pupils snort in palpable ignorance all their days.

[2 Sig. D. 4]

Every Schoolmaster should be examind for character and knowledge,

and then pay no fees to teach.

taine them at learning, should be brought vp vpon the charges of the house, and not those whose parents are able to maintaine them of themselues. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were given to maintaine none but the poore only, now they maintaine none but the rich onely. For except one be able to give the regent or prouost of the house, a peece of mony, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen, or a couple of fine geldings, or the like, though he be never so toward a youth, nor have never so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot prevaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to insue. So that the places in the vniversities and free schooles, seeme rather to be solde for mony and frienship, than given gratis to them that have neede, as they ought to be.

Theod. Are there not many inferior scholes in the country besides, both for the instruction and catechising of youth?

Amphil. There are fo, almost in every parish. But alas, such small pittance is allowed the schoolmaisters, as they can neither buy the libraries, nor which is lesse, hardly maintaine themselves; which thing altogither distuadeth them from their bookes, and is occasion why many a one snorteth in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

Theod. Would you have any man without exception, to take vppon him the office of a <sup>2</sup> schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

Amphil. No, at no hand. First I would wish that every one that is a schoolmaster, how learned or vnlearned soever, should be examined, as wel for his religion, and his sufficiencie in knowledge, as also for his integritie of life, & being found sound in them all, to be alowed & admitted to teach. For if everie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconvenience follow. For papists and other schissmatikes, apostates, or else whatsoever, might thrust in themselves, & so corrupt the youth. Ignorant & vnlearned would take vpon them high learning & so delude their schoolers. And if his life should not be answerable to his profession, then should he pervert his auditorie also. Therefore in my judgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted gratis,

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found fufficient in all respects, yet must be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & Now he must yet will this ferue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & for a license for comming into another he must pay as much there for ye like license teaches in. also, whereas peraduenture he shall scarcely get 1 so much cleere in [1 Sig. D. 4, back] three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they have fuch fat pasture. But if they would needes have them to have licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might have them gratis, without Licenses should mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull men gratis. without. And if they be not woorthie it is pittie that mony should make them woorthie; and againe, if they be woorthie, it is pittie that without mony they cannot be fo accepted.

every diocese he

be given to fit

Theod. What way were best to be taken for the good education of youth?

Amphil. It were good (if it might be brought to passe) that in euery parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, having a reasonable stipend alowed him of the same parish for his paines, But now they teach and take paines for little or nothing, which vtterly discourageth them, and maketh manie a cold schooler in Dnalgne, as experience daily teacheth.

Every Parish ought to have its Schoolmaster with a good stipend.

Theod. Be there men of all kinde of trades, occupations, and Asto Tradesmen, artes, as there be in other countries.

Amphil. Yea, truely: there are men of all sciences, trades, English Artisans mysteries, faculties, occupa2tions, and artes whatsoeuer, and that as any under the cunning as any be vnder the funne. Yea, fo expert they be, as if [2 Sig. D. 5] they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they feeke to excell and furpaffe al other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiofity, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

are as clever as

Theod. How live the marchant men amongst them? are they rich and wealthy, or but poore?

Amphil. How should they be poore, gaining as they do, more then halfe in halfe in euerie thing they buy or fell? And which is more, from 100 to 400 fometimes they gaine double and triple; if I said quadruple, I lied not.

The Merchants are rich, making per cent.

#### II. I. Merchants export goods wanted at home. 22

Theod. I pray you how can that be fo?

Amphil. I will tell you. They have mony to lay foorth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingrosse, and to ftore themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandize till they waxe verie scarse, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and fo confequently deere. And then will they fell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to [1 Sig. D. 5, back] beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this 1 meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they have a hundred slights in their budgets to rake in gaine withall.

They buy up the whole stock of an

article, hold it till it gets dear, and

then sell it at their own price.

Theod. I pray you, what be those?

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

Amphil. They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheefe, bacon, or elfe what marchandize foeuer they knowe will be vendible, and thefe they transport ouer feas, whereby they gaine infinit fummes of mony.

Theod. That is woonderful that they are so permitted: are there no lawes, nor prohibitions to the contrarie, that no wooll, corne or leather, shoulde be transported ouer seas?

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

Amphil. There are good lawes, and great reftraints to the contrary, in fo much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the forefaid things ouer without speciall

[2 Sig. D. 6]

night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or vnknowne, they wil conveigh them ouer, though their owne country want the fame. But to avoide all dangers, they purchase a licence

licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by

license for the cariage ouer but of fo much and fo much, when in

& a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne 2 private gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their defires, they demand

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to. They thus make things dear; and

truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times, twenty times, yea, a hundred times, fiue hundred times, yea, a thoufande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince,

many a black curse do they get from the poor for it!

impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enimies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to passe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if restraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke

curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

Theod. Would you not have licenses granted for the transporting ouer of fuch things for no cause?

Amphil. Yes. But first I would have our owne people served, that they wante not in any cafe. For it is very vnmeete to feede We ought to feed forren nations, and our owne country famish at home. But if it were fo, that Dnalgne flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatfoeuer are necessarie for the vse and fustentation of man in this Then we may life, and other nations (prouided that they bee our freendes 1 and of christian religion) wanted the same then would I wishe that some of [1 Sig. D. 6, back] our fuperfluitie might be erogate to them, to the fupplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

our own folk first.

export our sur-plus to friendly

Theod. These are marueilous sleights to get mony withall. I pray you, haue they no more?

Amphil. They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to faile, Merchants use they have their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures too. measures, and what not, to deceive the poore people withall, and to rake in mony. But the Wife man telleth them, that false ballances, counterfet weightes, and vntrue measures, are abomination to the Lord. And the Apostle telleth them, that God is the iust reuenger of all those that deceive their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the fale of their wares, to fweare, to teare, and proteft, And they swear that 'before God, before Iefus Chrift, as God shall saue my soule, as that their wares God shall iudge me, as the Lord liueth, as God receiue me, as God helpe me, by God and by the world, by my faith and troth, by Iefus loudly. Chrift,' and infinite the like othes, that fuch a thing coft them fo much, & fo much, and it is woorth 2 this much and that much, when [2 Sig. D. 7] in truth they fweare as falfe, as the liuing Lord is true, as their owne consciences can beare them witnesse, and I feare me will condemne them at the day of the Lord, if they repent not. For if a thinge cost them ten shillings, they will not blush to aske twentie shillings They'll not blush for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske what cost 'em forty shillings for it, and so of all others, doubling, tripling, and quadrupling the price thereof, without either feare of God, or regard of good conscience.

false weights and

by all that's holy cost so much, and are worth so much, lying

ros. ! having no fear of God.

Theod. What fay you of the Drapers and cloth fellers? liue they in the fame order that the other doe?

And the Drapers are as bad.

They rack and stretch their cloth, so that it won't keep out rain.

[1 Sig. D. 7, back] They have dark shops, to take buyers in.

They charge 100 per cent. profit, and swear the goods cost em all the money.

They use bad wool; get the Fuller to thicken it, and the Clothier to shear it low; then they sell it for fine cloth.

[ Sig. D. 8]

They stretch it too.

Our Goldsmiths

Amphil. Of Drapers I haue little to fay, fauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they have bought their cloth, they cause it to be tentered, racked, and so drawne out, as it shall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almost by halfe in halfe, or at lest by a good large sife Now the cloth being thus ftretched forth in euery vaine, how is it possible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and shrinketh in, that it is shame to see it. Then have they their shops and places where they 1 fell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpose to deceiue the buiers. But Caucat emptor (as the old faieng is) Let the buiers take heed. For Technas machinant, & retia tendant pedibus, as the faieng is: 'They meane deceit, and lay fnares to intrap the feet of the fimple.' And yet notwithstanding, they will be sure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it cost them. And will not sticke to fweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it cost them so much, and that they doe you no wrong. God give them grace to haue an eie to their consciences, and to content themselues with reasonable gaines.

Theod. I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the first The Clothmakers makers of the cloth, for the naughtinesse thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

Amphil. No doubt of that. For fome put in naughty wool, and cause it to be spun & drawne into a very small thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very much, and with the Clothier also to sheare it very lowe, and with some liquide matter to lay downe the wooll fo close, as you can hardly see any wale, and then felleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other fome mixe good 2 wooll and naughty wooll togither, and vfing it as before, they will fell it for principall good cloth, when it is no thing leffe. And then for their further aduantage, euery vaine, euery ioint, and euery thred must be so tentered and racked, as I warrant it for euer being good after. Now, it being thus tentered at his hands, and after at the Drapers handes, I pray you how should this cloth be ought, or endure long?

Theod. Be there Goldsmithes there any store also, as in some other countries there be?

Amphil. There are inow, and more than a good meanie. They are (for the most part) very rich and wealthye, or else they turne the arevery rich, and fairest fide outwards, as many doe in Dnalgne. They have their shops and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, filuer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any monster or antike whatfoeuer, of golde, filuer, or what you will. They haue ftore of all kinde of plate whatfoeuer. But what? Is there no deceit in all thefe goodlye shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, befides that you shall paye almost halfe in halfe more than it is woorth (for they will perfuade 1 2 you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashion to so much, and I cannot tell what:) you shall also perhaps have that golde which is naught, or elfe at least mixt with other droffie rubbage, and refuse mettall, which in comparison is good for nothing. And sometimes, or for the most part, you shal have tinne, lead, and the like, mixt with filuer. And againe, in fome things fome will not flicke to fell you filuer gilt for gold, and well if no worse too now and then. But this happeneth very feldome, by reason of good orders, and constitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of deceit, and therfore they feldome dare offend therein, though now and then they chance to flumble in the darke.

have shops and stalls loaded with

gold and silver ornaments.

[1 usade orig.] [2 Sig. D 8, back] Goldsmiths mix gold with base alloy; and some sell silver-gilt

Theod. Haue you good wines in Dnalgne?

Amphil. Indeede there are excellent wines as any be in the world, yet not made within the Realme, but comming from beyond feas: which when the vintners have once got into their clouches, and placed in their fellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshead almost vintners mix two, or at left, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with good; another, & infufing other liquor into them. So that it is almost vnpoffible, to get a cup of pure wine of it felfe at the tauerne. But harshe, rough, stipticke, and hard 3 wine, neither pleasant to the mouth, [3 Sig. E 1] nor wholfome to the bodie. And notwithstanding that they gaine (welneare) one hogshead in another, yet shall their measures, their gallons, pints, and quarts be so spare, and their prices so hie, that it is give short woonderful to fee. And if a poore fimple man go to drinke a pint palm off bad of wine for the strengthening of his bodie, and for necessities fake men. onely, he shall be fure to have that wine brought him, that is too bad, though his monie (I am fure) is as good as the rich mans. But

bad wine with

#### Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits. 26

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & nicenesse, he shall have of the best wine in the seller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abuses, which I omit.

Theod. Haue you anything to fay of Butchers, and those that kill and fel meate to eate?

abuses, fallacies, and deceits. For whereas they pay a certeine price

for a fat beefe, they are so impudent that they thinke their market is naught, except they may gaine halfe in halfe, or the best quarter at

the leaft. And to the end their meate may be more faleable to the

eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beafts, and suffer the

bloud to remaine within them still, for this cause that 1 it may incorporate it felfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in fome places they buy all by waight) but also may feeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vie to blowe and puffe it vp with

winde, to the end it may feeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie.

Or if the meate it felfe be leane, and naught, then will they take the fat of other meate, and pin vpon the same very artificially, and all to delude the eies of the beholders. And though it be neuer fo old meate, tough, and stale, yet will they sweare, protest, and take on woonderfully, that it is very new, fresh and tender. So that no more in them than in others, there is little conscience at all. There be

fome of them also now and then that will not sticke to sell meate

which hath died (perchance) in a ditch, if it be worth the eating (which is most lamentable), and yet wil beare the world in hand that it is excellent meate, that it died kindly, and fo foorth. So that hereby infinite difeases are caught, and manie times present death

Amphil. Nothing but this: that they are not behind in their

Butchers are impudent enough to try and make 100 per cent profit!

Butchers let the blood soak into their meat.

[1 Sig. E 1, back]

meat up with on it.

has died in a

[2 for for, orig.]

[3 Sig. E 2] Meat is dear.

Theod. Is meate deere or good cheape there for 2 the most part ?

infueth to the eaters thereof.

Greedy grasiers keep up the price of beasts.

Amphil. It is commonly deere, feldom good 3cheape, and the reason is, bicause a fort of infaciable cormorants, greedie grafiers I meane, who, having raked togither infinite pasture, feed all themfelues, and will not fell for anie reafonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needes fell deere, when as they buie deere.

They puff lean air, and pin fat

Some 'll also sell meat that ditch.

# 11. 1. Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks. 27

Theod. Why? would you have no grafiers? then how coulde there bee anie meate fatted?

Amphil. Yes I would have grafiers. But I would not have a few A few rich cobs rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, so as the poore can have no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely excessively deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to paffe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, fo greatly are the poore hereby inthralled, that they can hardly get a and stop poor folk keeping a peece of ground to keepe fo much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore samilies. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as Rich men eat beafts eate vp graffe.

get whole counties into their hands,

up poor ones as beasts do grass.

Theod. Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclosures (as your words feeme to implie) for their better feeding?

1 Amphil. Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was [1 Sig. E 2, back]

any commons, heathes, moores, plaines, or free places of feeding for the poore and others, euen all in generall, now you shall haue all feuerall, inclosed, and appropriate to a few greedy gentlemen, who The gentry enclose the poor will neuer haue inough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their folk's commons, bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were woont to be the onely staie of the poore, & whervpon eche might keepe cattle, both neate and sheepe, according to his estate, are now taken from them, wherby manie are constrained either to famish, or else and make em to beg their breade from doore to doore. So that in proces of time, if these inclosures be suffered to continue, the state of the whole Realme will mightily decay, a few shall be inriched, & many a thousand poore people, both men, women, and children, in citie and country, vtterlie beggered. Oh it was a goodlie matter, when the poore man A good time it might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to was when a poor man could keep the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the fame, both winter common! & fommer, freely without coffing them ought; whereas now they are inclosed, made seueral, and imploied to the private commoditie of a few ambicious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe fo

a cow on the

much as a pig or a goofe vpon 2 the fame. Theod. It is great pittie that fuch oppression of the poore should be borne withall or fuffered in any of what degree foeuer.

Now he can't keep a goose. [2 Sig. E 3]

#### II. I. Sheep turn-out Men. Wool-sellers' Tricks. 28

Then vain rich men pull down villages to make parks and warrens;

and their conies eat up poor men's corn.

Parks must not be made out of poor men's livelihoods.

[2 read Too]

Commons are inclosd; and in-stead of a village you've only a shepherd and a dog.

Some grasiers keep from 500 to 20,000 (?) sheep.

[3 Sig. E 4] They cheat in selling their wool, mixing bad with good;

Amphil. It is fo. But what than? You shall have some that, not for the benefit of grafing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and inclosures, but also some that for vaineglorie, worldly pompe, promotion & foolith pleasure, will not sticke to pull downe whole townes, fubuert whole parishes, and turning foorth all a begging, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chases, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the same. And when they have thus done, their bucks, their does, their stags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not fead intra gyrum suum, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, graffe and all. So that it is hard if any poore mans corne scape their fangs within a dozen myles compasse, which is a pitifull and a lamentable case.

Theod. Would you not have parkes, and chases for game?

Amphil. I disalow them not. But I would not have them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to stand to the prejudice of [1 Sig. E 3, back] the whole country adioining. Therefore if they 1 will have parkes and chases, First let them see that they be of their owne proper lande, and then that they be no annoiance to the country about, and then let them haue them, in the name of God.

Theod. Be there any grafiers of sheep there also?

Amphil. Two2 manie, if it pleafed God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer fo little) title to any common, heath, moore or pasture, he will haue it, quo iure, quaue iniuria, Either by hooke or crooke. And wheras before time there hath bin a whole parish or towne maintained vpon the same, now is there no bodie there dwelling, but a fheepeheard and a dogge lolling vnder a bush. Thus are whole parishes and townes made praies to rich grafiers. Yea, you shall have some grafiers to keepe five hundred, a thousand, fiue thousand, ten thousand, twentie thousand sheepe of his owne at one time: now judge you what infinite commodities ariseth hereof. Besides that, when they sell their wooll (as though they gayned not inough otherwise), it is a worlde to see what fubtilties, (I will not faie what falfities), they vie in the fale thereof. As first to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wooll 3 togither, to winde it vppe cloofelie that it shall not be seene within. And which is more, because they fell all by waight, they will not sticke to vse finister meanes to make it pease well in waight. Some lay it, after it

### II. I. Landlords rack Tenants. Incoming Fines. 29

is clipped from the sheepes backe, in a moyft feller, vnderneath the grounde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the wetting it feller may inftill into it, and fo may peafe the more. Othersome will cast wette salt into it, which in time will liquisie, and cause it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked fleights and legerdimeanes, whereof, for that I would rather give them a tafte in hope of amendment, then a plaine description for feare of displeasing them, at this time I will omit to speake any more till further occasion be offered.

putting salt into

Theod. Is the lande there possessed in common, or else is their propertie in all things, and fo confequently landlords?

Amphil. There is not onelie a propertie in lands there, but also in all things elfe, and fo landlords inow more than be good ones iwis.

Landlords

Theod. Doe they let out their lands, their farmes, and tenements, fo as the poore tenants may liue well vpon them?

most true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a leafe to let: first he causeth a surueior to make strict inquirie what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere; which being found valued, and not only rack the out, and fignified to the owner, he racketh it, straineth it, and as it were fo fetteth it on the tenter hookes, ftretching euery vaine, and ioint thereof, as no poore man can liue of it. And yet if he might haue it freely for this racked rent too, it were fomewhat well. But (out alas, and fie for shame) that cannot be. For though he pay but make the neuer fo great an annuall rent, yet must be pay at his entrance a fine, as an Incoming, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threefcore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchase thereof is hardly woorth so much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing togither, is forced to disburse it at the first dash, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceffiue fine, and the vnreafonable so that he's rent, he is fcarfe able to buy his dog alofe, liuing like a begger, or left to buy his little better, all his life after. The time hath beene, and not long fince, when men feared God & loued their brethren, that one might haue had a house, with pasture 2 lieng to it, yea good farmes, leases and [2 Sig. E 5] liuings for little or nothing. Or (as fome hold) for a Gods penie, as

they called it. But howfoeuer it be, certeine it is, that that farme or

<sup>1</sup> Amphil. Oh no. Nothing leffe. But rather the contrarie is [1 Sig. E 4, back]

get their farms rent higher,

tenant pay a fine

hardly enough dog a loaf.

## 30 II. I. Landlords should not grind their Tenants.

Rents have risen twentyfold of late years.

lease, which one might have had then for ten shillings, is now woorth ten pound. For twentie shillings, now is woorth twentie or three-score pound. For fortie shillings, is now woorth fortie pound, or a hundred pound and more.

Theod. Then I perceiue, they let not out their land after the old rent: doe they?

Amphil. No. You may be fure of that, they loue nothing worse. They cannot at any hand brooke or digest them that would counsel them to that.

Theod. Why? Haue not landlords authoritie, and may they not make as much of their owne lands as they can? They count that good policie, and I haue heard them fay: Is it not lawfull for me to liue vpon mine owne, and to get as much for it as I can?

Landlords should think that they've only the use of the land; and so they ought to give the poor a chance of living by it. [1 Sig. E 5, back]

Amphil. They must first consider that the earth is the Lords (as the Pfalmograph faith: Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius, The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof) and all that dwelleth therein. And therefore being the Lords in propertie, it is theirs but in vie onely. And yet not fo. But that they lought to lay it foorth to the fupport of the poore, that all may liue iointly togither, & maintaine ye state of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wife, if a few rich cobs shuld have al, & the poore none, it shuld come to passe, that the state of the common wealth would soone decay, & come to confusion. They ought also to consider how they came by their lands, whether by right or wrong. If by right, then are they bound by Gods lawe, and good confcience, to let forth the fame fo as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they posses them wrongfully, then ought they to furrender their tytle, and give it to the right heire: but take them with that fault, & cut of their necks: No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reason requireth, being sure that the same measure which he measureth to others, shal be measured to him againe. Euery one must so deale with his owne, so let it out, & so liue, as others may liue by him, and not himself alone, for the earth is comon to al Adams children; & though fortune haue given more abundance to fome than to other fome, yet dame nature hath brought foorth al alike, & will receive them againe into hir wombe alike alfo. And therefore ought euerie christian to doe to others, as they would wish to

No man ought to plunder his fellow-man,

but do to him as he'd be done by. be done to: which 1 lawe, if it were observed well, would cut of all [ Sig. E 6] oppression whatsoeuer.

Theod. I pray you, how came noble men and gentlemen by their lands at the first?

Amphil. Cicero faith that in the beginning, before the world was impeopled, men comming into huge & wast places inhabitable, either toke to themselues as much land as they would, or else wan it by ye fword, bought it by purchase, had it by gift, or else received it from their forefathers, by lineal discent, or hereditary possession. Which faieng of his must needes be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs also. Then seeing this is so, ought not every good christian to set forth his lande, so as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himselfe: whosoeuer doth not this, eschewing al kind of rents. exaction, polling, pilling & flauing of his poore tenants, he is no perfect member of Christ, nor doth not as he would be done by.

Christian landlords are bound to let their land at moderate

Theod. You talked before of fines, and incomes: what if a poore man be not able to paye them, what then?

Amphil. Then may he go fue ye goofe, for house gets he none, ye deuill shal haue it before him, if he will give him mony inough: no, if ye fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer fo gret) he shall haue a fig, affone as a house. If y't a poore man haue got neuer fo litle a flock to liue vpon and to 2 maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet shall he be constrained to fell the same, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, fo that during ye whole terme of his life, he shall hardly recouer the same againe. And then his lease being expired, out of doores goes he, for that he is and at the end not able to pay as great a fine or greater than before. Thus are out they go. many a one, with their wives, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miserie.

[2 Sig. E 6, back] Poor men have to sell all their stock to pay Fines to Landlords;

of their lease,

Theod. I thought one might have had a farme or a leafe for a reasonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paieng.

Amphil. One would thinke fo. For, paieng as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it felfe: I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receive fuch fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himselfe, I thinke, will not be so straite laced, nor yet so The Devil himnigard to his feruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas niggardly as they will not let out a farme or a lease for one and twentie yeeres

some Landlords.

[1 Sig. E 7]

Some cheat their tenants out of the first year or two's rent when paid in advance.

Landlords force tenants to renew their Leases at heavy fines,

and make 'em forfeit their Leases too.

Leases and Conveyances are also terribly long, and contain so many provisoes that a poor man can hardly keep em all.

without a great fine, the deuill will give them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paieng nothing for the same. And yet notwith1standing all this. There are fome landlords, (nay lewdlords) that having racked their rents to the vttermost, exacted fines, & made all that euer they can of their farmes, will yet proceede further, and as men neuer content with inough, will have their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promifing them (before they have it) that they shall pay no more rent yeerelie, till the same be runne vp. But when they haue it, they pay their yeerely rent notwithstanding, and neuer receive any restitution for the other. And at euerie change forfooth they must take newe leases, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leafes before are infufficient, and of no effect. And fometimes foure or fiue yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former leafe be expired, shall they be constrained to renue their leafes, and difburse great somes, or else haue their houses taken ouer their heads. Befides, as though these pollages and pillages were not ill enough, if their leases be not warely and circumspectly made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe observed), they will finde such meanes (or else it shal go verie hard) that the poore man shall forfait his leafe, before his leafe be expired: which thing if it happen, out [2 Sig. E 7, back] goes the poore man, 2 come on it what will.

> Theod. Are the inftruments, the writings, & conuciances in that land fo intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for fo I gather by your words?

> Amphil. Yea, truly. For whereas in times past when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, fixe or feuen lines was fufficient for the affurance of any peece of land whatfoeuer, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole skin of parchment, and sometimes 2. or 3. skins will hardly ferue. Wherin shalbe so many prouisoes, particles, & clauses, & so many observances, that it is hard for a poore ignorant man to keep halfe of them: and if he fail in one of the left, you knowe what followeth. In former time a mans bare word was fufficient, now no inftrument, band, nor obligation can be fure inough. Fy vpon vs! what shal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet fpeaketh, faieng: There is no faith, there is no truth nor righteoufnes left vpon the earth. God be mercifull vnto vs!

#### II. I. Landlords the cause of Dearness. Tailors. 33

Theod. Seing that farms and leafes are fo deere, I am perfuaded that euerie thing else is deere also: is it not so?

Amphil. Yea truly it cannot be chosen. And yet it is strange, that in abundance of althings there shuld be dearth of all things, as there is.

Theod. Who is it long of, can you tell?

1 Amphil. Truly of the landlords onlie in my fimple iudgment: [1 Sig. E 8] for whenas they inhance the rents, & fet their fines on tenter as they do, how should the poore man do? Must he not sel al his things a great deale the deerer? Else how shuld he either saue himfelfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie: fo that these greedy landlords are the very causers of al the derth in Dnalgne; for truly Landlords are they are worse than the caterpillers & locusts of Egypt, for they yet left fome thing vndeuoured, these nothing; they spoiled but for a time, these for euer: those by commandement from God, these by commission from the diuel.

or high prices.

worse than the Locusts of Egypt.

