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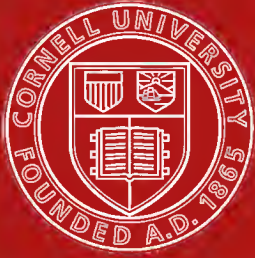
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Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the abuses



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PHILIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

Stubbs, Philip, fl. 1581-1593.

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

¹⁻³ description F (1595).

² corruptions E (1585); enormities F (1595).

³ now *om.* F.

⁴ Christian *not in* B (1 Aug. 1583), *or* F.

⁵⁻⁵ the countrie of E; this Realme of F.

⁶ verie *not in* B.

⁷ England F.

⁸ Gods heaunie F.

⁹ 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 enlarged by the same Author F (1595).

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ *omitted* F.

¹⁵ saith Christ *not in* E.

¹⁶ Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next about S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595. F.

¹⁷ 16. August *in* B, *not in* E.

¹⁸ 1585 *in* E.

Eugene M. Kaufmann, Jr.

Series VI. No. 4.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

The Anatomie of Abufes:

Contayning¹

A ¹DISCOVERIE, OR BRIEFE
Summarie,¹ of fuch Notable Vices and Im-
perfections,² as now³ raigne in many Chri-
tian⁴ Countreyes of the Worlde: but (ef-
peciallie) in ⁵a verie⁶ famous LANDE
called⁵ AILGNA⁷. Together, with
moft fearefull Examples of Gods⁸ Iudge-
mentes, executed⁹ vpon the wicked for the
fame, afwell in AILGNA⁷ of late, as in
other places elfewhere.

Verie Godly, to be read of all true Christians,
euerie where¹⁰; but moft needefull,¹¹ to
be regarded in ENGLANDE.

Made dialogue-wife by **Phillip Stubbes.**¹²

¹³ Scene and allowed, according to order.¹³

¹⁴ 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

¹⁶ ¶ Printed at London, by Richard
Iones. I. Maij.¹⁷ 1583.¹⁸

[¹ The collations are on the opposite page.]



To the ¹Right Hono-
 rable,² Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip
 Stubbes wisheth helth of body & soule,¹ fauour
 of God, increase of Godly honour, re-
 ward of laudable vertue, and eter-
 nall felicitie, ³in the Heauens,³
 by ⁴Iesvs Christ.

⁵NOBILITAS Patriæ DECVS.⁵



⁶HE Lord our God (right honorable)⁶ hauing by the
 power of his word, created Heauen and Earth, with
 all ⁷things what soeuer, for the comfort⁷ and vse of
 Man, the last of all other (euen the sixt daye) ⁸made
 Man, after his owne similitude and likenesse,⁹ that ¹⁰in
 him he might be glorified aboue all other Creatures. And there-
 fore, wheras in making of other things he vsed onely this Woord,
 FIANT, be they made or let them be made, when he came to
 make Man, ¹¹as it weare aduyfing¹² himfelse and ¹¹asking counsell at
 his wisdome, he said FACIAMVS HOMINEM, let vs make Man; that
 is, a wonderful Creature: and therefore is called in greek MICRO-
 COSMOS, a litle world in himself. And truely he is no lesse, whether
 we consider his spirituall soule, or his humaine body. For what
 Creature is there vppon the face of the Earth comparable to man,

[God made man
 in His own
 likeness,

a little world in
 himself.]

^{1—1} Christian Magistrates and godly Governors of England, whose authority
 & offices are to reforme vice and maintain vertue, P. S. wisheth the F.

² 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 things, for the benefit, F (benefite E).

⁸ he made A, F. ⁹ to what end? namely *inserted in B* (1 Aug., 1583).

¹⁰ to this end, that F. ^{11—11} consulting with himself, & as it were E, F.

¹² consulting with *in B*.

either in body or ¹in mind? what creature hath a soule immortall inherēt in his body,¹ but onely Man? what Creature can forsee things ²to come, remember things past, or iudge of things present, but onely ³man? what Creature beareth the ymage of God ⁴about with him,⁵ but Man? what Creature is made so erect to behould the Heauens as man? What Creature may be likened to man, ⁶either in proportion of body, or gifts of the soule ⁶? And (finally) what Creature hath the promise of the resurrection & glorification of their bodies, & of eternall life, but onely Man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made Man thus glorious, and preferred him in ⁷ ⁸euery degree ⁸ before ⁹al other Creatures (the Angelicall Creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end¹⁰ & purpose, ¹¹namely, 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 ¹²bend all our force to the aduancing of his ¹³glorious Name,¹³ the edification of his People, and the building vp of his Church, which he hath redemed with the blood of his deare Sonne.

[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.]

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured fourth vnto vs in the 25 of Exodvs, wher the Lord commaunded Moyfes to build him a Tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that therein his lawe might be read¹⁴, his Ceremonies ¹⁵practised, Sacrifices, Victimates & Holocaustes offered, ¹⁵and his glorious Name called vpon and obeyed. To the erection wherof euery one conferred some what, some brought gold, some siluer & some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare, sand, lyme, mortar, wood, stone, and such like. Euen so ¹⁶(right honorable)¹⁶ would the Lord haue

¹—¹ soule? For what creature hath an immortall soule, F.

⁵ about with him *om.* F.

⁶—⁶ whether we respect the lineaments the dimensions and proportion of the body, or the gifts and graces of the mind E, F.

⁷ by E, F. ⁸—⁸ many degrees F. ⁹ above E, F. ¹⁰ speciall end B.

¹¹—¹¹ 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.

¹² we should E, F. ¹³—¹³ glorie E, F. ¹⁴ read and preached F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ duly practiced, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ *om.* F.

euery one to conferre some what, euen such as he hath, to the building¹ of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the blood of Christ.² Wherefore seeing it is so, that euery one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I haue rather chosen, with the simplest and meanest sort, to bring, though but heyre, sand, skins, lyme, mortar,³ wood, or⁴ stoness, than altogether to⁵ contribute nothing.

[So I, to help
God's Church,
bring now my
mite.]

[³ Sig. ¶ 3. A.]

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howse, Christ Iesus, will not dislike, but accept⁶ of⁷ ⁸my poore contribution, no lesse than he did of the⁹ poore wydowes Mite, to whom was¹⁰ imputed that she had cast more¹¹ in Gazophilatium Templi,¹¹ into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest; for what she wanted in effect that she supplied in affect. And for that, also, the Lord our God committing his talents to euery one, whether more or lesse, not onely requireth of vs the same againe simply, but also, as a straight computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs :

[⁶ Sig. ¶ 3. B.]

[⁹ Sig. A 3. E.]

& for that not only he is a murtherer & a Homicide before God who slayeth or killeth a Man with materiall sword, but he also who¹² may¹³ preuent the same,¹⁴ and will not. And¹⁵ not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any euill really,¹⁶ but also he who consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might auoid it, and either for¹⁷ negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therefore, albe it, that I haue receiued but one poore talent, or rather the¹⁸ shadow of one, yet leaft I might be reprov'd (with that vnprofitable Seruaunt) for hyding my small talent in the Earth, not profiting therewith at all, either myself or others, I haue aduentured the making¹⁹ of this litle treatise, intituled (The Anatomy of Abuses) hoping that the same (by diuine assistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building²⁰ of this spirituall howse of the Lord.

[God bids us use
our talents, not
hide them,

and so I've
written my
*Anatomy of
Abuses*, to help
God's House,]

And although I be one²¹ (most honorable Lord)²¹ that can do leaft in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into Wyfdomes school), yet for that some wil not,

¹ building vp F. ² the Messyas B. ⁴ and F.
⁵ to sit idle and F. ⁶ rather accept F. ⁷ of this E, F.
¹⁰ it was F. ^{11—11} om. F. ¹² who A. ¹³ might hinder B.
¹⁴ same murther F. ¹⁵ And for that E, F. ¹⁶ actually F.,
¹⁷ through F. ¹⁸ but the E, F. ¹⁹ contriuing F.
²⁰ building vp & erection E, F. ^{21—21} om. F.

for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heauen), Other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, & semblable causes, together with the zeale and goodwill I beare vnto my Countrey, and feruent desire of their conuersion and amende¹ment, I haue taken vpon me the contryuing² of this booke; which GOD graunt may be with like plausible alacritie receiued, as with paines and good will I haue published³ it for the benefit of my Cuntrey, the pleasure of the God⁴ly and amendement of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and peruerse, whose gawld backs are tucthed, 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 surmount with mee⁷) the maligne stomacks and feare⁸ countenances of the other. After that I had ⁹(right honorable)⁹ fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the fraungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and fundrie causes, and neuer to haue offred it to the viewe of the world, But, notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunat request, and infatigable¹⁰ desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the fame, as ¹¹now you see¹¹ is¹² extant.

¹³ But when I had once graunted to imprinte the fame, I was¹⁴ in greater doubt than¹⁵ before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the fame so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such booke as this, which sheweth to euery one his sin, and discouereth euery Mans wicked waies, which indeede 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 rabidè feruntur* :) they rage, they fume, and rayle both against the AVTHOR and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandring

² publishing F.

³ collected F.

⁵ sustained *added in* E, F. ⁷⁻⁷ yea farre surmount B; *om.* F.

⁸ austere F.

⁹⁻⁹ *om.* F.

¹⁰ *orig.* infatigable

¹¹⁻¹¹ now (God haue the praise thereof) B.

¹² it F.

¹³ *From here to faile nener, last line, p. vii, is omitted in* F.

¹⁴ was then B.

¹⁵ than then E.

¹⁶ and spewing out the poysion of their malicous harts *inserted in* B.

[and from love to God and my country.]

[¹ Sig. ¶ 3, back. A.]

[⁴ Sig. ¶ 3, back. B.]

[⁶ Sig. A 3, back. E.]

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

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

too and fro, and resting, as it weare, in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue¹ peared the Skyes, and whose laudable vertues² are blowen not ouer the realme of England³ onely, but euen to the furthest coasts and parts [3 Sig. ¶ 4. A.] of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayfes, if I should take vpon mee to recounte, I might as well number the starres in the Sky, or grasse of⁴ the Earth.

For, for Godly Wyfdome, and zeale to⁵ the truth, is not your good Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable with⁶ the best? For sobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtesie to euerie one, farre excelling many. [5 Sig. ¶ 4. B.]

For your great⁷ deuotion and compassion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie to your Soueraigne, lone to the CYNTRY, and vertues in generall, euerie where most renowned.

But leaft I might obscure your Worthie commenda⁸tions with my vnlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphaticall) I will rather furceafe than further to proceed,⁹ contenting my selfe rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, than to haue ciphred them foorth, which indeede are both infinit and inexplicable. [8 Sig. A 3, bk. E.]

In confideration (whereof,) not withstanding that my Booke be simpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) present it self to your good Lordship (being farre vnworthie of such an honorable Personage) yet, accordinge to your accustomed¹⁰ clemency, I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship to receiue the same into your honors Patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, seruice, and good will towardes your honorable Lordship: For prooffe whereof, would God it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyfe, yet with my humble seruice, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and euer willing heart I beare in brest to your good Lordship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie¹¹ and faithfulness¹¹ faile neuer. [Tho' my book is unworthy of you, yet take it under your protection!]

¹ have long since B.

² (by the golden trumpe of fame) *inserted in B.*

⁴ vpon E.

⁶ to E.

⁷ your great *not in E.*

⁹ heerein *added in E.*

¹⁰ mansuetude, and pristine *inserted in B.*

¹¹—¹¹ faithfulness and goodwill B.

And because this my Booke is subiect 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 ³haue⁴ their fins ⁵deteſted) therfore I haue had the greater 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 ⁶true nobilitie and of al⁷ integritie and perfeccion, but alſo hath made you his ſubſtitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, puniſh abuſes, and correſte finne.

[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 riſe.

Commoners
wear gentlefolks'
dres.

[¹⁷ Sig. A 3,
back. E.]

Plays, whore-
dom, and uſury
go on.]

And as³ in mercie he⁸ hath giuen you this⁹ power and autoritie, ¹⁰ſo hath he ¹¹giuen¹⁰ you a hungrie ¹¹deſire to ac¹²complish the ſame ¹³according to his will: Which zeal in your ſacred breſt the LORD increaſe for euer.

And¹⁴ as your Lordſhip knoweth,¹³ reformation of maners and amendement of lyfe was neuer more needfull, for was pride (the chiefteſt 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, veluers¹⁵, damafks, ſatans, and what not¹⁶? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at ¹⁷anie hand? Are not vnlawfull games, Playes, and Enterluds, and the like, euery where vſed¹⁸? Is not whordome, couetouſnes, vſurie, & the like, daylie practiſed without all puniſhment or lawe¹⁹?

But hereof I²⁰ ſay no more, ²¹referring the²¹ conſideration, both²² of theſe and²³ the reſt, to your²⁴ Godly wyſdome.²⁵ Beſeeching ²⁶your

¹—¹ om. F.

² book ſubiect vnto E, F.

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

⁴ heare E.

⁶—⁶ a mirror of E.

⁷ a rare Phoenix of *for* of al E.

⁸ om. F.

⁹ his E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ to reforme vices and abuſes, ſo I beſeech him to giue euery 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 towards their ſuperiours, Parents, Maſters and gouernors?

²⁰ I need to E.

²¹—²¹ reſeruyng the good E, F.

²² as well E, F.

²³ as of E, F.

²⁴ your Lordſhips E.

²⁵ Wiſedomes F.

²⁶—²⁶ you F.

good Lordship²⁶ to perdon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*Zelus domini huc adegit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryuen me heather.

¹ Knowing that the LORD hath ordeined you to himselfe, a chofen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set fourth in this litle ² booke.¹

[You, Lord Arundel, are God's Minister to purge his Church.]