Theod. How, I pray you, doe these iollie fellowes spend these wicked gotten goods?

Amphil. I shame to thinke, & I blush to tell you how. For, for the most part, they spend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennise plaieng, in rioting, feafting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercifes. And not onlie vpon these things do they spend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but also in pride their Summum gaudium, & vpon their danfing minions, that minf it ful gingerlie, God wot, tripping like gotes, that an egge would not brek vnder their feet. But herof inough, & more than perchance wil plefe their deinty humors.

They spend their ill-gotten gains in rioting, prophanities, and

Theod. Do they exceed in pride of apparel, or are they very temperate, & fober minded people?

<sup>2</sup>Amphil. They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the [2 Sig. E 8, back] world in the excesse of apparell, but are farre woorser, if woorser can be. For the taylers doe nothing elfe but inuent new fashions, difguifed shapes, and monstrous formes of apparell euery day. Yea every day, furely I thinke they studie more in one day for the invention of new toies, and ftrange deuises in apparell, than they doe in seauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

Tailors invent new fashions

Theod. Me thinke then by your reasons it seemeth, that Tailors SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, II.

#### II. I. Tricks of Tailors. Cheating Drapers. 34

and are the causers of all the monstrous English dress.

are the causers of all that monstrous kind of attire worne in Dnalgne, and so consequently are guiltie of all the euill committed by the same.

[ Sig. F 1] Tailors ask one fourth too much cloth, and more lace, for a coat.

And they charge too high for making it.

league with the Draper, to cheat their customers.

Amphil. You fay very truly. For Mali alicuius author, ipfius mali, & malorum omnium, quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo, The author of any euill, is not onely giltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would wish them to beware, and not Communicare alienis peccatis, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be fure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp finne vpon finne. For if a man laske them how much cloth, veluet, or silke wil make a cote, a dublet, a cloke, a gowne, hofen, or the like, they must needs haue fo much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themfelues. So play they with the lace also: for if tenne yards would ferue, they must have twentie; if twentie would serue, they must have fortie; if fortie woulde ferue, they must have sixtie; if sixtie would ferue, they must an hundred, and so forward. Besides that, it must be so drawne out, stretched, and pulled in in the sowing, as they get the best quarter of it that way too. Then must there as much go for the making, as halfe the garment is woorth. Befides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to defire them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will ftraightway conduct them to their feer, and whatfoeuer price hee fetteth of the cloth, they perfuade the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing fo, nor fo. And thus they betwixt them divide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receives his wages for his faithfull feruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue [2 Sig. F 1, back] it very faire to the eie (therfore it is true: Omne quod gliscit non 2est aurum, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or elfe stretched & drawne out vpon the tenter, fo as if they once come to wetting, they shrinke almost halfe in halfe, so as it is a shame to see them. Therefore I aduise euery one to see to his garments himselfe, and according to the old prouerbe: Sit oculus ipsi coquus, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare left he be ferued of the fame fauce, as manie haue beene to their great hinderance.

# II. I. Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs. 35

Theod. I have heard it faide that they vie great ruffes in Dnalgne: As to Ruffs, do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can fee, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vie them bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad, 'ud be ashamd to put on. now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and fuch as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare fay, they have their flarching houses made of purpose, to that vie and end only, the better to Houses for trimme and dreffe their ruffes to pleafe the diuels eies withall.

men wear bigger ones than ever, such as the Devil himself

They have

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that passes 1 of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing [1 Sig. F 2] in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

Amphil. No, nothing elfe, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are confecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus, archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim and Trimming them, and to trick them, as well as to flarch them in?

Amphil. Yea, marry haue they, for either the fame ftarching houses (I had almost faid farting houses) do serue the turn, or else they have their other chambers and fecret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp thefe cartwheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the the Devil's direct way to the dungeon of hell.

for these Cartwheels of

Amphil. What tooles and inftruments have they to fet their ruffes withall. For I am perfuaded they cannot fet them artificially inough without fome kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might fet forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith fir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with fuch diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wift it, they have their tooles and inftruments for the purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Theod. Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse kept as bright as filuer, yea, and some of filuer it felfe; and it is well,

[ Sig. F 2, back] They've metal Tools too.

### 36 II. I. Putters and Setting-Sticks. Bad Leather.

if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water

withall; and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, for sooth the deuill

hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare

fay. They have also another instrument called a fetting sticke, either

of wood or bone, and fometimes of gold and filuer, made forked wife

at both ends, and with this (Si diis placet) they fet their ruffes. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full persection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here

like a Squirt or Squib,

calld Putters or Putting-Sticks. Setting-Sticks they have too, for their cursed Ruffs.

more.

Theod. What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and wel tanned, or but indifferently? I have heard fome complaine of it.

Some Leather is only half

tand,

and won't keep out water.

<sup>1</sup>Amphil. There is of both forts, as of all things elfe; but as there is fome naught (I can not denie) fo is there otherfome as good as any is vnder the funne. And yet I must needes confesse, there is great abuse in the tanners, makers, curriers, and dressers of the same: for you shall have some leather scarcely halfe tanned, so that within two or three daies or a week wearing (especially if it come in any weat) wil ftraight-way become browne as a hare backe, and which is more, fleete and run abroad like a dishclout, and which is most of all, will holde out no water, or very little. And the faieng is (Erubefco dicere, I shame to speake it) that to the ende they may saue lyme and barke, and make the speedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make fale of them. And as herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, fo in the furprifing of their hides, they are worthie of reprehension. For that which they buy for ten shillings, they will hardly sell for twentie shillings; that which they buy for twentie shillings they will not willingly sell for fortie shillings. And thus by this meanes, they make shooes unreafonable deere.

Theod. Then the fault is not in the shoomakers onely, that shooes be so deere?

<sup>2</sup>Amphil. There is fault inough in them also. For whereas the

[1 Sig. F 3]

[2 Sig. F 3, back]

others inhanse the price of their hides excessively, these selowes racke it very vnconcionably. And yet if the shoes were good, though Shoemakers deere, it were fomwhat tollerable; but when they shall be both naught, and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you afke the shoomakers in whom the fault doth confift, they will answere you ftrait, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault in the tanner, fo there is more, or as much in the shoomaker. For first of all the shoomaker liquoreth his leather, with waterish liquor, kit-liquor their then stuffe, and all kinde of baggage mingled togither. And as though that were not ill inough, they faie they vie to put falt in the liquor, wherewithall they greafe the leather of purpose, to the ende and salt that the leather shal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie won't keep out likelie they doe fo, or fome fuch like thing, for furelie almost none of their leather will holde out water, nor fcarfelie durt neither. Befides this, it is a worlde to fee how lowfely they shall be fowed, with hotte alles, and burning threedes, euerie stitch an inch or two from another, They sow with fo as with-in two or three daies you shall have them seamerent and all rotten thread too betorne. And yet as though this were not 1 ill inoughe, they adde [1 Sig. F 4] more. Sometimes they will fell you calues leather for cow leather, horse hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten sheepe skins for They sell you good fubstantial & dureable stuffe. And yet shall a man pay for ox-hide, these as well as for better stuffe. And to the ende they may seeme gaudie to the eie, they must be stitched finelie, pincked, cutte, karued, rased, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reason, for else would they neuer be fold. The inwarde foole of the shooe commonlie and use cat-skin shall be no better than a cattes skinne, the heeles of the shooes shall be little better. And if the fooles be naught (as they be indeede yet must they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make them feeme thicke and excellent fluffe, whereas indeede they are nothing leffe. And to make the fooles stiffe, and harde, they must be parched before the fire, and then they are most excellent fooles, And They parch the fuch as will neuer be worne, no, I thinke not in halfe a coopple of daies, which is a woonderfull thing. Oh, farewell former worlde, for I have hearde my Father faie, and I thinke it most certeinely true, that a paire of shooes in those daies woulde haue kept a man as out, and last a drie as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe, 2 yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very last day, and would haue [2 Sig. F 4, back]

for inside soles.

Why, in my Father's days, a pair of shoes 'ud keep the wet

II. I. Of Brokery. Rascally Brokers of clothes, etc. 38

Now, they'll hardly last a month.

ferued a man almost a whole yeere togither, with a little repairing. But now fiue or fixe paire, halfe a fcore, yea, twentie paire of shooes will fcarfely ferue fome a yeere, fuch excellent ftuffe are they made of. But let all shooemakers, tanners, and the rest, take heed, for at the day of iudgement they shal render accounts for this their doing. And here-of hitherto.

Theod. Be there any Brokers, or fuch kind of fellowes in your country ?

Amphil. If it be a thing that is good, it is a doubt whether it be there, or no, but if it bee naught (as brokerie is) then past peraduenture it is there.

Brokers are

Theod. What maner of fellowes are those Brokers, for truly their profession, and the vse thereof, is vnknowne to me, saue onely that I haue heard of fome of their dealings?

Amphil. Seeing that you are ignorant of this goodly mysterie, and

high profession of brokerie, and also so desirous to knowe the truth of them, I will in few words (as briefly as I can) declare vnto you the fubstance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellowes forfooth, and fuch as in the beginning of their occupation, have either iust nothing,

or else very little 1 at all, who, when they have attempted, and affaied by all kind of meanes and waies to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thriue, or which is leffe, not fo much as maintaine their poore eftate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into

acquaintance with loofe, diffolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fifh that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and ftealing, and of thefe they

And thus by this meanes in processe of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great fubftance and

buy for little or nothing, whatfoeuer they shal have filched from any.

wealth.

Theod. Will they buy any thing whatfoeuer commeth to hand?

Amphil. Yea, all things indifferently without any exception. All is good fish with them that comes to net. They will refuse nothing, whatfoeuer it be, nor whom-foeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspitious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath beene purloined by finister meanes from some one or other. And can you

for half its value: blame them For why? They have it for halfe it is woorth.

jolly fellows

[1 Sig. F 5] who, not being able to live by anything else,

make friends with thieves. and buy every-thing these steal,

Amphil. What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and fell?

Amphil. I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they [Sig. F 5, back] buy remnants of filks, veluets, fatins, damasks, grograins, taffeties. lafe, either of filke, gold, filuer, or any thing elfe that is worth ought goods chiefly. Otherfome buy cloakes, hofen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, flockings, & the like. And these goodly marchandize, as they have them good cheape, fo they will fel them againe to their no fmall gaines.

Theod. If this be true, that they will receive all, and buy al that comes to hand, than it must needes be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steale whatsoeuer they can lay their hands vpon, feing they may have fuch good vent for ye fame. Is it not?

Amphil. You say very true. And therefore I am perswaded that this duughill trade of brokerie newly fprong vp, & coined in the deuils minting house, the shoppe of all mischiefe, hath made many a theefe more than euer would haue bin, & hath brought many a one to a shamefull end at Tiburne, & else where. Yea, I have hard prisoners (and not any almost but they fing the same fong) when they have gone to execution, declaime & crie out against brookers. For, faid they, 'if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not have received our stollen goods, we woulde neuer 2 haue stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we [2 Sig. F 6] had not bin hanged.'

This dunghill Brokery's made many thieves, and brought many a man to

Theod. Then it feemeth by your reasons, that brokers are in effect Brokers ought accessary to the goods feloniouslie stolen, & are worthie of the same punishment that the others that stale them are worthy of?

to be hung with Thieves.

Amphil. They are fo, if before they buy them they know precifely that they are stolen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to Brokers' willingperseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buieng of their wares doth argue that they doe. This maketh many a tailer to aske more cloth, more filk, veluet, & lace, than he nedeth, & all to the makes Tailors cheat, and ende the broker may have his share; for, be they never so litle scraps or threds or thort ends of lace, or final peces of veluet, fatan, filk or ye like, the broker will give mony for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many servants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters, servants pilfer.

Brokers are seedbeds of villainy. fome a yard or two of veluet, fatin, taffety, lace, filk, & what not, fome hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & fome one thing, fome another: this hindereth the merchant man, is difcomodious to ye tailer, & beneficial vnto none, but to themselues: & therfore, as they be the seminaries of wickednes, so I besech God, they may be supplanted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[1 Sig. F 6, back]

<sup>1</sup> Theod. What woulde you have them to do, that they may exercife their trade, with good confcience, both before God, and the world?

Amphil. I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would

To deal honestly, Brokers should buy only goods honestly comeby, doe, they might vie their trade in the feare of GOD, both with good conscience before the Lord, with honestie before the world, and finallie to the lesse detriment of the common wealth. First, let them be sure, that the goods which they buy be truely and justly come by of the sellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceived, Let them examine the matter strictly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion

and should find out the owners themselves.

the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good confcience buy it, let them give reason for it, else not. And if euerie brooker would deale thus, their would not so many false knaues bring

them fuch lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their

not to buy it, vntill they have gone themselves to the right owners of

trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

[2 Sig. F 7]

Theod. You faide before (except I be deceived) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the fame is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so <sup>2</sup> feloniously stollen, & so are worthie of the same punishment, that the principals are woorthie of. I pray you, what punishment is inflicted vpon accessaries in Dnalgne.

Brokers get out of the claws of Justice. Amphil. Acceffaries are punishable by the lawes of Dnalgne with the same punishment that the principals are to be punished withall (for so the lawe standeth); but in the execution thereof, we see the cleane contrarie practised. For when as a theese, or a sellon stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiver, who, though he knowe it to be stolen, yet with alacritic admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himselfe accessorie, and guiltie of the selonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peraduenture) hanged vp, the other that

is the accefforie is not once spoken of, nor none can saie 'blacke is his eie.' But howfoeuer it be, I cannot be otherwife perfuaded, but that the receivers and acceffories are a great deale more woorthie of death But Receivers (by the penall lawes) than he who ftealeth the thing it felfe, whatfoeuer it be. Bicause if they had [not] any to receive their stolen goods, tempt. they would not fteale at all. And therefore are the receivers (in my fimple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if 1they know before they receive it, that it is ftolen) then they that [1 Sig. F 7, back] commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill comitted, they are to be punished rather than the perpetrators of the fact it selfe. But for want of due punishment to be executed as well vppon the Against these, one as vppon the other, we fee greeuous crimes, and flagicious facts without all remorfe, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes put in force. there are, both for the repressing of these, and al other enormities whatfoeuer, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the cause why all wickednes and mischiefe dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleafure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Theod. What hospitalitie is there kept, or reliefe for the poore?

Amphil. Very fmal. For as for the poore tenants and commons, As to Hospithey are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to give any thing can't afford it, to the poore, their rents are so raifed, & their fines fo inhanfed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am persuaded) more releese to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their tho in fact they dores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, more than the & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the 2rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe fumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the pore hath the left part thereof, or rather iust nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut against them, few scraps. where they, flanding3 frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatsoeuer, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea fometimes halfe a day, and then shal they have but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they have anything too; in fteed whereof they are fometimes fent to prison, clapt in irons, manicled, stocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

3 ?=suffering, putting up with ; or is 'in' left out ?

deserve hanging more than the Thieves they

and like evils, we have good Laws, but they're not

tality, the poor

help other poor rich do.

[2 Sig. F 8] Gentlemen keep grand houses, but make poor folk stand for hours in the cold for a

Of Beggers

Theod. Then it seemeth that the poore are simplie prouided for?

Amphil. They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would have all kind of beggers indifferently without any exception to be fed and nourished vpon the sweat of other mens browes.

Theod. Doe you make a difference of beggers then? Are there two forts of them?

we have two kinds, the Strong, (who won't work;

[1 Sig. F 8, back]

Drones, who ought to be put in prison till they do work;)

and the old, sick, and diseasd.

The Sturdy Beggars who can work, and won't,

I'd just hang.

[2 Sig. G 1]

The aged and sick ones I'd have kept in their own parish, and rate richer parishes for em. Amphil. Yea, there are two forts. One fort is of ftout, ftrong, luftie, couragious, and valiant beggers, which are able to worke, and will not. These at no hand are not to be relieued (for qui non operatur non manducet, <sup>1</sup> saith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to liue vpon other mens labours. For he that releeueth these, maintaineth them in their idlenesse, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that liue vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweat of their faces. If such fellowes as these will not worke, but liue vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other fort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, sore, or diseased: these I would wish should be looked vnto: and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releeue.

Theod. What order would you have observed in these respects?

Amphil. The former fort of sturdie valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to have any releefe given them. And if they would not work, to punish them; if that will not serve, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a proviso, that being content to worke, they might have maisters provided them, with reasonable wages, for many would faine 2worke, and can get none; and than if they will not worke, to Tiburne with them. The other fort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepite, blind, sicke, sore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I woulde wish that they should be maintained, everie one in his owne parish, at the costs and charges of the same. And if the parish be not able to maintain so manie, then that there should be collections & contributions made in other parishes to supplie their want, and so the former poore people

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and constitution, there are infinite of the foresaid persons that die, some in ditches, fome in holes, fome in caues and dens, fome in fields, fome in one place, fome in another, rather like dogs than christian people. For notwithstanding that they be neuer fo impotent, blind, lame, fick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to feeke their releefe at euery mans doore, except they wil sterue or famish at home, such unmercifulnes is in Dnalgne. Yea, in fuch troups doe they flocke, and in fuch fwarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you shall see numbers of them at You see poor euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity inough 1 they drive them from citie to citie, from parish to parish, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, town like flocks from shire to shire, and from country to country, like flocks of sheepe. [1 Sig. G 1, back] Here they dare not tarrie for this Iuftice, nor there for that Iuftice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a pafport, wheras a man woulde thinke their old age, their hoare haires, their blindnesse, lamenesse, and other infirmities, shoulde bee pasports good inough for them to go abrod withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that every parish should maintaine their poore, were taken, then should they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwise want their daily releefe.

Now, many die in the fields like dogs.

They get no relief except by wandering about and begging.

aged and sick Beggars at every door; and they're driven from town to of sheep.

Theod. Are there no hospitals, spittles, lazar houses, almes houses, nor the like, for the releefe of these poore people?

Not a hundredth part can be relievd in our Hospitals.

Amphil. Yes there are some such in cities, townes, and some other places, wherein manie poore are releeued, but not the hundred part of those that want. For the supplie wherof would God there might be We want an in euerie parish an almes house erected, that the poore (such as are every Parish, poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieued. For vntill the true poore indeed be better prouided for, let them neuer thinke to please God. Is it not great pity when a man can passe 2no waie [2 Sig. G 2] almost neither citie nor country, but shall have both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, ficke, fore, & difeafed, hanging vpon his fleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were established, then should none at al need to go abroad, but al shuld have sufficient and then the poor at home. The reformed churches beyond feas, and euen the French, at home. Duch, & Italian churches in Dnalgne are worthie of great com-

Almshouse in

ud get enough

# 44 II. I. Our Husbandmen are shilful, but rack-rented.

The Reformd Churches abroad and the forin ones here, set us a good example in this. mendations herin, & shal rise vp at the day of iudgment to our condemnation except we repent & amend our vnmercifulnesse towards the poore. These good churches, following the counsel of the almighty who biddeth that there be no begger amongst vs, suffer neuer a one of their countrymen, nor yet any other dweling in their parish, to beg or aske almes without his parish, nor yet in his parish neither; but by mutual contributions and collections maintaine them, & minister to their necessities in all things, Which thing G O D grant the churches of *Dnalgne* may once begin to practise amongst themselves, that God may be glorisied, and the poore members of Christ Iesus releeued and maintained.

Our Husbandmen, or Farmers, are as skilld as any in the world.

[I Sig. G 2, back]

Theod. Be there husbandmen there & such others as manure and till the ground, for the further increase of fruits, to the maintenance of the commonwealth?

"Amphil. There are of fuch indeed good ftore, and as excellent men in that kinde of exercife, as any be vpon the earth. They know exactly, I warrant you, the times and feafons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be fowed, and what ground is beft for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant alfo, howe to culture & dreffe the fame; and it it be barren, what kind of dung is beft to fatten the fame againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie foile, and what corne it will bring. They know alfo when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring foorth good corne, how long not, when it ought to rest, when not, with all things else incident to the same.

Theod. I thinke they have good farmes and tenements, that are able to furnish their ground in this fort, for otherwise they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horses, their servants, and other necessaries, belonging thereto: have they not so?

But many have very poor farms,

and others only houses with no land, [2 Sig. G 3] Amphil. No truely haue they not. For fome haue fuch fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring torth no corne at all (in a manner) or if it doe, verie little, and that not without great cost bestowed vpon it. Othersome haue houses with no lande belonging to 2them at all, and yet notwithstanding shall pay a good round some for the same also. And no marueile, for landlords and gentlemen take all the lands and lyuelode wherevon there poore tenants shoulde liue, into their owne hands, and suffer not the poore husband-

men to haue fo much ground as will finde them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to or hardly enough keepe one cow, horfe, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they have any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndooing for euer. But if landlords would confider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, Landlords are but onely in title, interest and propertie (hauing their fouereigntie, or chieftie thereof) and the poores in vse and possession, and if they would remember that the poore ought to liue vpon the earth as well as they, than would they not-vse fuch tirannie, fuch exactions, fuch pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compassion.

to keep a cow on.

so grasping.

Theod. There being fuch store of husbandmen, and the same so we've lots of expert in their agriculture as your words import they be, it must needes follow, that there is great plentie of corne, and all kinde of other graine, and the fame verie good cheape : is it not fo?

<sup>1</sup>Amphil. There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no [\* Sig. G 3, back] nation vnder the funne like vnto it; but as I told you before, thorowe the infatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne private commoditie, transport over feas whole mountaines of but the corne, it is made fometimes very fcarfe. Other-wife there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you fay it is good cheape, it is nothing leffe2, as euerie daies fuccesse prooueth true.

export of it often makes it scarce.

Theod. How can that be, that there being fuch store of corne, yet Its dearness should be deare also.

comes from

Amphil. I will tell you. It commeth to passe three manner of waies. First, for that landlords racke their rents so extreemely, and 1. Rack-rents, aduance their fines fo vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to fell euerie thing deere, otherwise he should not be able to pay his landlord his due, whereas if he had his fearme good cheape, he might afforde to fell good cheape. The fecond cause is (as I haue said), for 2. Export over seas, that the fame is carried and conneighed ouer Seas. The third caufe is, thorow a forte of ingrators, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and having mo3ney at will, buy vp either all, or the most part, and carieng it into their celles, and garners at home, keepe it till time of the yeere that corne is fcarfe, and fo confequentlie deere.

3. Ingraters or Forestallers buying it up, [3 Sig. G 4] and keeping it till it gets scarce and dear.

2 It's any thing but that. It's dear.

These hellish Ingraters make everything dear. And when there is want of it, then they fell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it deerer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you fee, by this meanes, thefe hellishe ingratours, and forestallers make come and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe judge you what a horrible abuse is this, for one man to buy vppe all things, and that not for anie neede or want in himselfe, but to fell it againe, deerer then they bought it, thereby to inriche himselfe with the impouerishing of many a thousande.

Theod. Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconveniences doe followe it?

against Forestallers, but they invent putoffs to dodge the Law. [I Sig. G 4, back]

We have laws

They buy only for their fami-

lies; they grow all their corn;

they get a man to buy for em, &c.

But these jolly fellows

can't take-in God. He'll expose em. [2 Sig. G 5]

Husbandmen,

Amphil. There be great penalties, and forfaitures ordained, as well for the repressinge of this, as of any other outragious abuse; but they playe with this as with all other good lawes, they inuente quirckes and quiddities, shiftes, and put offes ynough 1 to blinde the eies of the magistrates, and to deliuer themselues (trimly, trimly) from the danger and penaltie of the lawe. For they will fay that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to fell againe. And then when they doe fell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not ferue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and fo to fell it againe when hee feeth tyme; but who hath the commoditie, judge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and fell it againe as couertly; and thus they buy and fell their owne foules for corruptible monie, which in the last day shall beare witnesse against them, and confume them: yea, as Saint Iames faith: The monie which they have vniuftlie got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rife vp in judgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and deuoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as fubtil and as politike as they would feeme to be) take heed vnto themselues, and beware: for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceive their judgements, yet let them be fure that they can not deceive the judgement of the Lord, but he 2that made the eies shall furely fee, and he who knoweth the fecrets of all harts, shall one day declare the fame to their perpetuall confusion, except they repent.

Theod. What be these husbandmen? honest, plaine dealing and

### II. I. Our Husbandmen can teach the Fox to cheat. 47

fimple perfons, and fuch as in whom there is no abuse; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie perfons?

Amphil. They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men tho they look so in outward appearance, yea, fuch as if you fawe them, and heard them talke, you would thinke they had no gall, or that there were nothing in them in the world. But if you looke into their dailie exercifes, practifes, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtill in their are as crafty kind, as the deuill is in his, if it be possible. For the simplest of them all, if he make a bargaine with another, he wil be fure to make it fo as he himfelfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer fo wife, circumfpect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cosoned at their hands), such fubtiltie, fuch policie, and fuch craftie conueiance, they practife vnder the garment of fimplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their It's almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, infomuch as they count him a wife man, a worldly 1 felow, and fuch a one as [1 Sig. G 5, back] will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their 2 Columbina simplicitas, (Nay rather, Vulpina, et ferpentina astutia) which Christ would have al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But fo farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, Nearly their than a continuall practife of fraud, and deceit, as for example: You whole life is a fraud. shall have some that, sending corne to the market to be fould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to feeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the facke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good still,) They'll put but in the middest shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, musty corn in the middle of a fprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I have knowne othersome, that having a barren cow, and being defirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe They'll sell a from another melch cowe, and fo folde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas thee was nothing hers. leffe.3 With infinite the lyke fleights, which for breuities fake I omit.

simple,

business to cheat

barren cow with another cow's calf as if it were

Theod. I perceive then it is good for a man to be warie, that deales with these simple 4 fooles?