Thus I cease to molest your sacred³ eares any further with my rude speeches, most humbly beseeching⁴ your good Lordship,⁴ not onely to admit this my Book into your⁵ honours patronage and defence^{5,6} but also to persift the iust Defender⁷ therof against the swynish crew of rayling⁸ ZOILVS and flowting MOMVS, with their complices⁹; to whome¹⁰ it is easier to deprauē all things, than to amend any thing them selues: Which¹¹ if I shall perceiue to¹² be accepted of your honour, besides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the fame, I shall not only think my self to haue receiued a sufficient guerdon for my paines, and shalbe therby greatly incorage (if GOD permit) hereafter to take in hand some memorable thing to your immortal prayfe, honour and renoune; but also shall daylie pray to GOD for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleasure and your hartes desire, with increase of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS by Iesus Christ.

[Protect me against the swinish crew of railers and mockers!] [¹⁰ leaf ¶ 5. A.]

Columna gloriæ virtus.

Your Honors to commaund,¹³

PHILLIP¹⁴ Stubbes.⁸

^{1—1} Not in E. ² treatise B. ³ om. F.

^{4—4} you F. ^{5—5} protection F. ⁶ protection E. ⁷ defenders F.

^{9—8} F has the following, and slaunderous tongues, so shall I acknowledge 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,

P. S.

⁹ complies of bragging Thrasoes and barking Phormions E.

¹¹ but E.

¹² the same to E.

¹³ in the Lorde added in E.

¹⁴ P. in B.

A PREFACE¹

to the Reader.

[leaf ¶ 5, blk]

[Tho' I blame
Plays, Dances,
&c.,I don't want to
abolish all
amusements, but
only the abuses
in them.]

[“ leaf ¶ 6]

[Some plays are
useful for good
exampleand Godly
recreation.

Thought it conuenient (good Reader, who foerer 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 proceffe of this my booke, I haue intreated of certen exercyses vsually practised amongest vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not haue thee so to take mee, as though my speaches tended to the overthrowe and vtter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare Abuses which are crept into euery one of these feuerall exercyses is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (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 commendable exercyses, being vsed and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholfome instruction; And may be vsed, in tyme and place conuenient, as conducible to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our grosse & dull nature, that what thing we see 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 oculis obiecta.* So that when honest & chaff 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

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

very tollerable exercyfes. But being vsed (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his sabaoth, to the alluring and inuegling of the People from the blessed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean affemblyes, to ydlenes, vnthriftynes, whordome, wantonnes, drunkeznnes, and what not; and which is more, when they are vsed to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle Persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, hauing their lyuings of the sweat of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronets deuouring *the* sweet honie of *the* poore labouring bees, ¹ than are they exercyfes (at no hand) sufferable.

[But Plays acted on Sunday to wantons,

and to support idle drones, are insufferable.]

[¹ leaf ¶ 6, bk]

But being vsed to the ends that I haue said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not haue thee (good Reader) to think that I condemne the exercyfe it self altogether; for I know the wisest Sages, and the Godlyest Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vsed the same, as Dauid, Salomon, and many others: but my words doo touch & concerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vsed vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning vntill night, in publique affemblyes and frequencys of People, Men & women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming, and such like inticements to wantonneffe & sin, together with their leapinges, skippings, & other vnchast gestures, not a few: Being vsed, or rather abused, in this sort, I vtterly discommend it.

[Dancing all Sunday in public, with music, skippings, &c., is wrong;

But vppon the other side, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howse, for his Godly solace 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 disallowed.

tho' in private it is allowable.]

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exercife altogether vnlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of Godly, honest, ciuile game, or exercife, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with co²neytousnes, or desire of vnlawfull gaine; for the commaundement saith, thou shalt not couet: wherefore, if any be voided of these affectiones, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may vse the same in the feare of God: yet so as the vse therof be not a let or hinderance vnto him to any other Godly exploit.

[Gaming is only wrong when covetousness is mixt with it.]

[² leaf ¶ 7]

[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 lower folk must not flaunt in velvets, gilt daggers, &c.]

[I am against abuse, not use.]

But if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming howses, bowling allies, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether difcommendable and vnlawfull. Wherefore, as these be exercises lawfull to them that know how to vse them in the feare of GOD, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse them, as I haue shewed. But take away the abuses, the things in themselves are not euill, being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurses 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 haue the things themselves remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because¹ it is abused, vtterly to be taken away.

And whereas also I haue spoken of the excessse 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 speeches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sumptuous 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 some respects ought, to were such attire (their birthes, callings, functions, and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my Booke laid downe, as maye 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.

And therefore, when I speake generally of the excessse of Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour sorte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpassè either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold, Siluer, and what not, with their swards, 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 easly be discerned from the other.

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

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

This much I thought good (Gentle Reader) to informe thee of, for thy better instruction, as ¹well in these few points, as in all other the like, wherfoeuer they shall chaunce to occurre in my Booke; Befeaching thee to contrue al things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and to giue the fame thy good-woord and gentle acceptaunce. And thus in the

LORD I bid thee
farewell.

Thyne' to vse in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.



[Sig. B i. E,
B.]

Phillippus Stubens

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 ipse nihil.
 Obfusus est etenim verborum colluione
 plusquam vandalica, rebus et infipidis.
 Quare si sapias, 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,²
 incessens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi:
 Videream 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 ventrosus, ZOILE, bufo,
 demiror medius quod minus ipse 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 furiaë, Cerborus ore voret.
 Imprecor at misero quid pænas, cui fati intus?
 dæmona circumfert pectore namque suo.

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

¶ *Eiusdem aliud.*

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur,
 pauca legas; poterit sic liber esse brevis.

If the book before you seems too long, make it short by reading but little of it.]

¹ This page is omitted in F.

² calomoque in B, E.

³ hunc in B.

[C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations.

[1 Sig. B l,
back. B, E; not
in A.]

<p>You Sages graue with heares so hoare attend what you doe heare :</p> <p>And eke you youthfull gallants all, marke well and giue good eare.</p> <p>You princely peeres, and Senatours, in sacred breasts imprint :</p> <p>These faiynge wise, and prudent eke, to practize doe not flint.</p> <p>You Bishoppes, and you Prelates all, learn here your flock to keepe :</p> <p>You Ministers, and Preachers eke, to feade your feely sheepe,</p> <p>You Commons all, whiche doe enioye, bothe high and lowe degree :</p> <p>Step boldly in amongest the route, and view with fingle eye,</p> <p>This perfect glasse, and mirror pure, which doeth your finnes defcrie :</p> <p>And sacred precepts doeth prescribe, by name Anatomie.</p> <p>Approche therefore both high and lowe, this Booke see that thou buye :</p> <p>And learne thy self by sacred lore, in vertue for to dye.</p> <p>To God, to Queene, to all men eke, how thou thy self shouldst frame :</p> <p>To liue, to dye in vertues lawes, to win immortall fame.</p> <p>²Loe here (you readers all) the gaine, which you herein maie haue :</p> <p>Delay not then, giue <i>Stubbes</i> the praise, since freely he it gaue.</p>	<p>[Sages,</p> <p>Gallants,</p> <p>Peers,</p> <p>Bishops,</p> <p>Preachers,</p> <p>Commons,</p> <p>see here your sins describ'd :</p> <p>Buy this book,</p> <p>learn your duty by it,</p> <p>[2 Sig. B ij. B, E.]</p> <p>and praise Stubbes.]</p>
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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.