[ Sig. G 6]

2 Orig. there.

3 Anything but that. See p. 45; p. 54, 1. 2.

#### 48 II. 1. Sellers to be honest & tell Faults in Goods.

The Fox may go to school to em.

They tell lies about the animals they want to sell.

Every seller ought to tell the buyer the faults of the things he sells.

We should do to others as we wish they'd do to us.

But we can't live without husbandmen:

[2 Sig. G 7]

Amphil. It were good fo indeede, else he may chaunce to cough himselfe a dawe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his crafte, may go to schoole to these felowes, to learne the rudiments of deceit and craft. Such skilfull Doctors are they herein. If they sell you a cow, an oxe, a horse, or a mare, they will set the price on him, I warrant you, and with-all will protest and take on woonderfullie, that hee is but this olde, and that olde, this yoongue, and that yoongue. And which is woorst of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the fame, which is a playne, and a mainfest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrante.

Theod. Would you have euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those thinges they fell? then should he fell but a little.

Amphil. Euery true christian ought to do so, or else, besides that he doth not to others, as he would wish to be done to (for this is the chaine wherwith euery christian is bound to another,) he also breketh [' Sig. G 6, back] the cords of charity, & committeh 1 most horrible cosonage, and wilful prefumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymeftone for euer. And feing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let the deceiver aske of himfelfe when he goeth about to deceiue, these questions: Would I be coofoned? Would I be vidone and fpoiled? Would I count him an honest man, or a good christian, that would supplant me in bargaining? Oh no. No more ought I to doe to others, that which I would not should be done to my felfe. Besides this, consider that the apostle faith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceive their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like confideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, diffimulation, coofonage, and guile, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

Theod. Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could live without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

Amphil. No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, efquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principalitie vpon the earth (how great a mo2narch foeuer)

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husband-And therefore they are not only to be beloued of vs, but also to be preferred and to be made much of amongst vs, without whose industrie and labour no man could live long vpon the face of the their labour is earth. For this cause we read the use of husbandry to be commended life. vnto vs in fundry places of holy fcripture; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and affimiled to the hufbandman for divers purpofes and respects. And when Adam our Adam was bidfirst parent was expulsed paradise, he was by God himselfe inioined to till the ground. manure, to dreffe and till the ground; whereby we may fee both the antiquitie, auncientie, and excellencie of husbandrie, euen from the verie beginning of all things. And therefore doubtles is it to be had in reuerence and estimation of all men. But hereof inough.

needful for our

den by God to

Theod. Be there any Chandlers there as in other places?

Amphil. Yea, that there are inow, I warrant you, and more than deale iustly in euerie respect.

Theod. What do they fell for the most part?

Amphil. Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheese, fagots, pots, sell cheese, pots, pannes, candles, and a 1thousand other trinkets besides.

Theod. What be the abuses which they commit, I pray you?

Amphil. Abuses, quoth you? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But feeing you would to faine knowe, I will give you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheese, and other things, They buy bad which is naught, bicause they may have it for a little monie, and then goods cheap, and sell em dear. fell it for verie good: this, manie a poore prentife and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either fell it wonderfull deere, or else keepe it till it be past the best, and yet vtter it for as much and more than it cost them. Besides this, that they keepe their butter & cheese till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it fmell that no man can eate it, they have also their false waights & They have counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And not- measures. withstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not fel one, be it neuer fo litle, vnder a penie, gaining aboue the one halfe in the other. And as for the stuffe whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should They make their make them of good liquor and fweet, they make them of all kind of ing baggage, kitchen stuffe, & other stinking baggage, fo that they shal waste &

pans, and other trinkets. [ Sig. G 7, back

Chandlers

false weights and

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, II.

II. I. Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.

[1 Sig. G 8]

and their wicks of rope-ends.

confume 1 away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall neuer burne cleere, nor giue good light, but run ouer, and about the candleflicke too fhamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are of hurds, rope ends, & fuch other good stuffe. Besides all this, they haue fleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine foft, to the end it may wafte & confume the fafter, with legions of the like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs!

Barbers:

Theod. What fay you of the barbers and trimmers of men? are they fo neate, and fo fine fellowes as they are faid to be?

There are no finer fellows under the sun!

Our Barbers have all kinds of cuts of beards.

They ask you whether you'll be trimd to look fierce or pleasant.

Your Moustachios are twisted up like horns; the scissors go snip snap,

your face is washt with sweet balls;

snap go the fingers; [3 Sig. H 1]

Amphil. There are no finer fellowes vnder the funne, nor experter in their noble science of barbing than they be. And therefore in the fulnes of their ouerflowing knowledge (oh ingenious heads, and worthie to be dignified with the diademe of follie and vain curiofitie) they have invented fuch strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, flauings and washings, that you would wonder to fee. They have one maner of cut called the French cut, another the Spanish cut, one the Dutch cut, another the Italian, one the newe cut, another the old, one of the brauado fashion, another of the meane fashion. One a gentlemans cut, another the common [\* Sig. G 8, back] cut, one 2 cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite the like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They have also other kinds of cuts innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimed, they will aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your freend, grime & fterne in countenance, or pleafant & demure (for they have divers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or elfe they lie.) Then, when they have done al their feats, it is a world to confider, how their mowchatowes must be preserued and laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to another, and turned vp like two hornes towards the forehead. Befides that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what fnipping & fnapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to tawe out mony, you may be fure. And when they come to washing, oh how gingerly they behaue themfelues therein. For then shall your mouth be boffed with the lather, or fome that rifeth of the balles (for they have their fweete balles wherewith-all they vie to washe); your eyes closed must be anointed therewith also. Then snap go the fingers, ful brauely, god wot. Thus this tragedy ended, 3 comes me

warme clothes, to wipe and dry him withall; next, the eares must be warm cloths are picked, and closed togither againe artificially forfooth. The haire of your nostril-hairs the noftrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold. The last action in this tragedie is the paiment of monie. And least these cunning barbers might seeme vnconscionable in asking much for their paines, they are of fuch a shamefast modestie, as they will aske and then you're to pay 'What nothing at all, but standing to the curtesie and liberalitie of the you please, Sir.' giuer, they will receiue all that comes, how much foeuer it be, not giuing anie againe, I warrant you: for take a barber with that fault, and strike off his head. No, no, such fellowes are Raræ aues in terris, nigrifque similimi cygnis, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geafon as blacke fwans. You shall have also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall You have fragbee all to befprinkled: your musicke againe, and pleasant harmonie, music; shall found in your eares, and all to tickle the same with vaine delight. And in the end your cloke shall be brushed, and 'God be with you your cloak Gentleman!'

rant waters, and

brusht, and goodbye!

Theod. All these curious conceits, in my iudgement are rather done for to allure and prouoke the minds of men to be bountifull and liberall towards them, than for any good elfe, which they bring [ Sig. H 1, back] either to the bodie or health of man?

Amphil. True it is that you fay, and therefore you must needes think they are maisters of their science that can inuent al these knacks to get money withall. But yet I must needs say (these nisities set apart), barbers are verie necessarie, for otherwise men should grow Barbers are verie ougglifom and deformed, and their haire would in processe of Without em men time ouergrowe their faces, rather like monsters, than combie fober ud look like monsters. christians. And if it be said that any man may cut off the haire one of another, I answer, they may so, but yet not in such comelie and decent maner as these barbers exercised therein can doe, and besides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be observed. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beaftlinesse of some ruffians (for they are no fober christians) that will have their haire to growe ouer their faces like monsters, and fauage people, nay rather like mad men grow so long. than otherwife, hanging downe ouer their shoulders, as womens haire doth: which indeed is an ornament to them, being given them as a figne of fubicction, but in man it is a shame and reproch, as

I wonder at the beastliness of some ruffians letting their hair

II. I. Surgeons and Physicians look only to money. 52

the Apostle prooueth. And thus much of barbers and their 1fcience.

[1 Sig. H 2]

Theod. Haue you furgeans, and phyficians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their mysterie; and not onelie skilfull, but also conscionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

Surgeons and Physicians

'll only work for money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a poor man without money.

As soon as that fails, they give you the nastiest stuff they can.

Amphil. There are both furgeans and phyficians, good ftore. And as they be manie, fo are they verie vnconscionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, fo farre from godlinesse and good confcience in all things are they, as if a poore man that hath not monie to giue them at their pleasure, stande in need of their helpe, they will either not come at him, or if they doe, they will fo handle him, as it were better for him to be hanged, than to fuftaine the paines that they will put him to. But for the most part, neither of them both will come at him, but rather contemne him, and reiect him as a thing of naught, yea, as much will they doe for the diuell himselfe, as for a poore man, if hee haue not money. And againe, as long as moneye runneth, they will applye gentle and easie potions, medicines, and falues, bearing their patient in hand, that he shall [2 Sig. H 2, back] recouer without 2 all doubt, with what difease, maladie, or fore soener he be infected, wheras in truth they can do nothing leffe. But Deficiente pecunia, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corrofiues, and pinching plaiftures to greeue their patient withal, therby to ftraine out what liquor of life (that is, what monie or goods) they are able to giue. And thus they abuse their gifts, to the dishonor of God, the hurt of their felow brethren, and their owne damnation, except they repent.

Theod. Are furgeans and phifitians then necessarie in a common wealth, as you feeme to inferre?

Amphil. Salomon faith the Phifition (by the which worde he vnderstandeth both the phisition and the surgean, bicause the one is coofin germaine to the other) is to be honored for necessitie. And if for necessitie, then must it needes follow, that the same is most necessarie in a common wealth. But as the good, learned, and discreet phisitions and furgeans, are necessarie, and may doe much good, fo the vnlearned, and naughtie (as the world is to full of them) may and doe much hurt dailie, as experience teacheth.

We've many illtaught doctors.

### 11. 1. Every Ignoramus is allowd to practise Physic. 53

Theod. You fay truth. But are all indifferently fuffered to practife the same noble milfteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any [1 Sig. H 3] choyfe or exception at all?

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what infufficiencie foeuer, is fuffered to exercise the misterie of phisick, and surgerie, and to minister both the one, and the other, to the diseased, and infirmed persons; but to their woe, you may be sure. Yea, you shall haue fome that know not a letter of the booke (fo farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practife these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, prefuming vpon experience forfooth (for that is their greatest skill) will arrogate great knowledge to themselues, and more than the learnedst doctor vpon the earth will doe. And yet notwithstanding, can doe in manner nothing at all. But if they chance at any time If any person to doe any good (as forte luscus capiat leporem somtime by chance a blind man may catch a hare) it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs. And yet shall this exploit of theirs be sounded foorth with a trumpet, which indeede may hardly be blowne vp with an oten pipe, for any praise it deserueth. This bringeth the laudable sciences of phisick and surgerie, into hatred, obloquy, & contempt, 2 maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly dif- [2 Sig. H 3, back] crediteth it amon[g]ft men. For when as any fick, infirmed, or difeafed, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgean, or else when the medicine or falue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogither, whereas in truth the whole blame confifteth in the ignorance of the practicioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euery one that luft, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For every man, Any Ignorant though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his fcience, ye lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body, the poores, arteries, temperament, or constitution, no, nor yet so much as the naturall complexion, qualitie, or disposition of the same, will yet notwithstanding take vpon him the habite, the title, ye name, and profession, of a phisition or furgean. This we see verified in a fort of vagarants, who run ftragling (I wil not faie roging) ouer the countries, make a money.

Any man, tag and rag, can practise both physic and sur-

makes a cure, he puffs it every-

loses a patient, then the Science is a us'd.

can set up as a Surgeon or Physician. Vagrant Quacks

### 54 II. 1. Doctors ought to be examind and licenst.

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing leffe in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coofoning shift is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they have got, they leave their 1 cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heeles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciences of phisicke and surgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

Theod. If phificke be good, would you not have every man to practife it that will, without reftraint?

Amphil. Phificke is good, and yet would I not have euerie ignorant doult that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the fame. For that maketh it to take fo little effect, and fo fmally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant doult, & especially women, that have as much knowledg in phifick or furgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but fmatterers in the fame noble fciences (nor yet al that), should be restrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from private exercise thereof either for their owne finguler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it gratis) not making an occupation of it, but rather for defire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than woulde I wyshe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisicke and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in 2 either of the vniuersities; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, difcretion, and fufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compassion, and loue to their brethren; and being found fufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licenfed, vnder hand and feale authentike, by thofe that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be Officiperda, Iacke out of office, make him a Quondam, and let him go to plow and cart, rather than to robbe the poore (as manie of them doe) yea, to murther and kil them without reprehension. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and fuch as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, fo I would wish, that either they might be allowed anual stipends, for their better fuccouring of the poore diseased, or else

I'd let no stupid Dolt or Woman practise medicine or surgery except gratis.

[1 Sig. H 4]

I'd have all doctors Graduates, [2 Sig. H 4, back] examind for character as well as learning,

and then licenst to practise; and if they did wrong, out with em!

I'd pay em

For now they ruffle it out in filckes and veluets, with their men poor. attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) fmarteth for it. Yea, so vnreasonable, and so vnconscionable are they, as some of them will not fet one foot out of his owne doores, without 1 twentie [1 Sig. H 5] shillings, fortie shillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, Now, their twentie pound, and fome more, fome lesse. And having this importable fee, If they minister anything to the partie diseased, than befides, must they have twenty shillings, for that that stands them not in twentie pins; fortie shillings, twentie nobles, for that that coft them not twentie pence, & fo foreward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and fuch as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his judgements by speedy repentance. these abuses, there are othersome, that if they owe euill will to any, Doctors someman or woman being ficke, or if they hope for any preferment by with patients. their deaths, wil not make any confcience of it, to give them fuch medicines, fuch potions, and drinkes, as will foone make a hand of them; and this shall be done invisible in a clowde, Vnder the pretence of phisicke, forfooth; and if he die, why it was not the medicine that killed him (no it were Blasphemia in sanctos ruminare, blasphemie to thinke it of these holie fathers) but it was death, that cruell tyger,

that fpareth none. And to fuch corruption are they grown, that for mony I am perfuaded they can make away with any whom they haue accesse vnto. Therefore I aduise euery man to be careful to

as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & fimples togither, as also in felling chalke for cheefe, one thing for another, &

good of it selfe, but druggie baggage, and such counterfait stuffe as is

starke naught. But of them inough.

might be constrained to take lesse of their poor patients than they doe. good stipends to

times make away

whom 2 he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewife in [2 Sig. H 5, back] league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuses also, Apothecaries

the like, so as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and sell druggy bag-

Astrologers,

Let vs speake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaineglorious, called aftronomers, and aftrologers, the cor- Astronomers, ruptions and abuses of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of speaking any further conferning the abuses, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporaltie, till occasion of more matter hereafter shall be offered.

#### II. I. Absurdity of Astronomy and Astrology. 56

Theod. These names of astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are fo vnquoth and ftrange to my eares, that I knowe not what to make of them. Wherefore I pray you shewe me as neere as you can, the meaning of them, and what kinde of marchants the professors thereof be?

and Prognosticators are fantastical fellows. [1 Sig. H 6]

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and go poking about into God's secrets

Christ

Amphil. The aftronomers, aftrologers, prognofticators (and all others of the fame focietie, and brotherhoode, by what name or title foe uer they be called) are a certeine kinde of curious phantafficall and vaineglorious fellowes, who feweta dei temere remantes, Searching the fecrets of God rashlie, which he would have kept close from vs, and onely knowne to himselfe, take vpon them, & that vpon these grounds (forfooth), namely, the observation of times & seasons, the aspects & coniunctions of the fignes and planets, with their occurrents, to prefage, to divine, and prognofticate, what shall come or happen afterwards, as though they fate in Gods lap, knew his fecrets, & had the world and the disposement thereof in their own hands. It is an olde faieng, and verie true, Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos, Those things that are aboue our reach, conserne vs not, and therefore we ought not to enter into the bowels & fecrets of the Lord-(for as the wife man faith, Qui scrutatur abscondita dei, obruetur gloria eius, hee that feacheth out the hidden things of GOD, shall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorye of the same,—but to content our felues with fo much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his facred worde, committing the euent, the fuccesse, and disposement of all things else to his facrede Maiestie, the GOD of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour fo bufelye by fpeculations, by [\* Sig. H 6, back] aftronomie, 2aftrologie, and the like curious arts to judge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the fame (but Dum parturiunt montes nafcetur ridiculus mus, whilft the mountains doe trauell, a feely moufe will be brought forth) Christ our fauiour faith, non est vestrum nosse tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipse pater in sua ipfius constituit potestate, It is not for you to knowe the times and feafons, which the Lord God hath referued to himfelfe. And how much our fauiour Christ disliketh this vaine curiofitie, of astronomicall & aftrologicall speculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehenfion or commination in the 16. of Matthew, thundred out against the people of the Iewes, who were, as it feemeth, too much addicted

to the fame. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them rebukes em, diffembling hypocrites, in that they observed and marked with such hypocrites. ferious attention and diligence, the elemental fignes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the fignes and tokens of the fonne of GOD Christ Jesus, the true Messias, and fauiour of the world.

and calls em

Theod. Vppon what grounds, certeinties, rules, and principles doth this curious science consist?

<sup>1</sup>Amphil. It ftandeth vpon nothing elfe, but meere coniectures, [1 Sig. H 7] fuppofals, likelihoods, gheffes, probabilities, observations of times and feafons, coniunctions of fignes, flarres, and planets, with their afpects, on guesses and and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certeine ground, knowledge, or truth, either of the word of God, or of natural reason. But to argue the vntruth and the vncerteintie of this foolish curious science, we need not to go farre for examples and arguments. For the contrariety that euer hath beene in all ages amongst the verie doctors and maisters themselues, but most specially of late, doth approoue the fame to be most fantasticall, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous ftrange coniunction (as they faid) of two fuperiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped togither in one truth, nor yet agreed togither, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it should be: but in al things flewed themselues like themselues, that is, plaine contradictorie one to another. Infomuch as they writ in defence of their errors, and confutation of the contrarie, one against another, shamefully to behold. By which more than prefumptuous audacitie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexi2tie [\* Sig. H 7, back] and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and king- the foolish stardomes (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not fo, yet the strangest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Wheras, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as fome of them fet downe) these woonders and portents should have happened, there was no alteration nor change of any thing seene or heard of, the element being as faire, as bright, as calme, and as pleafant, and euerie thing as filent, and in as perfect and yet everyorder and forme, as euer they were fince the beginning of the world. quietly as usual.

Their science is founded only star-gazing.

1587, iii. 1356), or some other day that they couldn't

# 58 II. 1. Infinite fooleries, these Astrologers pretend to.

By all which appeareth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious fcience. I woonder where these fellowes sate, whether vppon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they faw these coniunctions. Or with what eies they could fee that, that no man elfe could fee. But peraduenture they have Argus eies, and can fee all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they have dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituation, the houses, aspects, and locall places of the fignes and planets, of the funne, moone, and ftarres, with the number 1 thereof also, which indeed are innumerable. I woonder what spirite tolde them which planets were higher than other, and which lower than other, which be good and which be euill, which be moift and which be drie, which bee colde, and which be hote, which be gentle and affable, and which bee cruell and terrible, which giue good fortune, and which giue euill, which be good to take iourneies in hand, or to attempt any great thing, and which bee naught, which bee good for a man to take a wife in, that she may be amiable and gentle, and which be contrarie, which be dangerous to take difeafes in, or to fall ficke, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they have learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of GOD, they neuer fetched them, the fame being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious fearching of Gods fecrets, and the fuccesse of things by fuch fallible and vncerteine accidents.

of God, I know.

Where did these astrologing fellows learn all

their fooleries?

Not in the book

[\* Sig. H 8]

Theod. Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from GOD the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

<sup>2</sup>Amphil. It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures.

[\* Sig. H 8, back] For if the Planets give good and evil, and rule men,

as the fun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe give both good things and euill, blessing and cursing, good successe, and euill successe, yea, life and death, at their pleasure (as these brainesick fooles hold they doe) and that they rule, governe, and dispose al things whatsoever, yea, both the bodies and soules of man (for so some shame not to say) who, hearing this, I say, would not fall from God, and worship the creatures that give such blessings vnto man? What can be a neerer way to withdrawe the people, not onelie from God, but also to hale them to idolatrie, and wholy to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for ever.

men 'll turn from God, and worship the stars.

#### II. I. God, and not the Stars, rules Men & their Fates. 59

But, fay they, though we give authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we give vnto God the cheefest ftroke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the inftrumentall, or fecundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, fubstitutes, or instrumentes whereby he ruleth deputies, is blasand worketh all things. Is this any thing elfe, than to faie with sense too. certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what [\* Sig. I. I.] blasphemie can be greater? is not this a flatte deniall of the prouidence of God, which scripture so much setteth forth and commendeth vnto vs? Shall we thinke that God made all things, and now as one wearie of his worke, committeth the gouernemente of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauiour Christ, Pater et ego operamur, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, fo he worketh still in ruling them by his power, God works and gouerneing them by his wisdome, and preserving them by hys proui- did at the dence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they have proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will faye as they fay. In the meane time I fay & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to saye or affirme that creatures have the governement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, muft not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be leffer, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but bleffed be our God, who, as he knoweth our 2 frailtie (hauing therefore compassion of our infirmities) [2 Sig. I. z. back] so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or elfe wherfoeuer, according to the good pleafure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genefis, befides infinit the like places in holie fcriptures, we read that the fun, the moone, the ftars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being of man. Who made them made fubiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet not- his lords? withftanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their fubiect, vaffal bondflaue? This is prepofterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topfie turuie, vpfide downe. It is time these phantasticall

To pretend that Planets are God's phemous non-

rules still, as he

God made the

These fantastical fellows turn God into a Jack out of office.

fellowes were looked to in time, that wil go about to difthronize the mightie God Jehoua of his regall throne of maiestie and glorie, makin gan Officiperda of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) E cælis, Out of the heavens, downe to the earth, giving him no power nor authoritie at all.

Theod. Haue the fignes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth?

[1 Sig. I. 2.]

The busy-headed astronomers assign every kind of man to a particular Sign,

too.

The 7 Days they put to the 7 Planets.

[2 Sig. I. 2. back]

Amphil. Yes, they have their power, their operation, force, ftrength and effect in those things whereto GOD hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of 'all natural things, And also they have their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of bloud, receiving of purgations & the like. But to fay they worke these effects of their own proper force & ftrength, or that they rule or dispose the spirits & soules of man, is vtterly false, & at no hand true. And yet notwithstanding, so far infatuat are these busie heded astronomers, & curious serching astrologers, that they attribute euery part of mans body to one particular figne & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that figne, or planet. And therefore to Aries they have affigned the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[ini] the fhoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the breft, ftomake and lungs. Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighes. To Capr[icornus] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pifc[es] the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both Interne & externe, within & without, and every month is ruled and gouerned by the xii. fignes, by ftarres, and planets, & not by God only. For the confirmation of which fained vntruth, they pretend the xii. moneths in the yere to be ruled & gouerned by the xii. fignes in the element, and the feuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the feuen planets 2 alfo. Befides this, they have their particular houres, times and feafons, wherein they chiefly worke their effects, and haue greatest strength. So that by their reasons, no moneth in the yere, nor day in the weeke, no, nor houre in the day nor night, but it is ruled and gouerned by the influence and conftel-

### II. I. If the Stars give Life & Death, they're Gods. 61

lation of the starres and planets, and nothing is effected or brought to paffe, but what they will, and intend.

Theod. Are the fignes and planets, liuing creatures and reasonable, But these Signs or infenfible creatures, and things without life?

and Planets

Amphil. They are no liuing or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuerfie, but meerely infenfible, and without life. And being are without life without life and reason, how is it possible that they should bring life or death (as these fellowes hold) sicknesse or health, prosperitie or aduerfitie, heate or cold, faire weather or foule, beautie or deformitie, long life or short, or any thing else? And if they be not able to give How then can these things, how much lesse able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and they rule the World and Men? difpose all thinge[s] in heauen, earth, the aire, or else whersoeuer, to ouerthrowe monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althings after their owne defire and will? Will they haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If [ Sig. I. 3.] that were true, why should God be praifed either for his mercie, or feared for his iuftice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, figues, and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If bleffing come by If blessings and the influence of starres and planets, then let men praise them, and not the Stars, God, for the fame. And if curies proceed from the flarres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things elfe, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celeftiall bodies, then let them be honoured with divine worship. If these effects issued from creatures, then why should the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked person be punished, wheras he might say, it was not I, it was Planetarum iniuria, The force of the planets that compelled me to finne\*? Or why should the godlie man be praised for dooing well, whereas he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? In Summa, they should be why fhould not planets and ftarres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they coulde worke these effects? They that attribute thus much to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but But this robs also strenhthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perseuere in their cursed ido2latrie still. Nay, do [2 Sig. I. 3. back] they not rather shake hands with them, that as they worship the

and reason.

curses come from

worshipt as Gods,

\* Cp. Edmund in Lear, I. ii. 134-5: "Drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence."

# 62 II. I. Absurdity of man's Fate depending on Stars.

funne, the moone, the starres, fire, water, and other creatures, for their God, so doe these worship the same, though not for their chiefe Gods, yet for their second gods, whereby they commit most filthie idolatrie, and are giltie of most hainous transgression. Indeede, I confesse they have effects and operations, but yet are they not the efficient causes of any thing either good or bad. Otherwise than thus, that it pleaseth the maiestie of God to worke by them, as by his instruments, whatsoever is his good wyll and pleasure, and not after any other fort.

I confess that Stars have effect; but yet they're not Efficient Causes.

Theod. I have heard of fome of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forsooth, is it possible, suppose you?

Amphil. No, at no hand. For if it were fo, that all things were, and man himselfe, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forfaken of God to beleeue it?) And that they knew the minds, the purpofes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and defteny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horfe. I would faine learne of these starre gaisers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the conftellations. and influence of ftars, whether all the people that were euer borne fince the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the fame, were all borne vnder one planet or ftar? For they had all one fortune, all finned in Adam, & all were in the iustice of God condemned to euerlasting fire. I would know also whether all the Sodomits and Gomorreans being confumed with fire & brimftone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one deftinie, and all one end. Whether all the whole world in the daies of Noah, was borne vnder one and the same star, or planet, for they had all one deftenie, being ouerwhelmed with an vniuerfall deluge. Whether the whole hoft of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, were borne all vnder one ftar or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destinie, and one kind of death. Whether all the hoft of Pharao were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all fuftained one kinde of death, and had all one deftinie. Whether Esau, and Iacob were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

Let these stargazers show me, if they can,

[1 Sig. I. 4.]

that all the sinners in Sodom and Gomorrah, who had one fate, were born under one star;

why Esau and Jacob, who were born under one star, had different ends;

positions and ends. Finally I would learne of them, whither none that euer liued fince the 'first beginning of the worlde, nor any that [' Sig. I. 4. back] shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the fame houre, and vnder the fame planet & conftellation, that Christ Iesus was borne in. If they say there haue not beene any borne in the fame houre that Christ Iesus was borne in, common why the children reason, and daily experience would disprooue them, for there is not one minute of an houre wherein there are not infinite children borne into the world. And if they fay that there are that have beene borne in the fame houre, and vnder the fame starre and planet, than must it needes follow (if man should necessarily be ruled, gouerned, disposed & affected according to the naturall disposition, and inclination of the planets & ftars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the fame howre, and vnder the fame planet or ftar that Iefus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iesus himselfe; and so should we have had manie christs before this time. But God bleffe all his children from once thinking of any fuch impietie, and blafphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apeareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned Man is not or deftined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the liuing God, who doeth 2whatfocuer pleafeth him in [2 Sig. I s] heauen & in earth. This being fo, twife vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, infortunate for their children to be borne in, or that fome be more fortunate and happie than otherfome. And thrife curfed be those wicked deuils, that taught them those lessons. What? Doe they thinke that the Lorde is a sleepe those houres; or being wake, hath no power to rule? Hath he not made all things pure and good? Then cannot the good creatures of God make vs euil, or incline vs to finne. But it is the malice of the It's the Devil deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickedness of our owne wickedness, and harts, that draweth vs to euill, and fo to shamefull destinies, and make us sin. (Cf. Edmund in imfamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were Lear I. ii.) truely perfwaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any fhamefull end, to faie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destonie," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no fuch ends. But rather to glorifie our heavenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conversation, whilst we live vpon the face of the earth. Certein

born when Christ was, were not

swayd by Stars, but by the living

and our own not planets, that

### 64 II. I. Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men.

Tho God sees that some men will come to a bad end, he doesn't fore-ordain them to it. [I Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and

He'll preserve

Some say that the 12 Signs of the Zodiac and the 7 Planets and their Aspects fix men's natures

and fates. [2 Sig. I 6]

But what a drunken reason they give for it!

Because a Bull is a yoke-beast here, therefore a man borne under him shall he a bond-slave! it is, that God by his prouidence, & prescience, doth foresee that such a man through his wickednes shall come to such an ende, yet did not the Lord foreordeine, or foreappoint him to the same, but rather dehorteth him from comitting that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is sinne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither sate, destonie, birthstar, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoeuer, let euerie one endevour himselfe to serue his GOD truelie, in singlenesse and purenesse of heart, and himselfe to liue well and vprightlie, Walking in the lawes, and commandements of the Lord; and I warrant him for euer comming to anie euill end or destinie. That God whom he hath serued, will keepe him as he kept Sidrach, Misacc, and Abednago, from the rage of the fire, Susanna from the stake, Daniel from ye chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

Theod. I have hea[r]d fome that woulde take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a servant or a lord, a theese or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he should have prosperous successe in: how shoulde they doe this?

Amphil. I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they faye) certeine fignes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them fo, when they were there, and fawe them, or how they knew the shape 2 and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pifces, with their planets, and afpects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now fay they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a figne in the Nufquam region, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie fo? Marke their droonken reason. Forsooth because the rame is a fruitfull beast vpon earth, and yeldeth to his mafter two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a figne (fay thefe liers) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondflaue all his daies. And why fo? Mary, fay they, bicaufe the bull on earth is a beaft vsed to the yoke, and to much flauerie & drudgery. He that is borne vnder Leo (which is a figne quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shal be strong, couragious, & feared of

#### II. I. Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men. 65

al men, & shal be lord & ruler ouer many, And why so? Bicause the lion is a ftrong & mightie beaft, & is lord & king ouer all other beafts. He that is borne vnder Scorpio, shal be a murtherer, a robber, a theefe, and a wicked person. Why so? Forsooth bicause the Scorpion is a ferpent full of poyfon & malice vpon earth. 1He [\* Sig. I 6, back] that is borne vnder Gemini shall be rich, and haue manie children, bicaufe Gemini is a figne of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shall be beloued of women, shall be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, bicause maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shall be crabbed and angrie, bicause the crab fish is so inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shall be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and measures, bicause Libra is a signe of a paire of ballance. He that is borne vnder Sagittarius, shal be a good shooter, bicause Sagittarius is a signe like to a shooter. He that is borne vnder He that's borne Capricornus shall be a slouenly, ill fauoured, and vncleane fellowe, bicause the gote is a beast filthie, stinking and vncleane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pifces shall be fortunate by water, bicaufe watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupftantiall reafons and well feafoned arguments, and as ftrong to prooue their purpose, as a castell of paper to resist the enimie. Thus you may fee they have no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heavens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of 2earthly creatures. Iefu God, what cun- [2 Sig. I 7] ning felowes are thefe, that can knowe the nature of heauenly bodies, and celeftiall creatures, by these terrestriall bodies and earthly creatures? These are profound fellowes indeed, and by all likelihood, haue dwelt long in the clouds, that are fo perfect in enery thing there, and can judge of future accidents with fuch fingular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to fay no more of them, till further occasion be offered, befeeching the Lorde God to give them grace to fearch for the truth of the worde of God, letting all fuch curious fearthings of Gods fecrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all fecrets whatfoeuer.

under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, because the goat's a stink ing beast!

These Astrologer fellows must have livd long in the clouds to know so much about heavenly bodies.

Theod. If you condemne aftronomie, and aftrologie altogither, as Prognosticators and Almanacyou feeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognofticators, and fuch as make almanacks for euerie yeere : doe you fo?

makers I condemn too,

### II. 1. Against Prognosticators & Almanac-makers.

when they pretend to pry into God's secrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentiful and what scarce.

Let Almanacmakers keep to their proper business,

[\* Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be useful folk.

Amphil. I neither condemne aftronomie nor aftrologie, nor yet the makers of prognoftications, or almanacks for the yeere. But I condemne the abuse in them both, and wish they were reduced to the same perfection that they ought, and to be vsed to the same endes [1 Sig. I 7, back] and purposes which they were ordeined for. 1 The funne, the moone, the flarres, and the celeftiall bodies whatfoeuer, created by the Lord not onelie to fructifie and increase the earth by their influence, but also to shine and giue light to man in this life, and to divide the light from darknese, the day from the night, winter from sommer, and to diftinguish one feason and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, fo much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vsed. But when we go about to enter into Gods fecrets, and to divine of things to come, by coniectures, and geffes, then make we the fame wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that they take vpon them to foreshew what things shall be plentie, and what fcarfe, what deere, what good cheape. When shal be faire weather, when foule, and the like, whereas indeede the knowledge of these things are hid in the secrets of GOD, and are beyond their reach, therefore ought they not to meddle with them. But if they would keepe them within their compasse, as namely to shew the times and feafons of the yere, feftiuals, vigils, to diftinguish winter from formmer, fpring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the ecclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden num²ber, circle of the funne, leape yeere, and other the like necessarie points, then were their profession laudable, and greatly for the commoditie of the commonwealth. And thus much with their patience be it fpoken briefly hereof.

Here ende the abuses of the Temporalitie.



# THE CORRVPTIONS

### AND ABUSES OF THE

#### SPIRITVALITIE.

Theodorus.

Auing now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be fo bold, I would request As to the coryou fomewhat to fay concerning the corruptions and abuses of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. I am fully perfuaded, that the one being fo corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

ruptions of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,

1 Amphil. I am verie loth to enter into that fielde, the view where- [1 Sig. I 8, back] of offereth fuch store of matter to intreat of, as if I should enter the fame, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to begin. Befides, you knowe the olde prouerbe, Non bonum est ludere let the meddler cum fanctis, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare out for thunderof thunderbolts, to infue. But for that, he is not onely a false prophet, and a traitor to the truth, that teacheth false doctrine, but as well he that knoweth the truth, and either for feare of death, or defire of life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely the author of any euill or mischiese is giltie of offence before God, But also he that might by 2 discouerie thereof preuent the same, and yet either will not, or for feare of death dares not. And for that as the olde prouerbe faith, Qui tacet, confentire videtur, he that concealeth the truth, feemeth to confent to errors, for these and the like causes, I will laye downe vnto you fome fuch corruptions and abuses, as But I'll tell you feeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting worst Abuse in the meane time to speake perticularly of all (for that they be innumerable) vntill I fee how thefe fewe will be brouked of them.

some of our worst Abuses in 68 II. 2. All Churches are markt off into Parishes.

[1 Sig. K. r.]

For it is a point of good phyficke, you knowe, to fee how the former <sup>1</sup> meate received into the ftomacke, will be digefted, and concocted, before we receive anye more into the fame.

Theod. You fay very well. Giue me leaue then (by your patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke convenient for my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the truth, may praise God in you, and also have just occasion to give you thanks for the same.

Amphil. Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe the best I can, to resolve you in anything that you shall demand.

All our churches and congregations Theod. Then this shall be my first demand. Be the churches, congregations, & assemblies there, distincted into particulars, as into parishes and precincts, one exempt from another, or are they dispersed here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of place at all?

are divided into parishes,

Amphil. Euerie particular church, congregation, affemblie, or conuenticle, is divided one from another, and distincted into parishes and precincts, which seuerall precincts and parishes are so circumgired and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liveth. So that euerie shepheard knoweth <sup>2</sup>his slocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And againe, euerie slocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple judgement.

[2 Sig. K. r. back] so that every flock knows its pastor.

Theod. Doe you allow then of this partition of churches, and of one particular congregation from another?

Amphil. Yea trulie. It is not amiffe, but a verie good order, for thereby euerie paftor doth knowe his owne flock, euery shepheard his owne sheepe, which without this diuision could not be. Besides that, we read that euen in the apostles daies (who writ to particular churches themselues, as to the Rom. Corint. Thes. Phil, &c.) in the daies of Christ, & in the times of the prophets before Christ, churches, assemblies, and congregations were euer distincted one from another, & diuided into seueral slocks, companies, and charges. So that although they had not the name of this word 'parish' amongst them, yet had the thing ment thereby, in effect.

In early days,,

assemblies were always separate.

Theod. Then it followeth by your reason, that there are infinite churches in *Dnalgne*; and I haue learned out of the book of God

that there is but one true church, and faithful spouse of Christ vpon the earth. How reconcile you these two places?

Amphil. Verie well. For although there be 1 infinite particular [1 Sig. K. 2.] churches, congregations, and affemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and make up One true Church, place, is notwithflanding one church before God, being members of the myftical body of Chrift Iefus, & felow members one of another, fo as they can neuer be divided, neither from themselves, nor from their head, Christ.

ate churches all

Theod. Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuerfall church of Christ vppon earth? Christ Iesus, the pope, or the prince?

Amphil. Christ Iesus, whose the bodie is, must needs be, & is the onely true head of the vniuerfall church. Then next vnder him euerie christian prince in his kingdom. And as for the pope, he is head ouer the malignant church, the church of the deuil, and not of Christ Iesus. No, he is so far from being head ouer the vniuersal church of Christ, that he is no true member of the same, but rather the childe of perdition, the first borne of satan, a diuell incarnate, and that man of fin (euen Antichrist himselse) that must be destroied with the breath of Gods mouth.

whose Head is Christ; under Him each King in his kingdom;

(The Pope's the head of the Devil's Church)

Theod. By whom be these particular churches and congregations gouerned & ruled?

Amphil. By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

Theod. Do you shut out the prince then from gouerning the &c., church?

and under them Bishops, Pastors,

<sup>2</sup> Amphil. No, God forbid. For take awaye Brachium feculare, [2 Sig. K. 2. back] The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogither. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and braineficke papists have most deuilishly denied the The Anabaptists same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogither. The papists seing themselues convinced by the manifest worde of GOD, denye not their authority absolutely; but that its extending to Church Governtheir authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forfooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themselues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

and temporal Magistrates.

deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny

### 70 II. 2. A Sovereign's Rights and Duties in his Church.

magistrates1, contrarie to the expresse word of our fauiour Christ, and his apostles, who saith Omnis anima subdita sit potestatibus supereminentibus! Let euery foule be fubiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And therefore they are to be obeyed as the ministers of God of all whatsoeuer.

But every King is supreme head over the Church in his realm. [ Sig. K. 3.]

Theod. Well than I gather thus much, that euery king, prince, or potentate, is fupreame head next vnder God, ouer the church of GOD difperfed through his kingdomes, and domini2ons: is not this true?

The Pope is a mere greasy priest, like other oild shavelings are.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore that antichrift of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and vfurping to be fupreame head ouer all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greafie prieft, & fmered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled fhauelings haue, nor fo much neither, and yet that authoritie is but ouer the malignant church of antichrift, and not of Chrift Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that flumbling blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monftrous hidra, fo as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe.

Theod. Seeing you fay that euerie prince is fupreame head ouer the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therfore affign you to the prince to execute in the church.

A King has to see good Pastors elected, proper rites establisht, and Church censures executed.

Amphil. It is the office and dutie of a prince, not onely to fee elected, fent forth, & called, good, able, & fufficient paftours, for the inftruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, conflitutions & rites be established, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the facraments truely ministred, excommunica-[3 Sig. K. 3. back] tion, discipline and ecclesiasticall censures orderly 3 executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be faid that thefe thinges are to bee executed of the ecclefiafticall perfons onely, I answere, true it is; but if the ecclefiafticall magistrate be negligent, fecure, flouthfull, and careleffe about the execution hereof (as who feeth not fome be) than ought the prince to flew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Befides this, it is the office of the prince to fee all kind of finne, as well in the church men themselues, as in all others of the church, seuerely punished.

The King should see sin punisht

1 Orig. migistrates.

#### II. 2. Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops. 71

And though I grant the prince to have the foueraigntie and primacie ouer the church of GOD, within his dominions, yet my meaning is not, that it is lawfull for the prince to preach the word, to minister the facramentes, or to execute the fentence of excommunication, and other ecclefiafticall discipline and censures of the church, but (as and the Church's before) to fee them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For out. faith the apostle, nemo fumat sibi honorem, nisi qui legittime vocatus fuerit, vt fuit Aaron. And againe, vnufquifque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum? But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatfoeuer coulde, nor ought not, to 1meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they [1 Sig. K. 4-] vaffals of most christian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of The Antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not beene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble foeuer, his lackeis, his pages, his horfekeepers, and compelled them to hold his ftirups, to leade his horfe, and to proftrate themfelues before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praifed, this great antichrift is discouered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as every childe iustlie laugheth him to scorne.

orders carried

had kings as lackeys,

but his shame is laid open now.

Theod. You faid before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

Amphil. The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of The Bishops are great grauitie, learning, and iudgement (for the most part) constituted by the Prince ouer a whole country or prouince, which they call their dioces. These graue fathers having authoritie aboue all other of the ministerie, in their dioces, do substitute vnder them in euerie particular church a minister, or ministers according to the necessitie of the same. And thus doeth euery bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the <sup>2</sup> whole realme. So that no church, how fmall foeuer, but it hath the [2 Sig. K 4, back] truth of Gods word, and of his facraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

grave and learned men, set over Dioceses.

Theod. Are those preaching prelates, that the bishops do place in euerie congregation, or else reading ministers?

Amphil. It were to be wished that all were preaching prelates, All our ministers and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but some read only. though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praifed therefore.

Theod. Be any, readers onlie, and not preachers: that is a great

72 II. 2. Some Ministers are mere Readers, not Preachers.

abuse. For I am persuaded that he that cannot preach, ought not to fupplie a place in the church of God to read onlie: how fay you?

But Readers

ought not to be Pastors.

[1 Sig. K 5]

They are not Christ's Vicegerents,

only dumb dogs.

But bare Reading is better than nothing.

If you can't get at a kernel at first, don't throw away the whole nut.

Amphil. It is no good reason to say, bicause all ought to be preachers, that therefore readers are not necessarie. But indeed I am of this iudgement with you, that whofo can but read onelie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explane the fcriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduerfarie, nor to deliuer the true fense and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the paftor thereof. For God commandeth that the paftors be learned, faieng: Labia facerdotum cuftodiant verita1tem, and ediscant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum, Let the lips of the priefts preserue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore those that have not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not fent of God, neither are they Christs vicegerents or pastors to instruct his slocke. To fuch, the Lord faith: They rule, but not by me; they run, but I fent them not; they crie, thus faith the Lord, whereas hee neuer spake These are those idoll shepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom fpeaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke against finne. And therefore I befeech the Lord to remooue them, and place able and fufficient paftors ouer his church, that GOD may be glorified, and the church edified in the truth.

Theod. Bare reading, I must needs fay, is bare feeding: but what then? Better it is to have bare feeding than none at all.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore are not they more fcrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wife, that bicause they cannot have preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessarie? This is as though a man should despise meane fare, bicause he cannot come by better, [2 Sig. K 5, back] whereas I thinke it is 2 better to have meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, bicause he cannot come by the carnell at the first, will therefore cast awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as faith the apostle) that all could prophesie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truth, but bicause that all haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught? And therefore a fort of nouatians lately fprong vp, haue greatly faulted herein, in that they hold that no reading ministers only ought to be permitted in the church of God, as though

(as I fay) because a man can not have daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a Keep your Reading Ministers till dumbe reading ministerie only, so I will not condemne it for necessis- you can get Preaching ones. ties fake, when otherwife euery place cannot be fufficiently furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Theod. But it is thought that there are inow able men in the vniuerfities and elfewhere to furnish euery particular church with a preaching minister?

Amphil. Truely I thinke there are so, if they were sought for & We've enough preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not fought but, alas they don't get Prefor nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, fomtimes by ferment. frendship, fomtime by mony 1 (for they pay wel for their orders, I \* Sig. K 6] heare fay) and fomtimes by gifts, (I dare not fay bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their bookes. Whereby learning greatlie decaieth, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if speedie remedie be not had herein.

learned men,

Theod. As farre as I can gather by your speeches, there is both a reading and a preaching ministerie: whether doe you prefer before the other?

Amphil. I preferre the preaching ministerie before a reading ministerie only: and yet the reading ministerie, if the other can not be had, is not therefore euill, or not necessarie.

Theod. But tell me this. If there might a preaching ministerie be gotten, ought not the reading ministerie to give place to the fame ?

Amphil. Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to Bishops ought to feeke for the learned fort, and as it were to fue and make inflance to Ministers. them, and finding them worthy, as well for their life as doctrine, to call them lawfully according to the prescript of Gods word, & so to fende them forth into the Lords harueft. And where the forefaide dumbe ministerie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes 2 the word of God fhould flourish, ignorance (mauger the [2 Sig. K 6, back] head of fatan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one incouraged to go to their bookes, whereas now they practife nothing leffe, and all by reason that by their learning they have no promotion nor preferment at all.

seek out learned

74 II. 2. Preachers may travel. New-fangled Brownists.

Preaching Ministers preach mainly in their own parishes,

Theod. Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flockes and charges, or elfe indifferently abroad elfe where?

but sometimes out of them,

and rightly so,

[1 Sig. K 7] notwithstanding the Brownists,

for the Apostles went from place to place preaching.

Evils of Pluralities.

Amphil. They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghoft hath made them ouerfeers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of judgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they fometimes helpe their felowe brethren to breake the bread of life to their charges also. Wherein me thinke they do not amisse. For if a watch man appointed by a whole citie, or towne to give warning when the enimie commeth, feeing an other citye or towne to be in danger, giueth fufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuereth them both, I fay, that in fo doing, hee doth well, and according to charitie. And yet 1 notwithftanding, divers new phangled felows fprong vp of late, as the Brownists, and there adherents, haue spoken verie blasphemouslie hereof, teaching in their railing pamphletes, that those who are lecturers or preach els wher than in their owne cures are accurfed before god. Than the which, what can be more abfurdlie, or vntruely fpoken? For if they grant (as they cannot deny) that the word of God is good, then cannot the declaration of that which is good in one place, be hurtfull in another. And read we not that the apostles themselues went from place to place, preaching the word to euerie congregation? Christ Iesus did the same, & also taught vs, that he came not to preach to one citie onely, but to many?

Theod. Doe the reading ministers onely continue and read altogither in their owne charges, or not?

Amphil. The reading ministers, after they be hired of the parishes (for they are mercenaries) they read commonly in their owne charges, and cures, and except (which is a horrible abuse) that they have two or three cures to ferue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles diffant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible [2 Sig. K 7, back] expediti2on, though none understand them, and as fewe be edified by them.

> Theod. Be these reading ministers well prouided for, so as they want nothing, or not?

## II. 2. Bad Pay and Pluralism of Reading Ministers. 75

Amphil. No truly. For if the other preaching ministers be not well prouided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therfore they haue, fom of them ten pound and keep themselves. a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some sixe pound, some fiue pound, fome foure pound, fome fortie shillings; yea, and table themselues also of the same. And sometimes failing of this too, they runne roging like vagarents vp & downe the countries like maifterleffe men, to feeke their maintenance. Whereby fome fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great slander of the Gospell of Iefus Chrift, and fcandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading mifters be too well prouided for, for some of them have two or Some have 3 three, yea foure or fiue benefices apeece, being refident but at one of apiece, them at once, and peraduenture at neuer a one, but roift it out elfewhere, purchasing a dispensation for their discontinuance, and then may no man fay: Domine, cur ita facis? Sir, why doe you fo? For hee hath 1 plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading Ministers' pay runs from £10 to £2 a year,

[1 Sig. K 8]

Theod. That is an horrible abuse, that one man should have two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apeece as fome haue: may anie man haue fo manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good confcience?

Amphil. As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, fo is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent foeuer, to haue mo benefices, mo flockes, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perfuaded that it is more tollerable which is worse (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wives or mo, or 3 wives. than for a man to have two benefices at once, or mo. For by poffibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wives (yet to have mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apoftles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able fufficientlie to difcharge his dutie in the inftruction of one church, or congregation, much leffe of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as fome haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor 2 manie pastours, nor one man [2 Sig. K 8, back] diuerfe men, fo one sheepeheard or pastour cannot, nor ought not, to One Pastor haue divers charges, and flocks at once. Is it possible for any shep-charge of heard though he were neuer fo cunning a man, to keepe two or

than having 2

### 76 II. 2. Evils of Pluralism and Non-Residence.

more flocks and churches than one. three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due feafon, dooing the dutie of a good shepheard in euerie respect, they being distant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, fixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much lesse is there any man able to discharge the dutie of a good pastor ouer so manie flocks, churches, and congregations so farre distant in place, wheras the simplest flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therfore I aduise al benefice mongers, that have mo charges then one, to take heede to themselves, and to leave them in time, for the blood of al those within their cures, or charges, that die ghostlie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall be powred vpon their heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

If he tries to, he must be non-resident in one parish.

[2 Sig. L. 1.]

This takes away the Word preacht, which is the

Life.

Theod. If they have so many benefices a peece, and some so farre distant from another, then it is not possible that they can be resident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in dispute, whether they may not as well be ab<sup>2</sup>sent, or present: what is your judgment of that?