[I, Stubbes's
 friend, ask you to
 take his work in
 good part, and
 praise him.]

Finis.

της ἀρετης διεγού' η τευχ' ή αλδαιακαί. B, E.]

¹ ?he



[leaf A.]

¹A. D. In commendation of the Au-
thor and his Booke.

[Sig. B ij. B, E.]

IF Mortall-man may challenge prayfe
For any thing done in this lyfe,²
Than may our *Stubbes*, at all affayes,
Inioy the same withouten stryfe :
Not onely for his Godly zeale,
And Christian life accordinglie,
But also for this³ booke in fale,
Heare present, now before thine eye.
Herein the Abufes of thefe dayes,
As in a glaffe thou mayest behold :
Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he fayer,
And giue him thanks an hundred fold.

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

¹ This page is omitted in F.² like B.³ his B, E.



I. F. In Commendation of the AVTHOR
and his Booke.

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

[If profane men
get praise for
wanton
pamphlets,

Stubbes should
receive the
laurel for this
godly booke,

in which the
vices of the
world are
displayd.]

S Hall men prophane, who toyes haue writ,
And wanton pamphlets store,
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 sacred brest
He beares to natiue soyle,
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 gaine² a price ;
But shewes to all their wickednesse,
And Gods diuyne Iustice.
A Godlyer booke³ was neuer³ made,
Nor meeter for these dayes :
Oh ! read it than, thank GOD for it ;
Let TH' AVTOR⁴ haue his praise.

¹ the E, F. ² get F. ^{3—3} hath not beene E, F.
T' HAVTOR A ; Th' Author B, E, F.

¹The Avthor and his Booke.[Sig. A ij. A.;
B ij. B.]

N ow hauing 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 so, good Maister? what's the cause
why you so loth should be
To fend mee fourth 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 none² 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 swell.

The Author.[Sig. A ij,
back. A.]

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
And subiect euery way
To MOMVS and to ZOILVS crew,
who'le dayly at thee bay.

¹ This and page xx are omitted in F.² fewe B, E.

The Booke.

Though MOMVS rage and ZOILVS carpe,
 I feare them not at all ;
 The Lord my GOD, in whom I trust,
 fhall foone caufe them to fall.

The Author.

Well, fith thou wouldeft fo faine be gone,
 I can thee not withhold ;
 Adieu, therefore ; GOD be thy fpeade,
 And bleffe thee a hundred fold.

The Booke.

And you alfo, good Maifter mine,
 GOD bleffe you with his grace ;
 Preferue you fill, and graunt to you
 In Heauen a dwelling place.





¹ *The Anatomie of*
² *the Abuses in AILGNA.*

[¹ Sig. B i. A.
 Sig. B. ij, back.
 B, E.]

¶ The Interlocutors, or Speakers.
Spudeus, Philoponus.

God geue you good morow, Maister *Philoponus.*

Philo. And you also, good brother *Spudeus.*

Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was ³bruted Flying fame
 abroad euery where³ in our countrey (by reason of your discontinued ofentimes
 lyeth.
 ance,⁴ I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.⁵

Philo. In deede, I haue spent some tyme abroad, els where then
 in my native countrey (I must needs confesse), but how false that Re-
 port is (by whom soeuer it was first rumored,⁶ or how farre so euer
 it be disperfed) your present eyes can witnessse.

⁷*Spud.* I pray you, what course of lyfe haue you lead in this your
 longe absence fourth of your owne countrey? [7 Sig. B j,
 back. A.]

Philo. Truly (brother) I haue lead the life of a poore Trauayler
 in a certaine famous Ilande, once named ⁸*Ainabla*, after *Ainatirb*,⁸ but
 nowe presently called *Ailgna*,⁹ wherein I haue lined these seuen winters
 and more, traauiling from place to place, euen all the Land ouer in-
 differently. The place
 when the Au-
 thour hath tra-
 uayled.
 [Albania,
 Britania,
 Anglia.]

¹⁰*Spud.* That was to your no litle¹¹ charges, I am sure.¹² [¹⁰ leaf r. B.†]

¹³*Philo.* It was so, but what than? I thank God I haue atchieued
 it, and by his dyuine assistance prosperously accomplished it, his glori- [¹³ leaf r. E.]
 Trauailing
 chargeable.

² the *not* in B, E, F. ³⁻³ reported F; euery where *not* in B, E.

⁴ from thence *inserted* in B, E, F. ⁵ agone F.

⁶ broched B, E, F. ⁸⁻⁸ Albania, after Britania F.

⁹ Anglia F. † leaf r. The Author a Trauailer. B.

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 prayled there fore.

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

The causes
that moued
the author to
take this tra-
uaille in hand.

Philo. Truly, to see fashions, to acquainte my-selſe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my ſelſe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, & cyuill behauour; to see the goodly ſituation 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 in³ one place.³ For⁴ ⁵ who ſo⁵ fitteth at home, euer⁶ commorante or⁷ abiding⁸ in one place, knoweth nothing in reſpecte of him that trauayleth abroade: and hee that knoweth nothing, is lyke⁹ a brute Beafte; but hee that knoweth all thinges (whiche thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is¹⁰ a God amongeft men. And ſeeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in euery thing els, euery man ought to deſire that perfection¹¹; for in my iudgement 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 thinges,) as is be¹³twen a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue; And therefore I haue had a great felicytie in trauayling abroade.¹⁴

[⁶ Sig. B ij. A.]

The difference
betwixt a man
that * hath tra-
uayled, and a
man that hath
not.
[⁹ the A; that B.]
[¹³ leaf 1, back.
B. †]
[¹⁵ leaf 1, back.
E.]

¹⁵ *Spud.* Seing that by diuine prouidence we are heare¹⁶ met together, let vs (vntill we come to *the* end of our purpoſed¹⁷ iorney) vſe ſome conference of the ſtate of the World now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyoufnes of oure iorneye.

Philo. I am very well contente ſo to doe, beinge¹⁸ not a litle glad¹⁹ of your good companie; for *Comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo eſt.* 1. A good Companion too trauayle withall, is in-ſteade of a Wagon²⁰ or Chariot. For as the one doth eaſe the painfullneſs of the way, ſo doth the other alleuiat *the* yrkſomnes of the iourney intended.

The benefite
of a good Com-
panion 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 country E; my owne country at home F.

⁴ For (in my poor iudgement) E, F. ⁶—⁶ hee that F.