Amphil. To doubt whether the paftor ought to be refident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the foule should be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully persuaded of, that as the soule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the same, so the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the soule of man. And as necessarie as the one is to the bodie, so (and much more) necessarie is the other both to soule and bodie. Now certein it is, these things cannot be applied without the presence of the preacher or pastor; and therefore is his absence from his slocke a dangerous and a perilous thing, and as it were a taking away of their life and light from them, which commeth by the preaching of Gods word vnto them.

Theod. But they fay, though they be not prefent by themselues, yet be they present by their substitutes and deputies: is not that a sufficient discharge for them before God?

Amphil. I grant they are prefent by their deputies and fubfitutes, but if a man shoulde looke into a great fort of them, he should finde them such as are fitter to feed hogs, than christian soules. For as for

Ministers' Substitutes are mainly like Hogherds.

1 Orig. their their.

### 11. 2. Ministers' ignorant tippling hired Deputies. 77

fome of them, are they 1 not fuch as can fcarcely read true english? [ Sig. L. r. back] And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not fuch as can scarce tell what it meaneth? The truth of Gods word they cannot eafily preach nor expound. The aduerfarie they cannot refell: barke against finne they dare not, bicause their liues are licentious. They will read you their feruice faire and cleanly (as the Thothey can doting papifts did their blasphemous masses out of their portesses), and yet after it, when they have done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon fabboth day, festivall day, or other; no day is amisse to them. And all the weeke and on weekafter, yea all the yeere (if I faid all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) days, they'll swill all day at the Alehouse. they will not flicke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and fwilling till the figne be in Capricornus. Infomuch as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt woormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpofe. By these mercenaries their deputies, and the like, I grant they are present in all their flocks, but so as it were better or as good they were absent, for any good they doe, but rather hurt by their euill example of life. The refidence of these their deputies is no discharge for them 2 before the tribunall feate of God: for notwithftand- [2 Sig. L. 2.] ing the fame, let them be fure to answere for the bloud of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of judgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, least afterward it be too late.

Theod. But I heare fay, that what is wanting either in their depu- Pluralists may ties, or in themselues for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter fermons themselues, or else (if they be not good able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well?

quarter, but that's no more

Amphil. It is as though a man every quarter of a yeere once, than if a man shuld take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwith- every quarter. standing should looke for increase of the same: were not he a foolish husbandman that wold do thus? And even so he is no lesse vnwise, that plowing but one furow, that is, preaching but one poore fermon in a quarter of a yeere (& perchance but one in a whole yeere, nay in 7. yeeres) will notwithstanding loke for gret increse of the same. Now the cause why this ground bringeth not forth fruit is, for that it

[\* Sig. L. 2. back] Our churches don't bring forth fruit because they're not tilld with preaching.

is not plowed, furowed, & tilled al togither as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit 1 is. for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and bicause the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, that it, finking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal If the ftrongest mans body that liueth vpon the earth should be nourished with nothing for a whole quarter of a yeeres space, but onely with two or three drops of aqua vite, aqua angelica, or the like, euery day, and at euery quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perfwaded that his bodie notwithflanding would foone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen fo falleth out in this cafe. For although our foules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearring the word read as it were with aqua vite, or fweet necter, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & fumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the fame. And therfore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in feafon and out of feafon, and that without ceafing, or intermission. And if that faieng of the prophet be 2 true (as without all controuerfie it is most true) that he is accurfed, Qui fecerit opus domini negligenter, That doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently, then must it needs be, that those who hauing cure of foules, and doe feldome, or neuer preach, are within the compasse of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule faid of himselfe, Væ mihi nisi euangelizauero, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; and doe they thinke that the same wo is not proper to them if they prech not? Haue they a greater priuiledge than the bleffed apostle faint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therfore, as they tender the saluation of their owne foules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to flew themselues painefull laborers in the Lords haruest.

God's Word should be preacht night and day without ceasing.

[2 Sig. L 3.]

Woe to Ministers who won't preach it!

The there's a law against Pluralism, Theod. As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a reftraint, that none shall have no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

#### 11. 2. Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities. 79

Amphil. They make the lawes (as it were) shipmens hoosen, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie it's avoided by thing they luft. But bicause they will avoide the lawes, they purchase dispensation, a dispensation, a li¹cence, a commission, a pluralitie, a qualification, and [\* Sig. L. 3. back] I cannot tell what elfe, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots fo manie, how manie foeuer, and that with as good a confcience as Iudas received the mony for the which he fold Christ Iesus the Sauiour of the world. Or if this way will not ferue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble perfonages, by prerogative getting a whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as Nobleman, &c. manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that thefe licenses shall go for good paiment at the daie of judgement. I thinke not. For fure I am that no license of man can dispense with vs, to doe that thing which is against Gods worde (as these totquots is) and therfore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring But God 'Il be them to account for it in his good time: GOD grant they may folk. looke to it!

Theod. In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of thefe ecclefiaftical promotions and benefices confift? in the churches themfelues, or in whom elfe?

Amphil. Indeede you faie well. For who shoulde haue the The Patronage patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the ought to be in <sup>2</sup> churches themselues, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, hands. Proprio iure, They doe apperteine? For doe not the benefices confift either in tithes, or contributions, or both? Nowe, who giueth both the one and the other? Doe not the Churches? Then by good reason ought they to have the gifture and bestowing of them, and the right and interest thereof ought to remaine in the power of the church, and not in anie other private man whatfoever.

of Benefices the Churches' [2 Sig. L. 4.]

Theod. Why? Then I perceive you would not have anie private Every parish Church ought or finguler man of what degree foeuer, to have the patronage, the to have the right, or gifture of anie ecclefiaftical liuing, but the churches them- own Living. felues: is not that your meaning?

Amphil. Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

Theod. Why fo, I befeech you?

#### 80 II. 2. Every Congregation should own its Patronage.

It wouldn't abuse it as private Patrons do.

Private Patrons often cheat their Pastors of half their income.

And they move their cattle and sheep so as to avoid paying tithes on em.

[2 Sig. L 5]

Amphil. Bicause one man may easily be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vppon fuch as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not fo. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing elfe but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the [ Sig. L. 4-back] Gentelman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, 1 giueth not the whole liuing himfelfe, ergo hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the fame. Thirdly, the whole church will not give the fame for fimonie; one private man may be induced to doe it. Fourthlie, the church will keepe no part of the liuing backe from the pastor, if he doe his dutie, nor imploie it to ther owne vse; the fingularitie of one man may eafilie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fattest morsels to themselues, and give scarcely the crums to their paftors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will fcarcely giue their paftor foure fcore. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue fortie pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they give ten pound, imploieng the better halfe to their owne private gaine. Now if this be not facrilege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their fubstance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what facrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are fome, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, against the time that their sheepe, kine, and other cattell should bring foorth increase, will drive them thither, so that the fruit falling in the other parish, he shall not need to pay tithes for the same to his owne pastor 2 where he dwelleth. And against the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, shall demand his tithes thereof, they will have fetched home their cattell, so that by these finister kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence fute against him, he answereth, they fell not in his parish: if the other doe the same, he pleadeth that he is not of his parish, nor oweth him ought. But indeed they wil pay for their ground in the other parish a little herbage (as they call it), a thing of nothing, to ftop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore paftors are deteined from their right, and almost beggered in most places that I haue come in.

Theod. How came temporall men by the right of their patronages, and how fell they into their clowches, can you tell?

### 11. 2. How Laymen got their Church Patronage. 81

Amphil. I will-tell you, as farre as euer I could coniecture, how they fel into their hands. In the beginning, when Antichrift the pope exercifed his viurped authoritie, and challenged the title of fupreme head ouer the vniuerfall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomfoeuer would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was given to blinde superstition, as to instaurate ablbeies, prieries, nunries, with other fumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, croffes, images, and the like fooleries) or elfe giue ground for the fame to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretenfed right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the Otherfome thinke (to whome I willinglie fubscribe) that the and by the King Churches (confifting of fimple and ignorant men for the most part) abufing the fame benefices, and beftowing them vpon vnmeete perfons, and given it to the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and given the right patronage and possession of the same to the temporalitie, to the ende they might bestowe them better. But as they were taken from the churches for fome causes, so ought they to be remooued and given againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and foulde for fimonie, euen as an oxe or a cow is bought and fold for mony.

Laymen get their Church Patronage by the Pope having

given it to all men who'd build churches or give ground [I Sig. L 5, back]

having taken the patronage from congregations, individuals.

Theod. Are there no lawes for the restrainte of simonie, being for We have laws horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

against Simony,

Amphil. Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loofe the patronage of the same, and the 2 ecclesi- [2 Sig. L 6] afficall person, that giueth it, to loose the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclefiafticall promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? but they're Yes, I warrant you. For though they give two hundred, or three easily evaded. hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloosely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admission, they are sworne whether they came by it by fimonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for Simony is it or no, therefore, to avoide the guilte of periurie, they, the paftors pastors getting themselues, will not give anie monie, but their friendes shall doe money for them. it for them; and than may they fweare (with as good a confcience as euer Iudas betraied Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, II.

### 82 II. 2. Abuses of Private Patronage of Livings.

Or they buy a worthless thing for £100.

[1 Sig. L 6, back]

Private Patronages should be abolisht.

Poor Pastors haven't money to buy books.

[2 Sig. L 7]

Pagans take better care of their Priests.

by it freely, as of gifte. Or if this waie fayle them, than must they giue the patrones a hundred pounde, or two hundred pounds vpon fome bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they fweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vppon fuch and fuch a bargaine, 1 without fome of these practises, or without such a dish of apples as Mafter Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, thogh he be neuer fo learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with fuch golden apples, it will ferue him better then all Saint Paules learning. For thefe and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enioy them, nay, that make hauocke of them, and either to rest in the right of the Prince (as they ought) or else in the right of the churches, who will not be corrupted, it were a great deale better than nowe they bee. For now the poore paftours are fo handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookes withall, nor, which is leffe, not to maintaine themselues vppon, though but meanelye, but are manye times conftrained either to wander abroad to feeke their liuings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great difcredite of the gospell of Christ, and offence of the godlie. This argueth flatly that we loue not Christ Iesus, who make so little of his meffengers, and ambaffadors. He that defpifeth you, defpifeth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiveth 2 me, and maketh much of me, faith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priefts, then we doe for the true preachers of the gospell, and disclosers of the secrets of God. For when the Egyptians were fore pooled of Pharao, the priefts, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all neceffarie maintenance whatfoeuer. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatfoeuer we get of them is won, it is our own good, whereas in truth, what we withdrawe from them (prouided that they be diligent preachers of the gospell) we withdraw it from God, and ferrie it to the deuil. But hereof more shal be spoken (Christ willing) hereafter, when we come to this question, whether it be lawful for preachers and ministers of the Gospell, to receive wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

Theod. By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime Ministers can to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, belonging to him, by ye law of God, or of man?

Amphil. God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciall commandement that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be giuen to the priefts, to the end that they might attend upon the diuine feruice of God and not 1 bufie themselues in worldly affaires, which [1 Sig. L 7, back] ordinance or fanction being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadowes, types & figures ceased, & toke their end) And therfore cannot a preacher of the Gospel claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positive law of Christian lawes of Christian princes which are to be obeied in all things (not kings, directly against true godlinesse) vpon paine of damnation.

Theod. Are tithes then due to be paid by the positive lawe of man, and not by the law of God?

Amphil. Yea truly, by the positive lawe of man: which godlie conftitution is now no leffe to be obeied vnder the Gofpel (being commanded by a christian prince) than the divine institution was to be obeied vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the pofitiue lawes of man, yet are the fame grounded vpon the word of God, grounded on the as commanded as well by God as by man. And therefore he that breaketh this ordinance (being an excellent policie) violateth the commandements of God, and breketh the conflitution of his liege prince to his damnation, except he repent.

word of God.

Theod. Must euerie one pay his tithes truely to euery pastor, whether he be ought or 2 naught, learned or vnlearned, without any [2 Sig. L 8] exception; or may he deteine it with good confcience from him that is an vnfit and vnable minister?

Amphil. If he be a good pastor, and diligent in his calling, and withal able to discharge the dutie of a faithful shepheard ouer his flock, then ought he to have al tithes paid him whatfoeuer with the better; and if any should withhold the lest mite from him, he sinneth against the maiestie of God most greeuously. And although he be a Even tho a wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in small wicked man, his tithes should be measure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and paid him, truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might feeme to withftande authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing

84 II. 2. Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.

themselues to praier, and fuing to them that have the authoritie for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the dutie of a faithfull partor. Notwithstanding I know fome are of opinion that if any man giue either tithes, or anie dutie elfe, to their paftor being an vnfit and an vnable perfon, he is partaker with him of his finne, he communicateth with other mens offences, [1 Sig. L 8, back] and he maintaineth him in his idlenesse, sloth, ignorance, 1 and securitie, and therefore offendeth greeuoufly. But I am of opinion that euerye man ought to pay their dutie (for else he might seeme, as I said, to refift the power) & if he be not able to discharge his dutie, to pray for his remoouing, and to make inftance to them that are in authoritie appointed for the redresse of such inormities, for his displacing, and fo not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authoritie grounded vpon the word for the fame.

but his parishioners should try to get

him removed.

Theod. May a paftor that hath a charge and a flocke affigned him to watch ouer (hauing a maintainable liuing allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

An endowd Minister may not

Amphil. Hee may fometimes, obtaining licence for fome reasonable cause of his owne flocke, preach the word of God abroad in other places, but then he ought to doe it gratis, contenting himselfe with the liuing allowed him at home of his owne parish. Notwithstanding, if the other churches where he shall have preached, will voluntarily impart any thing to the fupplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receive the same, but he may not compell, nor conftraine them to giue it him whether they will or not, against their wils, as manie impudently doe.

force men to pay him for preaching in other places.

[2 Sig. M. 1.]

Theod. Then I perceive if it be not law2full for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a flipend appointed him, to receive monie vppon constraint of strangers for preaching the worde abroad in other places, then is it not lawfull for him to take monie in his cure for preaching funerall fermons, marriage fermons, christening fermons, and the like, as many do. What fay you to this?

Ministers may not take fees for sermons

Amphil. There are manie woorthie of great blame in this respect. For though they receive fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound a yeere, of fome one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and fometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the fame. And if a

### II. 2. Preachers not to take fees for Funeral Sermons. 85

man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, at Burials, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the left. therefore the papifts and adversaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our fermons 'roiall fermons, angell fermons, and noble fermons.' You call, fay they, our bleffed maffe 'a polling maffe;' but, fay they, your preachings are more polling. For we fay they would have fold a masse for a grote; you will not fell a fermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus these fellowes are a slander to the Those that do Gospel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I should hire a the Gospel. 1 man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or leffe, to teach [1 Sig. M. r. back] my children nurture or knowledge, if he for the execution therof should aske me more for the same than we agreed for, were not this man a naughtie, exacting, and fraudulent felowe? Nay, if I compound with him to teach them in the best maner he is able for so much, and he doth it not, and yet receive my monie, have not I good lawe against him? If he should say vnto me, I will not doe it except you give me more, were not this a very vnreafonable man? For, having his monie that was covenant, is hee not bound both by lawe and conscience to teach them to the vttermost of his power? Or if he shall not doe it, and yet take my monie, is not he a theese and robber? Is this true in a private man, & not in an ecclefiafticall person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word They get their of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the fame? Shall salary, and yet won't preach he now denie to preach the fame word except he haue more monie? pay. Or is he not bound in conscience to preach the same night and day without ceasing? And if he doe not, is he not a deceiver, a theefe, & a robber? The paftor therefore, having taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and having his flipend appointed for the fame, is bound to preach the worde of 2God to all his flocke indiffer- [2 Sig. M. 2.] ently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then especially) or at any other time whenfoeue, without taking or requiring of any more monie, than the stipend he was hired for. For if he take any more, it is plaine theft before God, and one day shall be answered for: let them be fure of it.

Weddings, &c.

without more

Theod. You condemne not funerall fermons then, fo that they be good, doe you?

Amphil. No, God forbid. Why should not godlie sermons be as

### 86 II. 2. Funeral Sermons Good. Ministers should be paid.

I think godly Sermons at Funerals are very needful, and do great good.

Ministers ought to have Stipends, so as

to be free from worldly business, and keep their families.

[2 Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says that Ministers who preach the Gospel should live by it,

wholfome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue fuch lively spectacles before our eies, of our mortality, miserie, and end, as they be at all other times? Yea truely at that present I thinke godlie fermons verie necessarie to put the people in remembrance of their mortalitie, of their great miserie, and frailtie, of their fatall end, of the immortalitie of the foule, of the generall refurrection at the last day, and of the ioie, felicitie, and beatitude of the life to come, with the like godlie instructions, that they may the better prepare themselues to the same when God shall call them hence to And although of late fome phantafticall spirites have ['Sig. M. 2. back] taught that the vse of them is naught, in that they I stand in place of popish diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be easilie drawne to affent vnto them, for that I fee them in that respect a great deale more curious than godlie wife.

> Theod. Is it lawfull, thinke you, for ministers, and preachers of the Gospell, to receive stipends, and wages for their preaching?

> Amphil. Why not? Otherwise how should they bee able to keepe themselues free from worldly occupations, and trauels of this life (as they ought) to applie their studies for the discharge of their duties, to maintaine themselues, their family, and houshold; or how shuld they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore; all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good confcience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogither, the ordinarie meane to faluation in Christ. This caused the apostle to enter disputation of this point, where he prooueth by inuincible arguments, that a preacher or minister of the Gospell of Christ Iesus, may (Salua conscientia, With a good conscience) receive wages and ftipends for his peines fufteined in the affaires of the Gofpell, and that for the causes abouesaid. Therefore saith this apostle: Boui 2 trituranti non ligabis os, Thou shalt not mussle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth foorth the corne. Whereby is ment, that he that laboreth and taketh paines in any good exercise, ought not to be denied of his meed for his paines. Againe he faith: Dignus est operarius mercede sua, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And ftill infifting in the same argument, hee faith: Qui euangelium prædicant, ex euangelio viuant, They that preach the Gospell, let them liue vpon the Gospell. And yet further prosecuting the same more at

### II. 2. Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks. 87

large, he faith: Quis militat, etc. 'Who goeth on warfare at any time of his owne charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit? Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flock?' By al which reasons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospel ought to liue of the Gospell. But as euerie paftor that hath a peculiar flocke affigned him, may, with the testimonie But benefist of a good conscience, receive wages and maintenance of his flocke, not take extra for his paines taken amongst them: so may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or falarie of any other flocke adioining, if so be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amongst them. To them that are thus prouided for, Chrift our 1 fauiour faith: Gratis accepistis, gratis date, Freely you have [ Sig. M. 3. back] received, freely give againe. But if any have not a speciall flocke or charge affigned him, then may he with good confcience receive the beneuolencie, the friendly contributions and rewards, of the churches to whom he hath preached. And this is probable, both by the word of God, and the examples of the apostles themselues.

Ministers may

Theod. What fay you of preachers, and lecturers, that have no peculiar flockes, nor charges appointed them; are they necessarie, and may they receive wages, with a good conscience, of the flockes and charges where they preach the word of God?

Amphil. First you aske me whether preachers and lecturers that Unbenefist haue no peculiar flocks nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, now necessary, be necessarie. Whereto I answere. That considering the state & condition of the church at this day, they are most necessarie. But if it were fo, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euery one ought to preach, else is he not fent by the Lord) then were they not fo necessarie; but confidering that most churches are planted as most and fraught with fingle reading ministers, they are verie behouefull to Churches have only Readers. helpe to supplie the defect of the others, that 2 through the good indus- [2 Sig. M. 4.] trie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of GOD may bee instructed and nourished with the worde of GOD to eternall life. Then you aske mee whether these lecturers and preachers may receive Unbenefist wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good confcience, take pay for Preaching. whereto I answere, that they may. But yet I am persuaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flocks of their owne, to the end that they, receiving sufficient maintenance of them, might

preachers are

88 II. 2. Ministers to be content with poor Livings.

(if they were at anie time disposed to bestowe any spirituall graces abroad) doe it Gratis, frankly and freely, without any charges to the poore churches of Iefus Chrift.

Theod. But what if the pastors living be not maintaineable nor fufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

But benefist ones may not, even if their Livings are very poor.

They must be content with em,

and wait till the Lord opens men's hearts to give them more.

Amphil. I am perfuaded no. For if his living be too little, then ought the church to mend it; but if the church, either for want of zeale will not, or through extreame pouertie cannot, increase his living, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath fent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth [1 Sig. M. 4 back] the children of GOD 1 to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they have meate, drinke, and cloth, it is inough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (faith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into divers temptations, and fnares of the divell, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. Therefore if it be fufficient to yeelde him meate, drinke, cloth, and other necessaries, he is bound to content himselfe with the same. Which if he doe (for the zeale he beareth to his flocke), I doubt not but the Lord will open the harts of his flock towards him, and both make them able and willing to support his necessities. For if hee deliuer vnto them spirituall things, doubtlesse the Lord will moue them to give vnto him temporall things. And therfore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peraduenture, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promifed.

Theod. Doe you allow of that vagarant ministerie, which is in manie countries, but most specially in Dnalgne sprong up of late, to the discredite of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and offence of the brethren?

[2 leaf M 5] The present Vagrant Ministers,

Amphil. Allow of it, quoth you? No, God forbid! But I rather deplore it with all my hart, 2 knowing that it is most directly against the word of God, the example of the primitiue age and all good reformed churches thorough the world. Is it not a pitifull case that two hundred, three hundred, fiue hundred, a thousand, fiue thousand, yea possible ten thousand, shall be called into the ministerie, in one countrie, not a quarter of them knowing where to haue any liuing or

over the country,

charge? And what do they then? Runne ftragling and rouing roaming all ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to I condemn. shire, and from one place to another, till they have spent al that ever they have, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great difhonour of God, and flander of the word.

Theod. Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not having flocks and charges prouided for them before.

Amphil. It is a great abuse indeed. For if pastor come of Pasco, to feed, if he be not a shepheard that hath no flock, and if he be not a feeder, that giveth no fustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no fhepheards, nor no watchmen fent from the Lord, that have neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular [1 leaf M 5, back] flocke readie to receive him, is fo far from being a lawfull shepheard, by reason of his former admission, that he is rather made a pastor by the church that hireth him to be their watchman and guide, than of him that first called him into that function. And therefore woulde I wish that bishops and others to whome it doth (Ex officio) apperteine to call, and admit paftors, and teachers in the church of GOD, to bee verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they have had fufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they these men go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the flander of the Gospell.

Bishops should stop

running about like masterless dogs.

Theod. Why? Then I perceive you would have none called into the ministerie, before there be a place void for him: is not that your meaning?

No one should be ordaind till a place is ready for him.

Amphil. That is my meaning indeed.

Theod. But are you able to prooue your affumption out of the word of God, or else I will give but smal credit to you in such matters of controuerfie as this is?

Amphil. I have not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to Bible examples <sup>2</sup> prooue by the worde of GOD. And yet I grant Errare possum (for [2] leaf M 6] Hominis est labi, & decipi, Man may bee deceived and fall) but

#### 90 II. 2. No one to be ordaind till he has a Cure.

Matthias wasn't elected

till Judas's place was empty.

The Apostles wouldn't choose Deacons until [\* leaf M 6, back] places were ready for em.

Common sense says, better wait and get one able man than have 200 unfit ones struggling about after places.

[2 leaf M 7]
Any congregation wanting
a Pastor, should
propose 2 or 3
tried men to

the Bishop,

Hereticus effe nolo, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, fo foone as I shall be conuinced by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or affertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being perfuaded as I am, giue me leaue, I befeech you (vnder correction) to speake what I thinke. But now to the purpose. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles recorded by the Evangelist Saint Luke, wee read that Matthias succeeding Iudas the traitour in the administration of the apostleship, was not chosen nor elected (notwithstanding that the apostles by the reuelation of the Spirite of GOD, knew that he should fall from the same in the end) vntill the place was voide, and emptie. In the fixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles wee reade also of seuen deacons, which were chosen for the dailie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (deftitute of their feruice) had need of them, nor before there 1 were places readie to receive them, wherein they might exercise their function, and calling. Then if the apostles would not choose not so much as deacons, which is an office in the church of God farre inferiour to the office of the pastor, or preacher, before places were void and readie to receive them, much lesse would they, or did they choose or call any pastor into the church of God, before the church stood in need of him, and before there be a place readie to receive him. Befides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be pastors and preachers of the word, before fuch time as there were places void for them. Common reason, me thinke, and daily experience, should teach us this truth fufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is destitute of a pastor, it were better to place there one able person, than to make two or three hundred or mo vnable fellowes, and they, for want of liuing, to runne ftragling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old faieng is: Hungrie dogs eate fluttish puddings.

Theod. What order would you have observed in this?

<sup>2</sup> Amphil. Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being destitute of a pastor, should present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth apperteine, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or lesse, as they conveniently can,

## 11. 2. How Ministers should be appointed to Churches. 91

whose liues and conversations they have had sufficient triall of, whose foundnesse in religion, integritie of life, and godly zeale to the truth they are not ignorant of. Then the bishops and others to whom it doth apperteine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their fufficiencie in learning, foundnesse in doctrine, and dexteritie in teaching, and finding them furnished with sufficient gifts for such an honorable calling, to admit them, to lay their hands vppon them, and and he should to fend them foorth (the chiefest of them) to that congregation or ordain the best for that Church. church fo destitute. Which order, if it were strictly observed and kept (as it ought to be) then should not so manie run abroad in the countries to feeke liuings, then should not churches bee pestered with infufficient ministers. Then should not the bishops be so deceived in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how should the bishop choose but be deceived in him, whom he never sawe before, whose conversation he knoweth not, whose disposition hee is ignorant of, and 1 whose qualities and properties in generall, he suspecteth not? [1 leaf M 7, back] Whereas if this order were established, that euerie church destitute of a paftor should present certeine able men, whose conversation and integritie of life in euerie respect they perfectly knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in judging of their conversations, who haue been either altogither, or for the most part conversant among them) then (as I fay,) should not the bishop be deceived in any, nor yet any church fcandalized with the wicked liues of their paftors (or rather depaftors) as they be. For now it is though fufficient for the Now, a Bishop gets but small certeintie of his conversation, if he either have letters dimifforie from proof of a one bithop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the fitness. conversation of the man) or else letters commendatorie from any gentleman, or other, especially if they be of any reputation. If he can get these things, he is likely to speede, I warrant him. Which thing is fcarce well, in my judgement. For you knowe one private man or two, or three, or foure may, peraduenture either write vpon affection, or else bee corrupted with bribes or gifts, whereas the whole church cannot, nor would not. Therefore is the other the furer way.

candidate's

<sup>2</sup> Theod. How prooue you that the churches that are deftitute of a [2 leaf M 8] paftor, ought to prefent him whom they would have admitted, to the Bishops ought not to intrude bishop, and not the bishop to intrude vpon the church whom he will? on churches,

### 92 II. 2. Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.

for the Apostles

bade the Church present successors to Judas Iscariot.

They also bade the Church choose Deacons.

So now each Church should choose its Pastor.

If it doesn't, it won't like him.

Amphil. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Iudas the traitour, the apostie Peter knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to give testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascenfion of Christ Iesus, commanded the church to present one or two, or mo, as they thought good, that hee with his fellowe brethren might confirme and allow them. And therevppon, faith the text, they chofe two, to wit, Matthias, and Iofeph, furnamed Berfabas. And the church having prefented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the foresaide fixt chapter of the Acts of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to fee the fame bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text faith, that the apostles defired the church to choose foorth seuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghost, which [' leaf M 8, back] they might appoint to that bufinesse. 1By all which reasons appereth, that the church ought to prefent him, or them, whom they would haue to be admitted, and not that the bishop ought to present, to allow, or to intrude him vpon the church at his pleasure, against the will thereof.

Theod. Why would you not have paftors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not ?

Amphil. Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receive, nor yet fo louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them against their wils, as they will doe him that they like of, choose, and allow of themselues. And if the churches beare not a fingular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their paftor, it is vnpossible that they should heare him, or learne of him with profit to their soules. And if they heare him not Auide & sitienter (as we fay) Greedily and thirstily thereby to profit, then shal they perish euerlastingly, in that the word of God is the ordinarie meane appointed by the diuine maiestie. And therefore in conclusion, if there be not a mutual amitie, loue, and affection betwixt the pastor and his flocke, and if that the one loue not the other, as themselues, it is not to be looked for that either the one shall teach, or the other receive, any thing to their foules 2 health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

Theod. I pray you what is your judgement in this? What if a

[\* Sig. N. 1.]

### II. 2. When a Minister may turn Layman again. 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon As to a Minanie occasion whatsoeuer, leaue off the same function, and applie him- his office, felfe to fecular affaires?

Amphil. There is a twofold calling. The one a divine calling immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from and by man. Now he that hath the first divine calling (his confcience fuggefting the fame vnto him, and the spirit of God certifieng if he's calld by his fpirit of the certeintie thereof) being furnished with gifts and graces necessarie for such a high function and office (as God calleth none, but he indueth them first with gifts, and graces necessarie for their calling) and afterwards is lawfully called of man according to the and then by man, prescript of Gods word, having a flocke appointed him wherevpon to a flock, he must attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to give ouer his ister to the end. calling, but to perseuere in the same to the end, for that he hath both the diuine and humane callings, being furnished with all gifts and graces necessarie (in some measure) for the discharge of his high function and calling. Yet notwithstanding, in time of extreame persecution, when Gods truth is persecuted, and his glorie defalced, if [1 Sig. N. t. back] he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwise, he may for the time giue himfelfe to manuall occupations, and corporall exercises in the affaires of the worlde, as we see the apostles themselues did, who, after Christ Iesus was crucified, gaue themselues to their old occupations of fifthing, making of nets, tents, pauilions, and the like. But vpon the other fide, if a man haue not this divine calling, his But if he's not conscience bearing him witnesse thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and and hasn't fit ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whofoeuer hath work, he not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not fent him, for those that hee fendeth, hee furnisheth with all kinde of graces and giftes necessarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by humane calling neuer fo precifely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to should at once leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of office. God, reprefenting (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not. Befides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as Men forst by manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect poverty into the Ministry, and being unsit, good conscience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for fuch a calling (which argueth di2rectly that God hath not called him) [3 Sig. N. 2.]

and is given continue a Min-

gifts for his

friends or

94 II. 2. Unfit Ministers ought to give up their charges.

ought to leave their callings.

hee, I fay, is fo farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in the fame, though he bee called by man a thoufande times. Therefore he that is a minister, and hath charge of foules committed vnto him, let him if hee bee not furnished with such gifts as his high calling requireth, in the name of GOD make no doubt of it to give ouer his function vnto others that are able for their giftes to discharge the fame, in the meane time giuing himfelfe to godlie exercifes of life, as God may be glorified, his confcience difburthened, and the commonwealth profited.

Theod. But I have heard of fome that, confidering the naughtineffe of their calling, and their owne infufficiencie to discharge the same, haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular exercises, and in the ende haue beene inforced to resume their former function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not. How thinke you of this?

Those who would drive them back into Orders, offend grievously.

Amphil. I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take [1 Sig. N. 2. back] againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and 1 therefore left it, haue greeuously offended therein. This is as if I, knowing a fimple ignorant foole prefumptuoufly to haue taken vpon him a great and waightie charge, yea, fuch a charge as all the wifedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne infufficiencie, shuld be mooued to leave his charge to others better able to execute the fame than hee, I should notwithflanding not onely counfell, but also compell him to refigne againe his former great charge, which I knowe he is neither woorthie, nor yet able, euer to accomplish. Thinke you not that he that compelleth him to take againe that office or calling which before he had leaft for his inabilitie, shall not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be fure of it. In conclusion, he that is sufficiently furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to difcharge in fome fort his duty, ought not to leave his function (for to fuch a on that fo doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vppon the plough, and looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God'). But againe, he that hath not these gifts, and graces sufficient for his calling, to the discharge of his dutie, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof, much lesse ought he, 2 when

No unfit Pastors should be re-appointed.

[2 Sig. N. 3.]

he hath (for his inabilitie) leaft the fame, to be conftrai[n]ed to refume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to difcharge. But hereof inough.

Theod. Then I perceive that any minister or ecclesiafticall person that hath not gifts fufficient to discharge his duty, may with good They'd better conscience leave their functions, and give themselves to live by their bread. labors, as other temporall men doe: may they not?

Amphil. Yes, with a better conscience than to retaine them, being not able to discharge them in any small measure. For with what conscience can he receive temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to give them spirituall? With what face can a shepeheard receive of his sheepe, the milke, the wooll, and sleece, and yet will not, or cannot give to the fame either meate or drinke sufficiently? With what confcience can he receive fortie pound, a hundred pound, How can a or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to take pay for breake to them the breade of life, in fuch forme and maner as he give? ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet conscience that knowing that the blood of all those that die ghostlie for want of instruction shal be powred vpon his head at the day of indgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet not with ftanding reteane the fame [ I Sig. N. 3. back] charge and function to himselfe still, not being able to discharge the least iote of the same? Therefore would I wish euery man of what office, function, or calling foeuer he be, if he be not able to discharge his dutie in the same, to give it ouer, and not for greedinesse of a little Let unfit men mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to cast away their foules, which Iefus Chrift hath bought with his most precious blood.

what he can't

Theod. Is it lawfull for a paftor or minister that hath a slocke to departe from the same, In the time of plague, pestilence, or the like, for feare of infection?

Amphil. Is he a good sheepeheard that, when he feeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heeles and runne away? Or is he a fure freend that, when a man hath most neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not shewing any freendship towardes him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good pastor, or A minister is minister, (but rather a depastor, and minister) that in time of any Depastor, who Il run away for plague, pestilence or ficknes whatsoeuer, will conuey himselfe away fear of infection.

96 II. 2. No good Pastor will run away in Plague time.

from his flocke, for feare of infection, at the houre of death, when the poore people haue most need of comfort aboue all other times, then is he their paftor that shoulde feede 1 them, the furthest from

them. When they stande vppon the edge, as it were, of faluation or

[1 Sig. N. 4.]

damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauiour Christ faith Bonus pastor animulam dat pro ouibus, A good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe, but these felowes are so far from giuing their liues for their sheepe, that they seeke to saue their

owne liues with the destruction of their whole flocke. This is the loue that they beare vnto their flocke, this is the care they have ouer

their foules health, which Chrift Iefus bought fo deere with the price

of his blood. Out vpon those shepheards that for feare of incurring

of corporall death (which is to the Godly an entraunce into parpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thoufande to die a corporall and a spirituall

death both, yea, a death of damnation both of body & foule for euer. Do they thinke that their blod shall not be asked at their handes

at ye gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke that their flieng away

from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues ye longer vpon earth? Is not God able to ftrike them as well in the fields, as in

the city, as well in the country as in the towne, in one place, as

well as in another? Is not his power eueriewhere? Is not his

meffenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deu-

[2 Sig. N. 4. back] teron. that if we doe 2 not those things which he hath commanded vs in his facred word, curfed shall wee bee at home, and curfed in the

And faith he not further, that the plague and peftilence, the

botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection soeuer, shall followe

vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place foeuer we be, and shall neuer

depart from vs, till it have quite confumed vs from the face of the

earth? And doe these fugitiues that ouerrun their flocks in time of

infection, thinke that they shall escape the heavie wrath and vengeance

of God for their tergiuersation and backsliding from their duties?

Doe they thinke that God cannot faue them from corporal death

but with the breach of their duties towards God? Is not the Lord

as well able to defend them from any deadly infection, if it be his good pleafure, as he was to defend Sidrach, Mifaach, and Abednego

from the flaming fire? Daniell from the mouth of the lions, Ionas

from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trufted

Such runaways, to save their bedies, will hazard a thousand souls.

But God will follow and strike them.

Cannot God protect his servants now from death?

# II. 2. God can protect his own. Duty to the death. 97

in him? Doe they thinke that his arme is fhortened, or his power weakened? Is he not able to deliuer his children, that in dooing of their duties depend vpon his prouidence? And to bee plaine with them, me think that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themselues to thinke 1 that either God is not almightie, or else not [ leaf N 5] mercifull, or neither. For if they beleeved that he were almightie, and that hee were able to faue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleeue that he is as well able to deliuer them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleafure. And if they beleeved that he were mercifull, then would they rest vpon the same, not doubting, but as he is almightie, and omnipotent, and therefore can doe al things, fo he is most mercifull, and therfore wil preserve al those that put their trust He will preserve in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a civil office all those who trust in him. in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his prefent abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a paftor or feeder of foules, flieth away from his charge, wheras his presence might doe a thousand times more good than his absence? And if it please the Lord to take them away to himselfe, are they not most happie? Enter they not into eternall glorie? And happy are they. haue they not an end of all miferies and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioie in the heauens? Are they not bleffed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find 2 them so well occu- [2 leaf N 5, back] pied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iesus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

And if he takes them to himself,

Theod. But they fay, we ought not to tempt God, which thing they must needs doe if they shoulde tarrie when they see death before their face. And they fay further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the ficke, and the ficke from the whole. Besids, saie they, Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti, Nature hath given power of defending of life to euerie liuing creture. Againe, euery thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie Cowardly to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therfore we for fleeing from flie from the same by the instinct of nature. These and the like fond reasons they alledge for their excuse in flieng from their flocks and charges: what fay you to them?

Pastors' excuses infection.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES, II.

#### 98 II. 2. The excuses of cowardly Pastors refuted.

These refuted:

God has bidden his Pastors to feed his Sheep.

[I leaf N 6]

Men with no duty to stay in danger may go from it.

But Ministers

[2 leaf N 6, back

are specially bound to be at the deathbeds of their flocks.

Many who've led a wicked life

Amphil. I can faie little to them. But onelie this, that none of all these reasons doe priviledge them to discontinue from their flockes and charges. And whereas they faie, that their flaieng were a tempting of God, it is verie vntrue, it is rather a reuerent obedience to this tripled commandement, Pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas, Feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe. But indeede if it were fo that a private man who hath no 1kind of function nor office, neither ecclefiafticall nor temporall, feeing himfelfe if he flaie stil in great danger of death, & might avoid the danger by flieng, & fo by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murtherer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, 'thou shalt keepe the whole from the ficke, & the fick from the whole.' This is the meaning & fence of these words, and not that they do priuiledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be faid in confutacion of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I have knowne and doe know fome ministers (nay, wolues in sheepes clothing) in Dnalgne that in time of any plague, peftilence or infection, thogh there bath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin fo far from continuing amongst their flock, that if any one of them were ficke, although of neuer fo common or vfuall difeafe, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they have abfented themselues altogither, from visiting the fick according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them. Yea, fome of them (fuppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good paftors) are fo nice, fo fine & fo feareful of death forfoth, that in no cafe they cannot abide to vifit the ficke, neither by day nor 2 by night. But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to vifite, to comfort, to inftruct, and relieve the ficke, at the houre of death, as it is for them to preach the word of God to their flocke al the daies of their life. And peraduenture they may doe more good in one howre at the laft gaspe, then they have done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in fmall estimation the blessed worde of God, but following his owne humors in hope to liue long, hath lead a very wicked and impenitent life, nowe through the confideration and fight of death, which he feeth before his eies, togither with godly exhortations, admonitions, and confolations, out of the word of

# 11. 2. Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected. 99

God, may eafilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and dieng in the faith of Iefus Christ, with true repentance for his finnes to-fore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & foule, whereas, if exhortations had not bin, he might (happily) haue died irrepentant or vtterly desperate to his euerlasting destruction for euer. Yea, it is commonly seene, that those who could neuer be wonne to Christ Iesus, all the daies of their life before, yet at the last howre they are foone recouered. Therefore ought not the pastors to neglecte their duties therein, but 1 warely and carefully to watche [1 leaf N 7] ouer their flocks night and day without ceafing, that when the great shephard of the sheepe commeth, he may rewarde them with the immercessible crowne of eternall glory. And thus much be it spoken hereof.

may easily be drawn to repent on their dying

Theod. In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor confift? in the church onely, or in the bishops?

The Election of Pastors.

Amphil. I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church might examine the life, the conversation, and disposition of him, or them, whome they would have to be their paftor, and finding the fame good, to prefent him, or them, to the bifhops or elders to whome it apperteineth, to examine for his fufficiencie in knowledge, and dexteritie in teaching and handling the word of God; and finding him a man furnished with gifts and graces necessary for such a high vocation, to call him lawfullie according to the word of God, and fo to fende him foorth into the Lords harueft, as a faithfull laborer therein.

Their lives should be lookt into by the Church; then the men should be presented to the Bishop.

Theod. But fome are of opinion that the churches themselues of their owne absolute and plenarie power ought to choose their pastor, and not bishops.

Amphil. The churches have no further 2 power in the election of [2 leaf N 7, back] their pastor, than as I have told you, that is, to judge of his converfation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister Churches should or paftor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed con- mot elect their Ministers withfusion (for some would choose one, some another, some this, and some approval. that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. certeine it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

out the Bishop's

### 100 II. 2. No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.

to elect their paftor, to choose him, to cal him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, observing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer feene that any church did euer practife the fame. For in the dais of the apoftles, did the churches any more than choose foorth certeine persons of a tried conversation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands voon them, approue them (after triall had of their fufficiencie in knowledge) and fent them foorth into the Lords vineyard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as fome call it, confecrated them not, nor vfed not any other ceremoniall rite in the 1 election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for fom cause, and in som respects, is not to be excluded from a consultatiue voyce (as before) or from being made priuie at al to the election of their pastor, so I denie that the church may absolutely of his owne plenarie power cal their paftor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging observed, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches confifting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vnlearned.

Theod. What fay you to a feigniorie or eldership? were it not good for the flate of the church at this day that ye fame were established in euery congregation, as it was in the apostles daies.

Amphil. The feueral effates and conditions of the apoftolicall churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are divers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a feigniorie or eldership then in euerie particular church were necessarie, yet now vnder christian princes it is not so needfull. The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to gouerne the same, and therefore had need of fome others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we have most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, [2 leaf N 8, back] to rule and gouerne the church, & therfore 2 we ftand in leffe need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a seigniorie in euery congregation were to be wished, if it could be brought to passe, yet cannot I perceiue, but that it would rather bring confusion, than reformation, confidering the flate of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when seigniories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclefiasticall magistrates

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[I leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in its Pastor's call.

Seignory or Eldership in every Church is not needful now.

A Seignory in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

#### II. 2. Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons. 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor civill magistrates (as we have now), it was necessarie that the seigniories shuld be ordeined. But now we, having al these things, stand not in is not needed fuch necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Befides, the inftitution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies, neither ought the necessitie thereof to binde all churches. Neither doe I thinke that all churches are bound for euer to one forme of externall gouerne- Every Church ment, but that euery church may alter, and change the fame, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to time to time. make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

may alter its form of external

1 Theod. What fay you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or [1 Sig. O. r.] not in the church of God at this day?

Amphil. Their office (which was to make collections for the The office of poore, to gather the beneuolences, and contributions of euerie one very necessary. that were disposed to giue, and to see the same bestowed vpon the poore and needie members of the church) is very necessarie, and without doubt ought to be continued for euer. But yet is not the church tied to their names onely, but to their office. Which office is Now it is filld executed by honest substantiall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chosen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same alms and give end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendlye beneuolencies of the churches, beftow, or fee the fame beftowed vpon the poore and indigent of the same church, which was the greatest part of the deacons duties in the apostles daies. So that albeit wee haue not the name, we yet hold their office in substance and effect.

Deacon is still

by Churchwardens, who daily gather em to the poor.

Theod. What is your iudgement, ought there to be any bishops in the churches of christians?

Amphil. To doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe. For is there not 2mention made of their names, dignities, functions, and callings, [2 Sig. O. z. back] almost in euery chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of Paule, of Peter, of Iohn, of Iude, and of all the rest? Besides that, The Apostles did not the apostles themselues constitute and ordeine bishops and elders; and doe they not woonderfully commende the excellencie of their calling, inferring that those that rule well, are worthye of double

ordaind Bishops.

102 II. 2. Bishops needful, but mustn't claim superiority.

The state of the Church couldn't be kept up without em.

honour? Whereby appeareth that bishops are not only eneedefull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can fcarcely fee how the state of the church could well bee maintained. And therefore those that contend that they are not necessarie in a Christian Common wealth, shewe them selues either wilfull, waiwarde, or maliciouslye blinde, and striuing to catch their owne fhadowes, they labour all in vaine, giuing manifest demonstration of their more than extreame follie to all the world.

Theod. Well. Let it bee granted (as it cannot bee denied) that they are most necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee absolued, whether they maye lawfully vendicate or challenge to themselues fuperioritie, and primacie aboue their fellowe 1 brethren of the minifterie or no? for fome holde that there ought to be equalitie in the

ministerie, and no superioritie at all: how say you?

They don't claim superiority to other Pastors as to their calling, but only as to the dignity that the prince has given em.

[1 Sig. O. 2.]

Amphil. They doe not vendicate or challenge anie superioritie or primacie to themselues ouer their brethren in respect of their common callings and functions (for therein the poorest pastor or shepheard that is, is coequall with them, they themselues will not denie) but in respect of dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which the prince and church doth bestowe vpon them. So that the superioritie that they haue ouer their brethren, refteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleafed the prince to dignifie them withall aboue their felowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall togither. But if any curious heads fhould demand why the prince should advance any of the cleargie to such high dignitie, authoritie, and primacie aboue his brethren, I answer as it is in the Gospell: 'Is thine eie euill, bicause the prince is good?' May not the prince giue his gifts, his dignities, and promotions to whom he will? And if the prince of his roiall clemencie be minded to bestowe vpon his subject any dignity or promotion, is it christian [3Sig. O. 2. back] obedience 2 3 to refuse the same? Nay, is it not extreeme ingratitude towards his prince? Befides, who feeth not, that if there should be no fuperioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the fame honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old faieng, and a true, Familiaritas, fiue æqualitas parit conbreeds contempt. temptum, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

There must be superiority in dignity.

2 Orig. abedience.

### II. 2. Bishops to be tolerated. Their business to rule. 103

therefore take awaye authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or fpirituall, and ouerthrowe the fame altogither. authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the fame, & to flew forth the maieftie thereof, would it not foone grow to be dispised, vilipended, and naught fet by? And therefore the more to innoble and fet foorth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to beftow fuch authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoeuer. And therefore, feeing it is the pleafure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any fober christians should easely tolerate the same.

Sober Christians should tolerate Bishops.

Theod. Yea, but they faie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, 1 bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, [1 Sig. O. 3-1 amongst whom was no superiority, inequalitie, or principallitie at all?

Amphil. Indeede amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwife, but al were equall in ech respecte, one to another. But what than? The apostles were fent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well Bishops have to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach as preach. the worde. And therfore, though there were no superioritie amongst the apostles, yet maye there be amongst our bishops in respect of gouer[n]ment, dignitie and authoritie. And wheras they faie there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie at all, I answeare, no more there is in respect of euerie ones function, forme of calling, and office to preach the word and minister the sacraments. But in respect of gouernement, authoritie, dignitie, and honor, there is fuperioritie, and I am perfwaded fo ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to persiste.

Theod. But they adde further, and fay that it ftrengtheneth the hands of the aduersaries, 2the papists. For, saie they, the papists may [2 Sig. O. 3, back] as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and The Papist euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that that the authoritie, that dignitie, and honor which he hath or claimeth aboue his fellowe brethren, as well as the bishop may say so. Besides, it confirmeth the opinion of foueraigntie ouer all the churches in the

### 104 II. 2. Bishops and the Archdevil Pope contrasted.

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do. world. For, fay they, may not the pope faie that he received plenarie power to be head over all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may fay, we received this power to be superior to our brethren from christian kings and princes. Now whether these reasons be a like, I would gladly know.

But, 1, Papists say that

the Pope gets his power from God. Not true.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. O. 4-] The Pope didn't get his superiority from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[2 Sig. 4. back]

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

Amphil. They be verie vnlike, and fo vnlike as there is no equallitie, comparison, or semblance betwixt them. For, first of all, let them note, that the pope nor any of his complices and adherents doe not holde, nor pretende to holde, (no, they dare as well eate off their fingers as to fay fo, for then were there state in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receive his power either of authoritie, superioritie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God 1himfelfe. But whereas hee fayth that hee received his power of fuperioritie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receyued it neyther from God (for his viurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respecte) nor from anie christian man, but from the Deuill himselfe, whose vicegerent or Liefetenant generall in his kingedome of impietie he shewes himselfe to be. Than let them note, that although hee pretended to holde his vfurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate foeuer, that is able proprio iure to give him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste injurye done to all other Princes, as to give the foueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a ftraunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his fubiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, gouernment, or fuperioritie of anie thing within his owne dominions and kingdomes, but no further he maye not. And therefore this reason of theirs holdeth not, that the Pope maye as well arrogate the one to himselfe, as the Byshops may the other to themselues.

<sup>2</sup>Theod. Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superioritie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being given them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitane primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

## II. 2. Bishops may bear Titles given by Princes.

right honourable,' and the like, or not? For, me thinke, these titles and names are rather peculiar to the temporalitie than to them, & do fauour of vainglorie, and worldly pompe, rather than of any thing elfe. And which is more, me thinke they are against the expresse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your judgement thereof?

Amphil. These names and titles may seeme to sauour of vaineglorie indeed, if they should arrogate to themselues Iure divino, as they doe not. But if you wil confider by whom they were given them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sinceritie of the Gospell. therefore note that they were given them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to fet foorth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their calllings. Secondly let them note [1 leaf O 5] that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not Iure divino, and therefore being given them for the causes aforesaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them still without any offence to the divine goodnesse, or his faithfull spouse vpon the earth. But if they shuld claime them as If Bishops claim due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then should they God's law, they For our fauiour Chrift, feeing his disciples and apostles ambiciously to affect the same vaineglorious titles and names, set before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, faieng: Reges gentium dominantur eis, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and those that exercise authoritie ouer them, be called gratious Lords, but Vos autem non fic, You shall not be so. In the which words he Christ 'ud have vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the Tame office and function of life should succeed them) the titles of Lords, graces, or the like. The apostle also biddeth them to beware that they challenge not those vaine titles to themselues by the lawe of God, when he faith (fpeaking to bifhops and paftors) Be not Lords ouer your flocks, &c. By 2thefe and manie other the like places [2 Sig. O 5, back] of holie writt, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate these names or titles to themselues by ye word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue faid) by the donation, the beneuolence, and gifture of christian Princes, for the reuerent estimation they bare and ought to beare to

Yes, tho' these titles look vainglorious. God doesn't give 'em, but the Prince

these titles by do wrong.

none of this.