⁷ commorante or *not* in F.

⁸ or abiding *not* in B, E.

⁹ like *not* in E, F.

¹⁰ is (as it were) E, F.

¹¹ F *adds* aboue al other things. ¹² *om.* F. ¹⁴ F *adds* all my life long.

† leaf 1, back. The benefite of trauayling. B.

¹⁶ *om.* F.

¹⁷ *om.* F.

¹⁸ reioysing E, F.

¹⁹ glad *not* in E, F.

Spud. But before I enter combat¹ with you (because I am a country man, rude and vnlearned, & you, a Cyuilian indued with great wifdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke *with* you fomwhat grosly,² without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wifdom³ doth require, and⁴ my insufficiencie and inabyllitie⁵ is not⁶ of power to affoorde.⁶

A request to avoid [scandal or E.] offence.

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not⁷ be offensive to mee, if they be not offensive to God first.

Spud. I pray you⁸ what maner of Countrey⁹ is that *Ailgna*,¹⁰ where you say you haue trauailed so much?

[⁹ leaf 2. B.+]

Philo. A pleasant & famous Iland, immured aboute with the Sea, as it were with a wall, ¹¹wherein the aire is verie¹² temperate, the ground fertile, and¹³ abounding with all things, either ¹⁴necessary to ¹⁴man or needefull¹⁵ for beast.

Ailgna a goodly cuntry. [Anglia, England.] [¹¹ leaf 2 E.]

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there¹⁶?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious,¹⁷ bold, puissant, and heroycal; of¹⁸ great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incomparable feature,¹⁹ of an excellent complexion, and ²⁰in all humanitie inferiour to none vnder the Sunne.

The people of Ailgna.

[²⁰ Sig. Biiij. A.]

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus blessed, must needs bee a verie godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate²¹ to God, the authour of all grace, & of these their blessings especially.

Philo. It greeneth me to remember their liues, or to make mention of their wayes²²; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed ²³that Lande²³ with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other Landes in the world, yet is there not a people more abrupte,²⁴ wicked, or peruerse, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

The liues of the people of Ailgna.

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

¹ into dispute F.

² rudely B, E, F.

³ F adds peradventure ⁴ and whiche B. ⁵ being such added in E, F.

⁶—⁶ able to perform B, E; able for to yeelde F. ⁷ not A.

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.

¹⁴—¹⁴ needfull for F. ¹⁵ necessarie F. ¹⁶ that Countrey E, F.

¹⁷ most audacious F. ¹⁸ and of F. ¹⁹ of body added in F.

²¹ meerlie yngratefull F. ²² workes F. ²³—²³ them F.

²⁴ corrupt E, F.

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

Philo. All wickednes, mischief, and finne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of¹ our² auncient ennemie the Deuill, the inueterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the³ ⁴originals of all vnclannes & impuritie⁴ whatfoeuer. But we are now newe creatures, and ⁵adoptive children,⁵ ⁶created in Christ Iesus to doe⁷ good woorkes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in. ⁸Wherefore wee⁸ ought to haue no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, ⁹Christ ¹⁰Iesus,⁹ to walke in newnesse of life, and to worke our saluation in¹¹ feare and trembling, as the Apottle faith¹²; and our sauour Christ biddeth vs fo¹³ work as our workes may glorifie our heauenlye Father. But (alas!)¹⁴ the contrarie is most true; for there is no finne that¹⁵ was euer broached in any age, which¹⁶ flourisheth not nowe. And therefore 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 Sauour come marching in the clowdes of heauen, with his¹⁷ *Tarantara* founding in each mans eare, ‘arise you Dead, and come to iudgement!’ and than shall the Lord reward euery Man after¹⁸ his owne workes. But how little this¹⁹ is esteemed of, & how smally regarded,¹⁹ to consider, it ²⁰grieueth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.²⁰

Spud. It is but a follie to greeue at²¹ them who sorowe not for them selues. Let them sinck in their owne finne: lyue well your selfe, & you shall ²²not answere for them, nor they for you. Is it not written, *vnusquisque portabit suum onus*²³? Euery one shall beare his own bur-

From whence
all euilles
spring in max.
[² leaf 2, back.
B.*]

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

The day of
Dome not re-
garded.

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

¹ from E, F.

* leaf 2, back. The originall of sinne. B.

³ the causes and E.

⁴—⁴ efficient causes and stinking puddles of all vnclannes and filthinesse F.

⁵—⁵ adoadpted (*sic*) children of God F.

⁷ om. F.

⁸—⁸ and therefore B, E; and therefore we F.

⁹—⁹ not in E, F.

¹¹ with F.

¹² speaketh F.

¹³ so to F.

¹⁴ F omits alas.

¹⁵ which F.

¹⁶ that F.

¹⁷ this dreadfull *instead* of his B, E, F.

¹⁸ according to F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ daie is feared, †how smally perpended, ‡ 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.

† leaf 3. Of Christian charitie. B.

²³ onus snum F.

den. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur*: the foule that finneth shall dy. wherfore furceafe¹ to forow or greeue any more for them, for² they are such as the Lord hath cast of³ into a⁴ reprobat feuce, &⁴ ⁵preiudicat opinion, & preordinat⁵ to ⁶defruccion, that his power, [⁶ Sig. B iij. A.. his glorie, and⁷ iustice may appeare to all the World.

Philo. Oh, brother! ther is no⁸ chriſten man in whoſe hart ſhineth [⁶ The Chriſtian's grief at Engliſhmen's ſins.] *ſcintillula aliqua⁹ pietatis*, any ſparke of ¹⁰God his grace, which¹¹ will not greeue to ſee¹⁰ his brethren & ſiſters in the Lord, members of the ſame body, coheyes of the ſame kingdom, & purchafed with one & the ſame ineſtimable price of Chriſt his blood, to runne thus¹² deſperatlie into¹³ the gulphe of deſruccion and laberinth of¹⁴ perdition.¹⁵ If the leaſt and¹⁶ 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 griened parte, ſeking & endeavouring¹⁸ them ſelues,¹⁸ euery one in his office & calling,¹⁹ to reſtaure the ſame, and neuer ioying vntill that²⁰ be reſtored again to his former integritie & perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Chriſtian charity, confideratly weighed, may²¹ moue any good Man²² to mourn for their defeccion, and to aſſay²³ by all poſſible means²³ to reduce²⁴ them home²⁵ again, that their ſoules maie be ſaued in the daye of the Lord. And the Apoſtle commandeth vs,²⁶ ²⁷that we be²⁷ (*alter²⁸ alterius emolumento*) an²⁹ ayde and helpe one to an other. And that we do good to all men, *dum tempus habemus*, whyleft we haue tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and³⁰ to be of like affection one towards an other. And common

The mutuall harmonie of one member with an other.

[²⁵ leaf 3, back. B.†]

[³⁰ Sig. B iij, back]

¹ cease F.

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.