These titles of 'Bishop,' &c., are not given by God's Word, but only by Christian

and they dignify their holders callings.

They are not Anti-christian but Christian,

[1 Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may lawfully assume them.

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his meffengers, his Ambaffadors, the difclosers and proclaimers of his secretes, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therfore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were given and attributed vnto them. And truely to speake my simple iudgement, I see not but that these names doe dignifie their callinges, shewe forth the maiestie thereof, and doe moue the Churches to have the fame high calling in more reuerence, & honor, than otherwife they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this that hath beene faide, or anie thinge els that can be faid herein, there are fome waiward fpirits lately reuiued, who hold the fame names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and suche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichrilftian, I holde them to be Christian names, and geuen by Christian Princes to the innobling and garnishing of their offices, functions, and callinges, which doubtlesse is a glorie to God, denie it who will, or who can. And therefore in conclusion I fay, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the positive law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully affume the faide titles and names to them, for the causes before cited. And therefore these names and titles beeing meere indifferent, and not derogating from the glorie of God, but rather making for the fame, they are not, of anye wife, fober, or faythfull Christian, neyther to bee inueighed against, nor yet to bee in anye respecte dislyked beeing vsed as before. And thus much of the names and titles of Byshops.

Theod. Maye Byshops exercise temporall authoritie together with Ecclesiasticall; and maye they bee Iustices of peace, Iustices of Quorum, Iustices of Assises, Ewer, Determiner, and the lyke; or maye they, as Capytall Iudges, geue definytiue sentence of lyfe and death vpon malesactors and others, that by the iudiciall lawe of man haue deserved to dye?

[2 Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only fulfill one calling. <sup>2</sup> Amphil. There is neither of the callings temporall, nor ecclefiafticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the fame. And if there were neuer founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

# 11. 2. Bishops may not be Magistrates or Judges. 107

the callings temporall or ecclefiafticall, much leffe can there euer one No ecclesiastical man be found, that is able to discharg them both. It is hard therefore that thefe two callings fhould concurre in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen alreadie vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vppon him. therefore as it were abfurde to fee a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the facraments, so absurde it is to fee an ecclefiafticall magistrate exercise the authoritie tem- should exercise porall, and to giue fentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any authority, like criminous person, which properlie belongeth to the temporall power. to death. Befids, it is a great difcredite to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wife nor politique inough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and affiftance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the discharge of their duties in their owne calling, for 1 it is written, [1 Sig. O 7] no man can ferue two mafters but either he must betraie the one or No man can the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to give iudgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclefiafticall, & appertained to an ecclefiafficall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuil? Againe, our fauior2 Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, Christ refuzd to faieng, Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos? Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you: Whereby appeareth how farre ecclefiafticall perfons ought to bee from having to doe with temporal matters. But whereas they fay the bifhops of Dnalgne do exercife And English temporall authoritie, and doe it as iudges capitall, giuing fentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to have a consultative exhortatiue, or confentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my judgement. For whereas the temporal magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the deapth of Gods lawe, if they shoulde doe anie thing either against the same, or the lawe of a good conscience, they might informe them thereof, that 3 all [3 Sig O 7, back] things might bee done to the glorie of God, the comforte of the poore members of Christe Iesus, and the benefit of the common welth.

condemning men

be a Judge.

Bishops have only a consultative voice in giving temporal Judgments.

[2 fauior do Orig.]

### 108 II. 2. The Ministers that flaunt in Satin Doublets.

Theod. What fashion of apparell doe the pastors and Ministers weare vsually in their common affaires?

Pastors dress like other folk,

and generally in black.

But some are very fond of new Fashions,

and wear silks, &c., [' Sig. O 8]

satin doublets,

This is a foul blemish in them.

Christ wore but one poor coat,

[2 Sig. O 8, back]

Amphil. The fame fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a decorum. as others weare their attire, fome of this colour, fome of that, fome of this thinge, fome of that, fo they commonly weare all their apparell, at least the exteriour part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, fad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithftanding herein fome of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselues with common, and vsuall fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, fome of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuifing, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the verieft Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, fo are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themfelues with cloth, though neuer fo excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, fatans, damaskes, grograms, taffeties, and the like. I fpeake not agaynst 1 those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these thinges (for they both maie, and in fome respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but againft those that bee meane pastours and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblets, taffetie doblets, filke hofen, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryde, and excesse in others, who are as faultye therein as the refte? Therefore fayde Cato verye well, Quae culpare foles, ea tu ne feceris ipse: for, sayeth he, Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipfum. Which is, those thinges which thou blamest in others, fee that thou thy felfe bee not guiltye in the fame, for it is a foule blemish and a great fhame and difcredit, what that euyll which thou reprouest in an other, is apparent in thy felfe. For in fo doing, a man reprehendeth as well himfelfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gofpell, and what he buildeth with one hand, he pulleth down

with the other. Christ Iesus, the great pastor of the sheepe, was himself contented to go daily in one poore coat, beeing knit, or wouen all

ouer without feeme, as the maner of ye Palistinians is to this day. This me think was but a simple cote 2 in the eie of the world, and yet

Chrift Iefus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accustomed to

### II. 2. Dress, &c., whereby a Minister is known. 109

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. Elias and Elizeus in a mantell, Iohn the baptift in camels haire, with a girdle of a fkin about his loines. The apoftle Paule with a poore cloke, and and Paul a poor the like; wherby appeareth, how farre a minister of the Gospell ought to be from pride, and worldly vanitie, obseruing the rules of christian fobrietie, as well in apparell, as in al things elfe, knowing that he is as Let the Minisa citie fet vppon an hill, and as a candle fet vppon a candlefticke to dress. giue light, and shine to al the whole church of God. Therfore faith Christ: Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, &c. Let your light fo shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorisie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

Theod. Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common fort of men?

Amphil. Yes, marie, haue they. They have other attire more But, when proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and wear Cap, Tippet, Surplice, &c. offices) as cap, tippet, furpleffe, and the like. Thefe they weare, not commonly, or altogither, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to 1this end and 2 [1 Sig. P. 1.] purpose, that there may be a difference betwixte them and the common forte of people, and that the one maie be distincte from the other by this outward note or marke.

Theodo. Is it of necessitie than required, that the Pastors and Ministers of the worde, shoulde be distincted from other people, by anie feuerall kind of attire?

Amphil. It is not required as of necessitie, but thought meete and convenient to be used for a decencie, and comlines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefest thyng wherby a pastor or But their chief minister oght to be known from the common & vulgare forte of should be in people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of Holy Life, the facraments, the execution of ecclefiaftical discipline, and other cenfures of the Church, and withall his integritie of lyfe, and foundnesse of conversation in everie respecte. These are the true notes and markes wherby a Minister of the Gospell ought to bee knowen and distincted from the other common forte of people. And yet though these bee the chiefest notes whereby they are distinct from others of the temporalitie and laitie, yet are they not the onelie notes,

[2 end end Orig.]

### 110 II. 2. Ministers may well have a distinct dress.

tho their out-

or markes, for they are known and difcerned from others also, by [1 Sig. P. r., back] exteriour habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, fur pleffe, and fuch like: That as the first doth diftinguish them from others, whilest ward mark is Cap, Surplice, &c. they are exercised about the same, (for who is so doltishe, that seeing a man preache, minister the facraments, & execute other ecclesiafticall censures of the church, that will not judge him to bee a Minister of the Gospell) so the other notes of apparell (the surplesse except) may make a difference, and diffinguishe them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reuerence which is due to a good paftor, or minister of the Gospell may be given vnto them. For as the Apostle saith, those elders that rule well, are worthie of double honour.

As to those who object to a different dress for Pastors,

Theod. But I have heard great disputation and reasoning pro & contra, to and fro, that the paftors and ministers of the Gospell, ought not to be diffeuered from the common forte of people, by anie diftincte kinde of apparell, but rather by founding the Lordes voice on high, by ministring the facramentes, and the like: what fay you to the fame?

and try to justify their opinion by the Bible,

[2 Sig. P. 2.]

I can't agree with em.

I think a different dress justifiable.

Amphil. Indeede there are fome, I confesse, that are of that opinion, and they bring in the example of Saule, enquiring of Samuell for the feers house, inferring that the Prophet was not diftinct from other common people in his attire, for than Saule should easelie 2 haue knowen him by the same. And the example of the damofell that spake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde fayde, Thy speech bewrayeth thee, if he had bene distincte from others in attire, or outwarde apparell, shee would than haue fayd, Thy apparel Sheweth thee to bee fuch a fellowe. These, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that pastors and Ministers are not to bee difcerned and knowen from the lay people, by anye kinde of apparell. But as I will not faie that they are to bee knowen and difcerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as faith the Prophet,) fo I wyll not denye the same to bee no note or marke at all to knowe a Pastour or Minister of the Gospell by, from others of the temporaltie, and laitie. truelye for my parte, I fee no great inconvenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decente habite (commaunded by a Christian Prince) known and discerned from others. Yet some more curious than wife, before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they have rather chosen to render vp both livinges, goods, families, and all, leaving their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

1 Theod. Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a p Sig. P. 2. back furplesse, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire?

If Tippets, forke Caps, &c.,

Amphil. As they are commaunded by the Pope, the great Antichrist of the worlde, they ought not to weare them; but as they be are orderd by commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare Prince, them without fcruple of confcience. But if they should repose any I think Minreligion, holinesse or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papists doe, them, than doe they greeuouslie offende; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuerfiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I fee no cause why they maie not vse them.

Theod. From whence came these garments, can you tell? from Rome, or from whence els?

Amphil. The most hold that they came first from Rome, the even tho they poifon of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other Rome. fearching the same more narrowlie, do hold that they came, not from Rome, but rather from Grecia, which from the beginning, for the most part, hath euer been contrarie to the Church of Rome. But from whence foeuer they came it skilleth not much, for beeing mere indifferent, they maie be worn or not worne without offence, according to the pleasure of the Prince, as things which of them2selues bee not 12 Sig. P. 3.1 euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused.

first came from

Theod. Notwithstanding they holde this for a maxime, that in as much as they came first from the Papistes, and haue of them bene idolatrouslie abused, that therefore they are not, nor ought not to bee, vsed of anie true pastors, or Ministers of the Gospell. Is this their affumption true, or not?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Use of a good thing by Papists, ergo it is naught. For we read that the Deuils confessed doesn't make Iefus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the bad. same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All thinges are therefore to bee examined, whether the abuse confift in the thinges themselues, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be removed, and the thinges If a good thing remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good

the good thing

II. 2. Clear away abuses from good things abuzed.

take away the Abuse, and let the Good Thing stay.

If everything that idolatrous Papists have uzd is to be done away with,

the Bible and most other good things 'll have to go.

[2 Sig. P. 4.]

These Garments are a mere matter of Indifference: do as you like about em.

Put up with Garments: a man's no better or worse for em.

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to fouple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie ferue to good ends, and purpofes. And because the same bath afterward beene abused, shall the thing it felfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the [1 Sig. P. 3. back] abuse, let the thinge 1 remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, quibus omnia dantur fcandalo, to whom all thinges are offence. And further, if these presicians would have all things remoued out of the Church which haue beene abused to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abused more to Idolatrie and fuperfition?) pulpits, belles, and what not. Than must they take away the vse of bread and wine, not onely from the church, but also from the vse of man in this life, because ye same was abused to most shamefull idolatrie in beeing dedicate to Ceres, and Bacchus, twoo stinking Idols of the Gentiles. Than must they take away not onely the Epiftles, and Gospels, but also the whole volume of the holy scriptures, because the Papistes abused them to idolatrie. By all which reasons, with infinite the like, it manifestly appeareth, that manie things which have beene inftituted by Idolaters. or by them abused to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may ferue to good ends, ye abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrously abused by the papists, should be reteined in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

Theod. Is the wearing of these garments 2 a thing meere indifferent, or not? for fome hold it is, fome hold it is not?

Amphil. It is a thing without all controuerly mere indifferent; for, whatfoeuer gods word neither expresly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeth not ye conscience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present state of yo church, & time requireth. But it is certen that the wearing of this kind of attire is not expresly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the fame, & therfore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conscience, as ye present state of time shall require. And therfore seeing they be things indifferent, I wold wish euery wise christian to tollerate ye same, being certen that he is neither better nor worse, for wearing or not wearing of them.

## II. 2. Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c. 113

Theod. Being things, as you fay, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse ye wearing of them against the commandement of his prince, whom, next vnder God, he ought to obey?

Amphil. Euery man is bound in conscience before God to obey his prince in all things, yea in things directly contrary to true godlines hee is bound to shew his obedience (but not to commit ye euil) namely to fubmit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoeuer he hath, to ye wil of his 1 Princes, rather than to difobeie. If this obedi- [1 Sig. P. 4. back] ence than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlinesse, And if your what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of them, of course fmall importaunce, and meere triffles as these garments be, iudge such a Triffe. you? He that disobeieth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeieth the commaundement of God; and therfore, would God all Ecclefiafticall perfons that stande so muche vpon these small pointes, that they breake the common vnitie, & band of charitie in the church of God, would nowe at the last quallifie themselues, shewe obedience to Princes lawes, and fall to preaching of Christ Iesus truelie, that his kingdome might dailie bee increased, their consciences discharged, and the Church edefied, which Christe Iesus hath bought with the fhedding of his precious hart bloud.

Theod. Maie a pastor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surplesse, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, have given up their livings, and forfaken all?

Amphil. Those that for the wearing of these garments, being but Any Pastor the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances Flock because & constitutions of man, will leave their flocks, 2 and give over their a Surplice, &c., charges, not caring what become of the same, doe shew themselues to be no true shepheards, but such as Christ speaketh of, that when they fee the Wolfe comming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the flaughter of the greedie wolfe. They give euident demonstration also, that they are not such as the holie Ghost hath made ouerseers ouer their flocke, but rather fuch, as being possessed with the spirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themselues, to the destruction of their flocke. If they were fuch good shepheards as they ought to be, shows that he's and fo louing to their flocke, they would rather give their life for Shepherd.

[2 Sig. P 5]

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBEES, II.

## 114 II. 2. Surplices may be worn if the Prince bids.

their sheepe, if neede required, than to runne from them, leauing them to the bloodie teeth of the mercilesse wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vppon his slocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trisle? I thinke we would count him a verie negligent shepheard. And shall wee thinke him a diligent, or a good pastor, and one that would give his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trisles will estrang himselfe from his slocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to give them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trisles alone, being no part of our faluation or damnation.

How can he be a good Shepherd who should give his Life for his Sheep, when he'll leave em for trifles like Garments?

[1 Sig. P 5, back]

Theod. But they faie they refuse the wealring of these garments, because they are offensive to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderaunce to manie in comming to the Gospel, & an induration to the papists hardning their hearts, in hope that their trumperie will once come in again, to their singular comfort.

Amphil. It is an old faying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driven to the wall, and sore graveled, that will flie to these simple shifts. But whatsoever they say or affirme, certain it is, that offensive to the godly they cannot be, who have already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselves. And who know also how to vie things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therfore this question thus I shut vp in sew words, that the wearing of these garmentes beeing commaunded by a Christian Prince, is not offensive, or scandalous to anie good Christians; and to the other, it mattereth not what it be. For they are such as the Lorde hath cast off into a reprobate sence, and prejudicate opinion, abusing all things, even the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for ever, except they repent, which I praye God they maye doe, if it bee his blessed will.

If these Garments are orderd by a Christian Prince, no good Christian should be offended by em.

2 Sig. P 6]

<sup>2</sup> Theod. I pray you why doe they weare white in their furplesses, rather than any other colour? and why a forked cappe rather than a rounde one? for the Papistes (if they were the authors of these garmentes) haue their misteries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherfore I desire to know your judgment herein.

The Papists say that White signifies Holiness; Amphil. You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their misteries in all thinges after their maner. Therfore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

## II. 2. Don't make Schisms for Trifles of Clothes. 115

mind what they ought to be in this life, and representeth vnto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come. And thys they prooue ab exemplis apparitionum, from the example of apparitions and vifions, in that aungels, and celeftial creatures have ever appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore for footh they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, fay these misterious fellows, doth fignifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, Eaft, West, North, & South, the gouernment whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vppon their heades. The gowne, faye they, doth fignifie the plenary power which they have to doe all things. Bown the Pope And therefore none but the Pope, or hee 1 with whome hee dispenceth, [ Sig. P 6, back] maie weare the fame euerie where, bicause none haue plenariam potestatem, plenarie power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, faith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurifdictions, because therein they have full power from him. Thus foolishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, all this is fhadows, and imaginations, forged in the mint of their owne braines, to the destruction of manie. But who is he, that because these sottishe Papistes haue and doe greeuouslie abuse these thinges, will therefore haue them cleane remoued? If all thinges that haue beene abused, should be removued because of the abuse, than should we have nothing left to the fupply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) ye word as well as the of God, the spirituall food of our soules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in yo whole vniverfall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not beene abused? Let vs therfore take the abuses away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vie these thinges which the wicked Papists aren't we to haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to Surely we are. the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I befeech the Lorde that wee 2 may all agree togither in one truth, and not to deuide our felues [2 Sig. P 7] one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and formers all factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, make rows. vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst And feeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iefus Chrift our fauiour, We've all one one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one Saviour,

the Cornerd Cap the Monarchy of the World,

and the Gown the Pope's

gammon.

But because Papists have abuzd these things,

Word of God,

Do let us Reagree, and not

#### II. 2. Don't quarrel about the Bone, or Shell. 116

let us then agree about outward rites, &c.

We've got the Kernel. Don't let's wrangle over the Shell.

Let us fast and pray, and be-seech God to keep our Queen Elizabeth as the apple of His eye; and grant us Eternal Life in Heaven, thro Christ's Death.

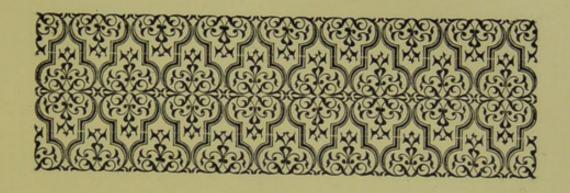
May you and I meet again, if not on Earth, yet to rest for ever in Heaven!

hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree togither in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to ftriue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the fhadow? Let vs confider that this contention of ours among our felues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking fuch deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwife it would doe. And thus for this time, brother Theodorus, we will breake off our talke concerning this matter, vntill yt please God that we may meete againe. Which if it pleafe God we doe, I promife you in another woorke to discourse of the same more at large. In [1 Sig. P7, back] the mean time let vs giue our felues, 1 to fasting, and prayer, most humbly befeeching his excellent maiefly to bleffe our noble Queen, and to keepe hir grace as the apple of his eie from all hir foes, to maintaine his word and gospell amongst vs, to plant vnity and concord within our walles, to increase our faith, to graunt vs true and vnfained repentaunce for our fins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow ye precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Christe Iesus our Lord, and onely sauiour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praife, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother Theodorus, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do fee you againe.

Theodo. And I you also good brother Amphilogus, befeeching the Lord that if we meete not vpon earth, we maye meete yet in the kingdome of heauen, there to reft in perfect felicitie for euer.

> Amphil. The Lord grant it for his mercies fake. Amen.

> > FINIS.



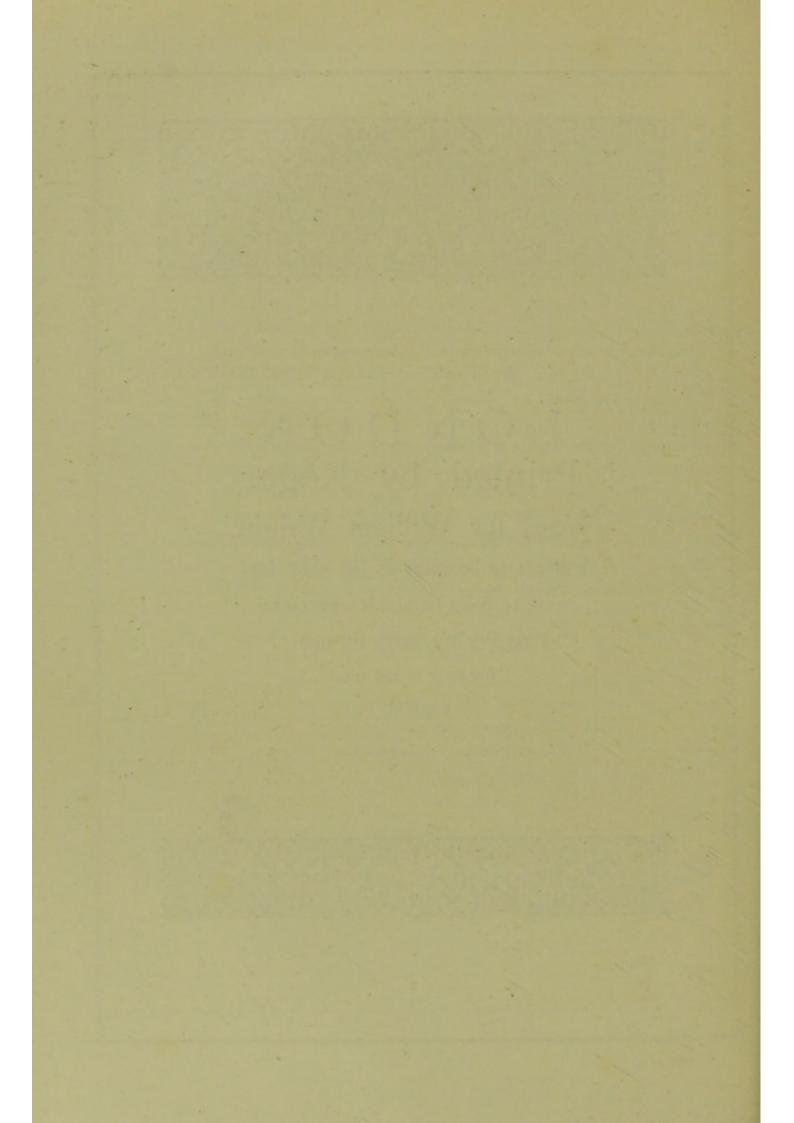
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1583.





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The Subscription (£1 1s.) for 1879 became due on Jan. 1, and, if not yet paid, should be sent forthwith to the Hon. Sec., A. G. SNELGROVE, Esq., London Hospital, London, E., by Money Order on the Chief Office, or cheque, in either case crost "Alliance Bank." Hon. Sec. for the United States: Prof. F. J. Child, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., to whom Subscriptions, \$7.50 a year, should be paid.

No books will be sent to any Member until his Subscription for 1879, and his arrears, if any, are paid.

## Dew Shakspere Society.

Second Report, August, 1879.

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§ 1. Since the date of the Committee's First Report, July, 1875, the Society's work has gone forward well, notwithstanding the heavy losses that the Society sustaind soon after the close of its first year, by the death of its leading authority on the history of the Drama and the Elizabethan time, Mr Richard Simpson, and the disablement for some years of one of its working editors, Dr Brinsley Nicholson. Blows such as these, falling on it so near its start, might well have crusht the life out of any young society; but the New Shakspere Society has borne them without staggering, and has prest vigorously on to its goal. The Committee however cannot refrain from an expression of their own regret and affection for their lost colleague, Richard Simpson, whose weight of knowledge was more than equalld by a refinement of manner, a sweetness of nature, and gentleness of disposition, that endeard him to all with whom he came in contact. His smile and graceful ways have been misst at the Society's Meetings, even more than his opinion. The Committee are glad to say that Dr Brinsley Nicholson's health has been regaind, and that he has taken his place again among them, as an adviser and reader of Papers, though not as an editor. They can report with pleasure too that the Founder of the Old Shakspere Society, the helper of the New, Mr Halliwell-Phillipps, has

promist to return to that work which has won him so sound a reputation, and done so much service to Shakspere students. Clear as he had always been from those shameful forgeries which have been the curse of Shakspere biography and text-criticism for nearly fourty years, Mr Halliwell-Phillipps had begun putting the crown to his labours, by the publication of his many-years' fresh gleanings in his *Illustrations of the Life of Shakspere*. But after the publication of its first Part, he announc't that he should abandon it. Happily he has chang'd his mind, feeling that he has no right to keep to himself material that must be useful to other students of Shakspere. He is now preparing the Second Part of his *Illustrations*.

§ 2. The Society's Publications for 1875 were mentiond in the last Report; and after its date the issue of one of the books, then considered doubtful, was securd. The Texts for

1875 were :-

In Series II. Plays:—Mr P. A. Daniel's revis'd edition of Romeo and Juliet (bas't on the Quarto of 1599), with an Introduction, and full critical notes on the Text.

Henry V: a. Facsimile Reprints of the Quarto and First

Folio, edited by Dr Brinsley Nicholson.

In Series I. Transactions:—Part II of the Transactions for 1874, completing the volume. Part I of the Transactions for 1875-6.

In Series III. Originals and Analogues:—Part I. a. The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar[thur] Br[ooke], 1562; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.; b. The goodly hystory of the true and constant loue between Rhomeo and Julietta; from Painter's Palace of Pleasure, 1567; edited by

P. A. Daniel, Esq.<sup>1</sup>

In 1876 came Dr Brinsley Nicholson's illness; and the preparation of the intended main book of the year, the Parallel-Texts of the Quarto and Folio of Henry V, was necessarily given up. The Committee therefore determind to open a new branch of the Society's work, to start its Sixth Series, that on Shakspere's England, being certain that this would appeal to a large non-dramatic class of readers, the students of History and Sociology, as well as to our own Members, to whom everything of Shakspere's time is welcome. The Director's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr J. O. Halliwell presented to the Society 600 copies of Mr A. H. Paget's pamphlet, "Shakespeare's Plays: a Chapter of Stage History," 1875; and one was sent to every Member. (These copies are now exhausted.) Mr. Furnivall's gift of a copy of his *Introduction to Gervinus*, to every Member, still continues.

appeal to some of our wealthy Members for gifts of these Shakspere's-England books was willingly met, and by the generosity of Lord Derby, Mr F. W. Cozens, and Miss Phipson, with a contribution from the Director, the following books were issued:—

Series VI. Shakspere's England: 2. a. Tell-Trothes Newyeares Gift, 1593, with The passionate Morrice. b. John Lane's Tom Tel-Troths Message, and his Pen's Complaint, 1600. c. Thomas Powell's Tom of all Trades, or the Plaine Pathway to Preferment, 1631. d. The Glasse of Godly Loue, 1569. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. (Presented by 3 Members of the Society.)

3. William Stafford's Compendious or briefe Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countreymen, in these our Days, 1581; with an Introduction by Mr F. D. Matthew; edited by F. J. Furnivall. (Presented by Lord

Derby.)

The Society added from its own funds:

4. § 1 of Part I of The Anatomie of Abuses: Contayning A Discoverie, or briefe Summarie, of such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especiallie) in a verie famous Ilande called Ailgna¹: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in Ailgna¹ of late, as in other places elsewhere. Verie Godly, to be read of all true Christians, euerie where; but most needefull, to be regarded in Englande. Made dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes. 1. Maij. 1583, collated with the 2nd, 5th, and 6th editions. Edited by F. J. Furnivall.

Series II. Plays. 7. The reprint of the First Quarto of The Two Noble Kinsmen by Shakspere and Fletcher, edited by Mr Harold Littledale.

Series VIII. Miscellanies. The late Professor W. Spalding's Letter on the Authorship of The Two Noble Kinsmen, on the Characteristics of Shakspere's later style, and the Secret of his Supremacy,—one of the ablest bits of Shakspere criticism ever written—with a Memoir of the Author, by his friend Dr John Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, and Forewords by Mr Furnivall.

And Mr Richard Johnson of Fallowfield, near Manchester,

also kindly presented us with:

Series II. Plays. 8. The revisd Text of The Two Noble Kinsmen by Shakspere and Fletcher, with Notes, by Mr Harold Littledale, Part I.

These made a capitally full and valuable issue for 1876,

<sup>1</sup> Anglia, England.

indeed, too full a one, for, by mistake, Prof. Spalding's Letter was included in it, and had to be paid for out of the income of 1877. Thus also for the most important book in the Shakspere's England Series, that meant to head it, and therefore numberd 1, there was no 1876 money left. Tho the book was ready in October 1876, it had to be thrown over to 1877. But 150 Members paid their subscriptions for it in advance,

and had it in the autumn of 1876. This book was

Series VI. Shakspere's England. 1. William Harrison's Description of England in Shakspere's youth, 1577, 1587, edited from its two versions by Mr Furnivall. Part I, with an enlargd copy of Norden's Map of Shakspere's London, by Van den Keere, 1593, and Mr H. B. Wheatley's Notes on it; extracts from foreign travellers' accounts of England in Tudor times, and from Harrison's lately uneartht Chronologie or Chronicle (extracts mainly for his own time):—'a racy, contemporary description of the England Shakspere livd in, and the men and women, houses, food, drink, dress, and institutions of his day.'

It was a big book, cost nearly £300, and ought to have been the only book issued for the year, seeing that Prof. Spalding's Letter in fact belongd to 1877, having been paid for out of its income. But relying on the energy of our Members—which, alas, was never shown—in getting new members and more

money, the Committee also issued in 1877,

Series I. Transactions, 1875-6, Part 2, containing Papers by Dr Legge, the Countess of Charlemont, Miss Jane Leeon 2 and 3 Henry VI and their Originals, The Contention and True Tragedy-Prof. Delius (on Shakspere's Use of Narrative in his Plays), &c., and 5 Appendixes of Reprints, three of great interest: 1. the analysis of the times of action of the plays of Othello and Macbeth by the late Prof. J. Wilson (Christopher North), and of The Merchant of Venice by the late Rev. N. J. Halpin: 2. the Confusion in the Time of Action of The Merry Wives by Prof. Rich. Grant White; 3. the Speeches of Brutus and Antony over the body of Julius Cæsar, from the englisht Appian's Chronicle of 1578, which may have suggested Shakspere's. Mr Franz Thimm also added a list of Shakspereana for 1874-5, and Mr F. D. Matthew an account of the German Shakspere Society's Jahrbuch for 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The whole subject has since been dealt with by Mr P. A. Daniel in the Society's *Transactions*, 1877—9, Part II. In Part I. p. 41—57 Mr Daniel exposd the weak points of Mr Halpin's scheme.

Series II. *Plays*; no. 9. *Henry V. b.* Parallel Texts of the First Quarto (1600) and First Folio (1623) editions; edited by Dr Brinsley Nicholson and Mr P. A. Daniel, and with an Introduction by Mr Daniel.

On its becoming clear that Dr Nicholson could not complete his *Parallel Text*, Mr Daniel, in the most kind way, promist to stay in England and finish it for the Society.

The list of the mistakes in our Reprint of the First Folio Henry V was so disappointing,—tho' in only one case was a necessary letter, 'winne[r],' left out, and in only one case a word ('Lord [High] Constable')—that it determind the Committee on a step they had often before contemplated, the giving-up of the issue of a series of Quarto Reprints of the Plays in the First Folio. From the first this was only an eye-luxury; students' needs were satisfied by the facsimile of Staunton, its reduction by Chatto and Windus, and Booth's admirable and handy quarto reprint. This experience, and the continued pressure on the Society's funds, also decided the Committee on giving up to Mr Griggs the reproduction, under the Director's superintendence, of the Series of First (or early) Quartos of Shakspere's Plays, so that the Committee would need only to reprint—for some years at least—those Quartos that had to be set in Parallel Texts: As Mr Griggs undertook to, and did, photograph at once seventeen of the most important Quartos, and promist to issue them gradually, the Committee felt that they could not but give their sanction to a scheme which would accomplish a large branch of the Society's work long before the Society's small funds would let them do it themselves. But they regret to find that as yet only the first Quarto of Hamlet has appeard.

For 1878 the Committee had not much money to spend,

and therefore issued only three Books :-

Series I, no. 5. Transactions, 1877—9, Part I, containing Papers by Mr Edward Rose (on the mistakes in the Division into Acts of Hamlet); Mr Spedding (on like mistakes in Lear, Much Ado and Twelfth Night); Mr T. Alfred Spalding (on the Witch-Scenes in Macbeth,—contending against Mr Fleay, &c. that all the witches are of like kind, and Shakspere's;—and on the First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet (contending that there is no good evidence of a second hand in it); Mr P. A. Daniel, on Mr Halpin's Time-Analysis of the Merchant of Venice (showing that 8 days and 4 intervals were required by Shakspere's words, instead of the 38 hours given by Mr Halpin); Mr C. H. Coote (on Shakspere's 'New Map' in Twelfth Night,

identifying it, and giving a photolithograph of its 'augmentation of the Indies,' and the Dutchman Barentz's Novya-Zembla Discoveries probably alluded to in Tw. N. III. ii. 29); a collection of Scraps, from books of literature and dictionaries, illustrating some of Shakspere's phrases and words; and an Appendix of the only known fragments of William Wager's

Interlude of The Cruel Debtter, 1566.

Series VI, Shakspere's England, no. 5. Harrison's Description of England in Shakspere's Youth. Part II, the Third Book, from the editions of 1577 and 1587, with a Map of Shakspere's Roads to London; a large héliogravure reproduction (by M. Dujardin of Paris) of De la Serre's view of the North of Cheapside in 1638, and Marie de Medicis's Procession there; an Introduction of 66 pages containing extracts from Stow, Howes, Busino, &c. on the London of Shakspere's day; and an Appendix by Mr Wm. Rendle on the Bankside, Southwark, and the Globe Theatre; giving, for the first-time, the real site of that Theatre; with Plans of Paris Garden 1627, and the Bankside, and Wm. Smith's unique Plans of Cambridge and Canterbury, 1588; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

Series VIII. Miscellanies, no. 2. Robert Chester's Loves Martyr, or Rosalins Complaint, 1601, with its Supplement, "Diverse Poeticall Essaies" on the Turtle and Phænix by Shakspere, Ben Jonson, George Chapman, John Marston, &c.; edited, with Introduction, Notes and Illustrations, by the Rev.

Dr Grosart (presented partly by Dr Grosart).

The reasons for squeezing three years' Papers (1877-9) into one volume of Transactions were, 1. the Committee's desire to leave more money for Reprints; 2. their conviction that after their first work was done,—the establishment of the value of metrical evidence, and of the chronological study of Shakspere's works—fewer Papers need be printed; 3. the fact that the more popular and interesting Papers would find publicity in Magazines, and there get their writers pay, as several have done; 4. because many Papers were read from notes, or were tentative, and not meant for printing in full.

With regard to Chester's Loves Martyr, it was from the first on the Society's list for editing by Mr Richard Simpson; and when, after his death, Dr Grosart's edition for his subscribers was begun, he was askt by the Director to allow the Society to take, at its cost, casts from his (Dr Grosart's) type, so that the cost of a double setting of the text might be avoided. To this, Dr Grosart kindly consented; and tho, when the proposal was made, the Committee were not aware of the theory of the

identity of the Phœnix and Turtle with Elizabeth and Essex, which the Editor of the book afterwards advocated, they could not let that theory hinder the issue of a work containing the originals of two of Shakspere's Poems. They inserted the statement usual in Societies' books, that the Editor alone is responsible for the opinions exprest in them; and, to try and help readers thro' the mazes of Chester's confusion, the Committee had a Contents, Argument, and Index, added to the volume. The Committee feel much obliged to Dr Grosart for his leave to them to use his type.

§ 3. For 1879 the money at the Committee's disposal justifies the issues of only three books, till the announcement of these books' being ready, shows whether there will be enough arrears and fresh subscriptions paid up to enable another Text to go

out. These three books will be,-

Series I. Transactions, no. 6. A Time-Analysis of the Plots of Shakspere's Plays, I Comedies, II Tragedies, III His-

tories, by P. A. Daniel, Esq.

Series IV. Shakspere Allusion-Books, no. 2. Shakspere's Centurie of Prayse, 1592—1693, culld from Writers of the First Centurie after his Rise, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D.; a new edition, with many additions, by Miss L. Toulmin Smith.

(Presented mainly by Dr Ingleby.)

Series VI. Shakspere's England Series, no. 6. § 2 of Part I of Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspere's Youth, A.D. 1583 (collated with other editions in 1583, 1585, and 1595), with Extracts from Stubbes's Life of his Wife—a Christal Glasse for Christian Women, 1591 (from Mr Hy. Pyne's unique copy);—from Stubbes's Perfect Pathway to Felicitie, 1592 (from the editor's unique copy, and Mr Huth's unique copy of the 1610 edition); Popular and Popish Superstitions on Saints' Days, &c., in 1553, being the Fourth Book of Thomas Kirchmaier's or Naogeorgus's Regnum Papismi, englisht by Barnabe Googe in 1570 as The Popish Kingdome; a héliogravure reproduction by M. Dujardin, of Virtue's engraving of the Procession of Queen Elizabeth to the Wedding of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell at Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, on June 16, 1600; other cuts of Elizabethan costume, and a Memorandum thereon by the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth; an account of Stubbes and his Works; and full Notes on the Dress and Customs of his day; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

The question of the Times of the Plots of Shakspere's Plays was raisd in so interesting a way by the extracts from Prof.

Wilson, Mr Halpin and Prof. Grant White in the Appendix to the Society's Transactions for 1876, and had so close a bearing on Shakspere's art, that the Committee, finding how easily Mr Daniel overthrew Mr Halpin's scheme of the time of the Merchant, urgd their kind helper to continue his investigations, and find out at least the facts for future critics of Shakspere's 'long and short time' to comment on; to ascertain, and set down, the number of days which the action of each Play requird, the period which must have elapst between its opening and ending. It was clear that no satisfactory theory of Shakspere's art in dealing with the immensities, or nothings, of Time and Space could be got at, unless the facts were first ascertaind, to found the theory on. Mr Daniel was good enough to undertake the work, involving so much time, and care, and labour, a task for which the Committee desire to record their gratitude to him. He first noted all the lines in which the time of the action of each Play was alluded to or involvd—as the Cowden Clarkes have done (with some mistakes and omissions) in 178 pages of their valuable lastlypublisht 'Shakespeare Key,'—and then from these data framed the statements and schemes of the days of each Play that he has set down in his Treatise which forms Part II of the Society's Transactions for 1877-9. About these, Mr Daniel has not yet put forward any theory; he desires to have his statements of facts first examind. As will be seen by the notes on the back of the half-title of the Part, two exceptions have been already taken to points in the schemes of Romeo and Juliet and Julius Casar. Mr Daniel asks for more, well-considerd ones, and any comments on the 'long and short time' theory that the schemes may suggest to readers.

Dr Ingleby, not being satisfied with the First Part of the Allusion-Books he edited for the Society in 1874, kindly proposd to give us a second and enlargd edition of his Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse, 1592-1693, if the Society would pay some one to revise the extracts in the first edition, add in the fresh ones that his friends and he had since gatherd, collect others, and see the whole thro' the Press. This offer the Committee gladly accepted; and for £50 Miss L. Toulmin Smith agreed to do the necessary clerk's and editor's work. The result is before our members, in the present book, enlargd by more than one-third in its number of extracts mentioning or alluding to Shakspere or his works, and with trustworthy texts—always excepting the possible little literal slips that will creep into even the most careful work. On many points, differences from

Dr Ingleby's opinions have been expresst by the reviser. They will serve as material for the reader to form his own judgment by. The Committee wish to express their thanks to Dr Ingleby for his valuable gift to the Society, and to Miss Smith for the

care which she has bestowd on the present edition.

Knowing how many country and foreign members the Society has, who do not possess access to a large Elizabethan library, the Committee have gladly acquiest in Mr Furnivall's wish that Philip Stubbes's famous book on the Absurdities of Dress, Customs, &c., in Shakspere's time, should be accompanied by an engraving and some woodcuts of the costume of the period, and pretty full Notes on the subjects treated in Stubbes's text, as in the case of Harrison's England. The same motive has induced the Editor to reprint with the Anatomie the very rare englisht account by Kirchmaier, or Naogeorgus, of the Popular and Popish superstitions on Saints' Days, &c., in Germany (and other Popish countries) in 1553. This was very largely used by Brand in his Antiquities, but is so scarce, that the copy in the Cambridge University Library from which our reprint is taken, is believd to be the only complete one known.

The foregoing are the only texts which can be issued for our 1879 income, unless it is largely increast by fresh members,

or arrear ones paying up their arrears.

A second gift-book the Society might have had this year, from Mr Richard Johnson of Fallowfield, if its editor's new vocation (school-mastering) had left him time for the avocation

of finishing his task for us; and that is,

In Series II, Plays:—The Two Noble Kinsmen, by Shakspere and Fletcher; b. a revised edition, Part II, with Introduction, Notes, and separate Glossaries of Shakspere's and of Fletcher's words; by Harold Littledale, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin.

But a sudden call of the Editor to India necessitates the

book's being thrown over to 1880, or later.

For 1880 there are in the Press,-

Series I. Transactions, no. 7. Part III for 1877-9, containing Papers by Miss Phipson on the Animal Similes in Henry VI, the Contention and True Tragedy, and in Marlowe, Greene, and Peele; on "yon grey lines that fret the clouds," J. Cæsar, II. i. 104, by Mr Ruskin; Scraps illustrating Shakspere's phrases and words, &c.; with an Appendix on Shakspere's 4½ yards of red cloth in 1603, and Lists of the Players of James I and Charles I.

[Two Papers are in the press.

Series II. Plays:—Henry V. c. a revise edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Index, by Walter G. Stone, Esq.

Cymbeline: a. A Reprint of the Folio of 1623, with full collations; b. a revisd Edition, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by W. J. Craig, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Dublin.

[a. is past for press; b. is preparing.

Series VI. Shakspere's England, no. 7. Harrison's Description of England, Part III, containing 4 Chapters from his first Book, from the editions of 1577 and 1587, with an Appendix of Extracts from Churchyard, Norden, Fynes Moryson, &c., on the England of their day, and Notes and an Index to all three Parts; also with héliogravures of Basire's engraving of the Procession of Edward VI from the Tower to Westminster, on Febr. 19, 1547, from the burnt Cowdray picture, and of Wilkinson's engraving of the Sermon at Paul's Cross before James I in 1620, from the Antiquaries' picture; a cut of the best picture of old London Bridge from a MS in the Pepys collection; and Norden's Map of Westminster, with a comment on it by Mr Henry B. Wheatley; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

[Half the text is past for press, and Mr Herrtage has the Index ready up to the last sheet printed.

Series VII. Mysteries, &c. Three 15th-century Mysteries, the Killing of the Children, the Conversion of St. Paul, and Mary Magdalene (in 2 Parts), with a Morality of Wisdom, who is Christ; re-edited from the unique Digby MS 133 by F. J. Furnivall.

[Half the text is past for press.

How many of these can be sent out in 1880, depends on the money our members send in. Such of these books as funds are found for, will be issued in the order in which they leave the press. First ready, first out, is the Committee's rule.

§ 4. The results of the Society's first 6 years' work are worthy ones, and full of encouragement for future work. Since the lift given by Coleridge to Shakspere criticism, there has been no such stimulus to the æsthetic and critical study of Shakspere, and the basing of it on facts, on metrical and undesignd evidence, as the Society and its leading members have given. Never before had the importance of studying Shakspere as a whole, of ascertaining, on evidence, the order of his plays, and then following, carefully and lovingly, the development of his mind, and its expression in verse, been duly insisted on, or the method and facts of the case set forth. But henceforward the principles advocated by the Society from

its foundation, are part and parcel of the Shakspere criticism of the present and the future. The Society has in Plays publisht valuable Parallel-Texts of Romeo and Juliet and Henry V, besides Reprints of Quartos, and Mr Daniel's edition of Rom. and Jul., acknowledged by the latest German critic to be the most thorough and excellent edition of the text of the Play ever issued. In Transactions it has issued Papers making certain the shares that Shakspere wrote in Henry VIII and Pericles (and possibly his share in Timon and The 2 Noble Kinsmen); containing the fullest discussion of 2 and 3 Henry VI and their source-plays, and of the Metrical Tests of Shakspere's works. In Allusion-Books it has (thro' Dr Ingleby's kindness) put forth the completest list ever publisht of the mentions of Shakspere and his works for the first hundred years after his rise in 1592. In Shakspere's-England books it has publisht, with large illustrations, the first separate reprint of the best book on the subject generally, Harrison's England, 1577—87, and the first duly annotated reprint of the best book on the specialities of dress and customs, Stubbes's Anatomie. In Miscellanies, it has reviv'd one of the most stimulating pieces of Shakspere criticism ever written, Prof. Spalding's Letter on the Authorship of the Two Noble Kinsmen, and the work in which Shakspere's Phanix and Turtle first appeard. The Committee can fairly call on the Society's members to look back with satisfaction on its first six years' work, and to feel that the worth of it, done in honour of the great name the Society bears, was sufficient ground for them to ask Mr Robert Browning to take, and for him to accept, the Presidency of the Society, so long left vacant "till one of our greatest living poets should see that it was his duty to take it." With true gratification the Committee and (they are sure) every Member of the Society received Mr Browning's graceful consent to be the first President of the New Shakspere Society, and thus head the band of English men and women whose bond of oneness is "to do honour to Shakspere."

§ 5. But the Committee can claim content for the Society's past six years' work, they are painfully alive to the fact that if the Society had been properly supported—backt as a Shakspere Society should be backt by English and English-speaking men—that six years' work should have been done in two years. What kind of tribute is a miserable £500 a year, to the memory of the man who has done for England and the world, what Shakspere has done, is doing, and will do? The sum is ludicrous in its pettiness. No Member can be

satisfied with it. Every Member of the Society should make it his business to get the amount increast. When too Editors and Writers give Members months of trouble and work to produce them good books and Papers, the least that Members can do in return is to give an occasional ten-minutes to hunting and catching a new Member. Every one in the land with a guinea to spare ought to subscribe to the New Shakspere Society. It is a duty he owes to Shakspere and to English Literature. And our Members should see that all their friends and acquaintances do their duty in this regard.

Let Members but look at the work waiting to be got to press for the Society, and they will see how urgently more money is needed for it. First, a larger income than usual will be needed in 1880 to clear the books named for that year's issue above. Then funds are wanted at once for 1. Mr W. G. Stone's Shakspere Holinshed—selections from Holinshed's Chronicle for Shakspere's Historical Plays,—of which the text is nearly ready; 2. Mr Furnivall's edition of the Second Part of Stubbes's Anatomie of Abuses, 1583, of which the copy is ready; 3. Miss J. Lee's Parallel-Text edition of the Contention and 2 Henry VI, and the True Tragedy and 3 Henry VI, which can be sent to press at short notice; 4. for the other Parallel Texts, Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Richard III, 2 Henry IV, Merry Wives, Troilus and Cressida, Hamlet, Lear, Othello; 5. for the important Collection of the Wills of the Actors and Authors of Elizabeth's and James I's times that Colonel J. L. Chester has most kindly undertaken to prepare for the Society, and for which there is no so fit Editor living as himself.

A thousand pounds' worth of work could be got to press in a very little while; and if by way of an instalment of it, any Member will volunteer to imitate the good example set by H.R.H. Prince Leopold, Lord Derby, Mr Cozens, Miss Phipson, and Dr Ingleby, and give the Society another Reprint, or a cheque towards one, his present will be most welcome.

§ 6. Prizes. The Committee's First Report said that they proposed "to follow the example of the Early English Text Society, and give yearly to a certain number of the more important Colleges and Schools in Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, some of the Society's completed publications" as a prize for the winner in an examination in Shakspere or one of his Plays. Books have accordingly been sent, on application, to the following institutions, and the Committee have received most gratifying letters on the stimulus that the gift of these prizes has given to Shakspere study:—

Aberystwyth, University College, Cardiganshire, South Wales.

Alabama, University, Tuscalora, Alabama, U.S.A. Annapolis, St. John's College, Maryland, U.S.A.

Baltimore City College, U.S.A.

Bedford Grammar School, Belfast, Queen's College.

Berlin, Germany, Prof. Herrig's Academy. Bonn, Prussia, Prof. Delius's Classes.

California University, Oakland, California, U.S.A.

Cork, Queen's College. Dublin, Trinity College. Fife, St. Andrew's University. Galway, Queen's College.

Glasgow, the Academy. Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa City, U.S.A.

Ithaca, Cornell University, U.S.A. Liverpool Institute, Mount St., Liverpool; and Royal Institution. Logan Female College, Russellville, Kentucky, U.S.A.

London, City of London School,

Cowper Street Middle Class School.

Grocers' Company's Schools.

King's College Evening Classes, and King's College School.

University College, and University College School.

McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Manchester, Grammar School.

Owen's College, and Owen's College Evening Classes.

Mill Hill School, Hendon.

Mississippi, University of, Oxford, Mississippi, U.S.A.

Norwich School, Norwich.

Philadelphia, La Fayette College, Easton, U.S.A. Strassburg, Germany, Prof. Ten Brink's Classes.

Skipton, Yorkshire, The Grammar School.

Western Female High School, Baltimore, U.S.A. The names of the Prize-winners we hope to give in next

Report.

§ 7. Societies in Union. The dropping of the practice of printing the Papers read at every Meeting has of course prevented the sending of these Papers to the Branch Shakspere-Societies in union with us. But still the Committee have been able to help by advice in the formation of a few fresh Societies, and to lend them some of the MS Papers read at the Society's Meetings. Henceforth this will be the most that the Society can do directly for Branch Societies' help. But the Committee hope that all of them, as well as the many Shakspere Readingclubs and Societies about the kingdom, will look on the New Shakspere Society as a connecting link between them of which they ought to avail themselves.

The Treasurer's Cash-Account for 1878 follows.

1875-7 have already appeard in the Transactions.

Hereafter, a Report, or short Statement by way of one, will appear yearly.

Income and Expenditure of the New Shakspere Society for the Year ending 31st December, 1878.

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Audited and found correct, January 2, 1879.

SAM. CLARK. HARRY SMART. AUDITORS.

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, HON. SEC.

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