⁷ and his F. ⁸ not any F. ⁹ vlla F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ Gods grace, but will grieue, seeing F. ¹¹ who B, E.

¹² thus *not in* B, E, F. ¹³ headlong into B, E, F.

¹⁴ laberinth of *not in* F. ¹⁵ F *adds* both of body and soule for euer.

¹⁶ or B, E, F. ¹⁷ the E, F.

¹⁸—¹⁸ by al meanes possible B, E, F. ¹⁹ nature F. ²⁰ it F.

²¹ ought to B; mooveth me and ought to E, F. ²² Chriſtian man B, E, F.

²³—²³ *not in* B; assaying by al meanes possible E, F.

²⁴ and to bring *added in* E; reclaimeth them, and to bring F.

† leaf 3, back. The Authors intent. B.

²⁸ 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 aduertifeth¹ vs, that wee are not borne for our selues onelie; for *Ortus nostris 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 assaye to doe them good (if I can) in² discouering their abuses, and laying open their inornities, that they, seeing the greenoufnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to³ the true Phisition⁴ & expert Chirurghion⁴ of their soules, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health & grace, and so eternally be faued.

Spud. Seeing that so many and so haynous finnes⁵ do raigne and rage in *Ailgna*,⁶ as your wordes⁷ import, and which mooue you to such intestine sorrowe and griefe of minde, I pray you describe vnto me more peticularly some of those Capitall⁸ crimes, and chiefe Abuses⁸ which are there frequented, and which dishonour the maiestie of God the⁹ most, ¹⁰as you suppose.¹⁰

[leaf 4: Sig.
B. v.]

A particuler description of PRIDE, the principall
Abuse¹¹; and how manifold it is
in AILGNA.¹¹

PHILOPONVS.

YOU do well to request me to cipher¹² fourth vnto you¹³ parte¹⁴ of those great Abuses (and Cardinall Vices) vsed¹⁵ in AILGNA,¹⁶ for no man in anie¹⁷ Catalogue, how prolixie soeuer,¹⁷ is able to comprehend the summe of all¹⁸ abuses there in practise.¹⁸ And whereas you would haue mee to speake of those Capitall or¹⁹ 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 inornities 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 indgment F.

¹¹ in Ailgna (in England in F.) comes after Abuse in B, E, F.

¹² decipher 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 you² ſhake hands with the ſworne enemies of God, the Papiſtes, who ſay there are two kindes of finne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you muſt vnderſtand that there is not the leaſt finne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woorde or deede (yea, *Væ vniuerſæ iuſtitie noſtræ, ſi remota miſericordia iudicetur* : Wo be to all our righteousnes, if, mercy put away, they³ ſhould bee iudged) but it is damnable, *dempta miſericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be⁴ not extended.⁴ And againe; there is no finne ſo⁵ greuous, which⁶ the grace and mercy of God is not⁷ able⁸ to⁹ coun¹⁰teruaile withal, & if it bee his¹¹ pleaſure to blot it out for euer.⁹ So *that* you ſee now, there is no finne ſo veniall, but if the mercie of God be not¹² ſtretched out,¹² it is damnable; nor yet anie finne ſo mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not bee done away. And therefore as we are not to preſume of the one, ſo wee are not to deſpaire of the other. But to returne againe to *the* ſatisfying of your requeſt. The greateſt abuſe, which¹³ both offendeth god moſte, & is there not a little aduanced, is the execrable finne of Pride, and exceſſe in apparell, which is there ſo ripe,¹⁴ as the filthie fruits¹⁵ thereof haue long ſince preſented themſelues before the throne of the maieſtie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and night inceſſantly.

Spud. Wherefore haue you intended to ſpeak of Pride the firſt of all, geuing vnto¹⁶ it the firſt place in your tractation¹⁷? Becauſe it is euill in it-ſelfe, and the efficiente cauſe of euill, or for ſome other purpoſe?

Philo. For no other cauſe but for that I thinke it to bee¹⁸ not onely euill and damnable in it owne nature, but alſo the verie efficient cauſe of all euills. And therefore the wiſe man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and welſpring of al euils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, & take their

All ſinne in it owne nature is mortall.

[⁸ Sig. B. v, back]
[¹⁰ leaf 4, back. B. f]

The greateſt abuſe which offendeth god moſt is pride.

Pride the be-
gynning of all
euill.

ECCLES. 10.

¹ as I ſuppoſe *added in B, E.*

² you herein B, E.

³ the B; it E, F.

^{4—4} taken away E.

⁵ lethall nor yet any offence ſo *added in B, E*; ſo lethall or deadly, nor yet any offence ſo F.

⁶ but F.

⁷ *om.* 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.

¹¹ his good E.

^{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.

¹⁶ *om.* F.

¹⁷ diſcourſe F.

¹⁹ to bee *not in F.*

[¹ Sig. B vj.]
[² leaf 5. B.*]

What is it but
pride dares
attempt it.

beginning, fo from *the* curfed ¹roote of ²peftiferous Pride do all other³ euilles fproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therefore may Pride be called not improperly, *Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurfe of al mischief: for what thyng⁴ fo haynous, what cryme fo flagitious, what deed fo perillous, what attempt fo venterous, what enterprife fo pernicious, or what thing fo *offenfue* to God, or hurtful to man, in ⁵all *the* world, which man ⁶(of himfelfe a very Sathanas,) ⁷to maintain his pride withall,⁷ wil not willingly atchieue ⁸? hereof ⁹wee haue too muche experience euerye day, more is the pittie.⁹

Spud. How manyfold is this fin of Pryde, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his maieftie fo greuously offended!

Philo. Pride is tripartite¹⁰; namely, *the* pryde of the hart, the pride of the mouth, & the pryde of apparell, which¹¹ (vnles I bee deceiued) offendeth God more then the other two. For as *the* pride of the heart &¹² mouth is¹³ not oppofite to *the* eye, nor vifible to the fight, and therefor ¹⁴intice not¹⁴ others to vanitie & fin (notwithftanding they be greuous finnes in the fight of God) fo the pride of apparel, ¹⁵remaining in¹⁵ fight, as an exemplarie of euill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and finne.

Spud. How is the pride of *the* hart committed?

¹⁶*Philo.* Pride of the hart is perpetrate¹⁷ when as a man lifting him felfe on highe, thinketh ¹⁸of himfelfe aboute that which he is ¹⁹of himfelfe,¹⁹ dreamyng a²⁰ perfection of²¹ himfelfe, when he²² is nothyng leffe; And in refpect of himfelfe contempneth, ²³vilefieth, and reproacheth²³ all men,²⁴ thinking none comparable to him felfe, whose righteoufnes, notwithstanding, is lyke to the polluted cloth of a menftruous woman. Therefore the Pryde of the Heart maye bee faide too bee a Rebellious elation, or lyftyng vppe of the mynde agaynft the

Pride is three-
fold: pride of
the hart, pride
of the mouth,
and pride of
apparell.

[²⁶ leaf 5, back.
B.†]

[¹⁸ Sig. B vj.
back]

[Isaias 50. E.]

What pride of
the hart is.

* leaf 5. Three sortes of Pride. B.

⁹ other *not in* B, E.

⁴ facte B, E, F.

⁵ is there in B, E, F.

^{6—6} *not in* F.

^{7—7} *come after* atchieue *in* B, E, F.

⁸ attempt E; commit F.

^{9—8} euery daies successe ministreth proof sufficient B, E, F.

¹⁰ threefold F.

¹¹ the laste whereof B, E, F.

¹² and of the B, E, F.

¹³ are F.

^{14—14} cannot intice B, E, F.

^{15—15} obiecte to B, E; which is obiect to the F.

† leaf 5, back. Pride deuided. B.

¹⁷ committed F.

^{19—19} *not in* E, F.

²⁰ of a F.

²¹ in F.

²² there F.

^{23—23} and despiseth

²⁴ others E, F.

Lawe of God, attrbyutyng and ascrybyng that vnto himfelfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in nobis velle*¹ et *posse*, who worketh in vs both the wil and power to do good, *Ne gloriaretur omnis caro*, leaste anie fleshe should bofte of his owne power and strength, yet Pride, with his Cofin germain *Philautia*, which is *Selfeloue*, perswadeth him that he hath neede of no mans helpe but his owne; that he standeth by his own proper strength & power, and by no mans els, & that he is al in all; yea, fo perfect and good as no more can be² ³exacted of hym.³

Spud. How is⁴ Pride of wordes, or pride of⁵ mouthe, committed?

Philo. Pride of the mouth, or of⁶ wordes, is when we boast, bragge, or glorie, eyther of our selues, our kinred,⁷ confanguynitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our ⁸selues ⁹for any⁹ vertue, sanctimonie of lyfe,¹⁰ sincertye of ¹¹Godlynes¹¹ 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 haue all (in a maner) boast & ¹²vaunt themselues¹² of their Auncetors and progenitors? saying & crying¹³ with open mouth, I 'am a Gentleman, 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 receiueth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane¹⁵ the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the same order and manner, without any difference or diuersitie at all; wherof more hereafter shalbe spoken.

Spud. How is Pride of Apparell committed?

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

PHILAVTIA.

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, & parentage, &c. B, E.]

How pride of

¹ et *velle* F.² be required or B, E.^{3—3} required of him in this life F.⁴ is the E, F.⁵ of the E; the pride of the F. ⁶ om. 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 per-
petrate &
committed.

[³ leaf 7, back.
B.†]

[⁴ B 7, back]

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 haue sayde before) hurteth more then the other two; For the finne of the heart hurteth none but the Author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not forth into ²exteriour action²; ³and the ⁴Pride of the mouth ⁵(whiche consisteth, as I haue sayd, in ostenting and bragging of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by ⁶Hereditarie possession or lineall dissent)⁵ though it be meere vngodly in it own nature; yet it is not⁷ permanent (for ⁸wordes fly⁸ into the aire, not leauing any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes⁹) But this finne of¹⁰ excessse of Apparell remayneth as an Example of euyl before our eyes, and as¹¹ a prouocatiue¹² to sinne, as Experience daylye sheweth.¹³

A decorum to
be obserued.

Spud. Would you not haue men to obserue a decencie, a comlinessse, & a *decorum* in their vsuall¹⁴ Attire? Doeth not the worde of God commaund¹⁵ vs to do all things¹⁵ *decenter et secundum ordinem ciuilem*, decently and after a cyuile maner¹⁶?

Our apparell
rather deform-
eth than
adorneth vs.

Philo. I¹⁷ would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a *decorum* were obserued, as well in Attire as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for ¹⁸most of our nouell¹⁹ Inuentions and new fangled fashions²⁰ rather deforme vs²¹ then adorne vs, disguise vs then become vs, making vs rather to resemble sauadge Beastes and stearne²² Monsters, then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

[²³ B viij]

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of ²³*Pride in*²⁴ *Apparell* infected and poysoned any other country beside *Ailgna*,²⁵ suppose you?

¹ induced F. ²—² outward shew and appearance F.

† leaf 7, back. Men become Monsters. B.

⁵—⁵ *not in F*; from his progenitors *added in E*.

⁶ as it were by B, E.

⁷ is it not so F.

⁸—⁸ *Verba cito avolant, et euanescunt in aerem*, words soone fly away and vanish E, F. ⁹ eies withal F. ¹⁰ of the F. ¹¹ is E, F.

¹² prouocation F.

¹³ proueth F.

¹⁴ vsuall *not in F*.

¹⁵—¹⁵ vs al things to be done E, F.

¹⁶ order F.

¹⁷ yes truly I B, E; Yea trulie I F.

¹⁸ do not *the* E.

¹⁹ fond F.

²⁰ dooe thei not *added in B*.

²¹ vs *omitted in F*.

²² brutish F.

²⁴ of F.

²⁵ countries besides England F.

¹ *Philo.* No doubt but this poyson hath shed foorth his influence, and powred foorth his stinking dregges ouer all the face of the earth; but yet I am fure there is not any people vnder the Zodiacke² of heauen, how³ clownish, rurall,³ or brutish foeuer, that is⁴ so poisoned with this Arnecke of Pride, or⁵ hath drunke so deepe of⁶ the dregges of this⁶ Cup as *Ailgna*⁷ hath; with grieffe of conscience I speake it, with sorow I see it, and with teares I lament it.

Spud. But I haue heard them saye that other Nations passe them for exquisite⁸ brauery in Apparell: as the *Italians*, the *Athenians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Caldeans*, *Heluetians*, *Zuitzers*, *Venetians*, *Muscouians*, and such lyke: now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

Philo. This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide⁹ their Sodometrie¹⁰ withall; onelye spoken, not proued; forged in the deceitfull Mint of their owne¹¹ braynes: For (if credit may be giuen to ancient writers) the *Egyptians* are said neuer¹² to haue changed¹² their fashon, or altered the forme¹³ of their first¹³ Attire from the beginning¹⁴ to this day: as Iacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diuersis nostræ ætatis habitibus*, Pag. 16, affirmeth. The *Grecians* are saide to vse but one kynde of Apparell without any change: that is, to¹⁵ wit, a longe Gowne reaching downe to the grounde.

The *Germaines* are thought to be so precise in obseruing one vniforme fashon in Apparell, as they haue neuer receded from their first Original; as the said *Stuperius* sayth in these¹⁶ wordes: *Non enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnquam consuevit incola:* Whiche in Englysh Verse is thus muche in effect:

¶ *The Germaine people neuer vse
lightly¹⁷ to chop and chaunge
Their customes olde, or els Attyre,
wherin abroade they range.*

¶ *The Muscouians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Affricanes,*

* leaf 8. Newfanglednesse in Ailg. B.

² face F. ^{3—3} sauage F. ⁴ that is *not in* B, E, F.

⁵ or that B, E, F. ^{6—6} this impotionate B, E, F.

⁷ England F. ⁸ finesse and *added in* F. ⁹ couer B, E, F.

¹⁰ owne shame E, F. ¹¹ own lying F. ^{12—12} to chaunge F.

^{13—13} or fashon of their F. ¹⁴ of the world *added in* F.

† leaf 8, back. Foreigne guise of Apparell. B. ¹⁷ at all F.

[* leaf 8. B.*]
[Circes cuppes
and Medeas
pottes haue made
England dronken
with Pride. E.]

No Cuntrey so
drunken with
pride as
Ailgna.

[Stuperius. B,
E.]

[*5 B 8, back]

[*6 leaf 8, back.
B.†]

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

*Afianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians,*¹ or els what Nation² foer vnder the Sunne, are fo farre behinde the people of *Ailgna*³ in exquisitneffe of Apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, fo it repell the colde and couer their shame; yea, some of them are fo smally addicte therto, that, setting apart all honestie and shame, they go cleane naked. Other some, meanly apparelled; some in Beasts skinnes, some in haire, & what euer they can get⁴: some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shoes, bands, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And the ciuilest nations that are, bee fo farre estranged from the pride of⁵ Apparell, that they esteeme 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, satens, damasks, grograins, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you see that they speake vntruly, that say that other nations exceede them in brauerie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other Nati⁶ons vnder the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foer they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyuerse fashions & fundrie formes of apparell in *Ailgna*,⁷ are most vnhandsome, brutifh, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no People in the World is⁸ fo curiouse in new fangles as they of *Ailgna*⁷ be. But graunte it were fo, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do euill because they do fo? shall their wickedneffe excuse vs of sinne, if we commit the like & worse? shall not the foule that finne dye? wherefore let vs not sinne⁹ presumption with the multitude, because they do fo, least we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreouer, those Cuntreyes are rich and welthie of them selues, abounding with all kinde of precioufe ornaments and riche attyre, as silks, veluets, Satens, damasks, Iarcent, taffetie,¹⁰ chamlet, and such¹¹ like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntreyes), and therefore¹² if they weare them they are not muche¹³ to bee blamed, as not hauing 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

[All nations inferior 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 cuntreyes not to be blamed: though they go in silks, veluets, and why.

[12 C 1, back]

¹ Dutch, French *added in F.*

² nations F.

³ England F.

⁴ get *not in F.* † leaf 9.

Brutishe fashions in Ailgna. B.

⁷ England F.

⁶ are B, E, F.

⁹ in B, E.

¹⁰ Taffeta F.

¹¹ the B, E, F.

¹³ *not in F.*

¹ minister vnto ¹ vs, it were much ² tollerable. But wee are so surprisid ³ in Pride, that if it come not from beyond the seas, it is not worth a fraw. And thus we impouerish our selues in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plesant than necessarīe, and ⁴ inrich them, who rather ⁵ laugh at vs in their fleeces than otherwise, ⁶ to see our gret follie in affecting of trifles, & departing ⁷ with good merchandizes ⁸ for it. ⁹ And howe litle they esteeme of filkes, veluets, fatens, damasks, ¹⁰ and such like, ¹⁰ wee maye easely see, in that they sell them to vs for ¹¹ wolles, frizes, rugges, carzies, and the lyke, whiche they coulede ¹² neuer doe ¹³ if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessitye to weare such riche attyre, wanting other things (whereof we haue store) to inuest themselues withall. But who seeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth vs to weare them, hauing abundance of other things to attire our selues with, ¹⁴ both hanfomer, warmer, ¹⁵ and as comlie as ¹⁵ they in euerie respecte? But 'farre fetched and deare boughte' is good for Ladies, ¹⁶ they say.

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, hauing store of other necessary clothing, ¹⁷ to weare filks, veluets, taffeties, & other fuche riche attyre, of what calling soeuer 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 priuate subiecte els ²⁰ to weare ²¹ attyre every one in ²² his degree, accordinge as his calling and condition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be kept, for *omne extremum vertitur in vitium*, euery extreme is turned into vice. ²² The nobilitye ²³ (though they haue store of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may vse a rich and precioufe 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

Other Countreyes esteeme not so muche silkes, veluets, as we do.

[⁴ leaf 9, back B. †]

[Foreigners change their veluets, &c. for our woolls. Cp. *Stafford*, p. 54, 87, &c.]

[¹⁷ C 2]

Euery man may weare apparell according to his callinge.

The nobility may weare gorgiouse attire, and why

¹—¹ afford B, E; yeeld F. ² somewhat B, E, F. ⁹ captiuatē F.
† leaf 9, back. Pride and Pleasure in Ailg. B. ⁵ rather *not in* B, E, F.
⁶ than otherwise *not in* B, E, F. ⁷ parting F. ⁸ wares F.
⁹ them B, E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ Taffetaes, and such, F. ¹¹ for our B, E, F.
¹² would F. ¹³ *not in* F. ¹⁴ with-all F.
¹⁵—¹⁵ and comlier then B, E, F. (comelier F.) ¹⁶ ladies as B.
¹⁸ of *not in* B, F. ¹⁹ the potestates *not in* B, E, F.
²⁰—²⁰ and the magisterie B, E, F. ²¹ weare riche B, E, F.
²²—²² their calling B, E, F. ²³—²³ *omitted in* B; and gentrie E, F.
²⁴—²⁴ & estates. The magistry B, E, F.

wyfe. The maiefrats alfo & Officers in the weale publique, by what tytle foeuer they be called (accordinge to their abyilities), may were (if the Prince or Superintendent do Godly commaund) coflie ornaments and riche attyre,²⁴ to dignifie their callings, and to demonftrat¹ and fhewe forth¹ the excelency² and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to ftrike a terroure & feare into the harts of the people to offend againft³⁴ the maiefty of their callings⁴: but yet would I wifh that what fo is fuperfluous or ouermuche, either in the one or in *the* other, fhould be diftributed to⁵ the helpe of⁶ the pore members of Chrifft Iefus, of whom an infynite number⁷ daylie do⁸ perifh thorowe wante of neceffarie refection and due fufentation to their bodies. And as for the priuat fubiects, it is not at any hand lawful that they fhould weare filks, veluets, fatens, damafks, 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 vfe it for the dignifying and innobling of the fame.⁹ But now there is fuch a confufe mingle mangle of apparell in *Ailgna*,¹⁰ and fuch prepofterous¹¹ exceffe therof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he luft¹² himfelfe, or can get by anie kind of¹³ meanes So that it is verie hard to knowe¹⁴ who is noble,¹⁴ who is worfhipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue thofe which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry; no, nor yet anie Magiftrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in filkes, veluets, fatens, damafks, taffeties, and fuch like, notwithstanding that they be both bafe by byrthe, meane by eftate, & feruyle by calling. ¹⁵This is ¹⁵a great confufion, & ¹⁶a general diforder: ¹⁷God be mercyfull vnto vs¹⁷!

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

^{1—1} not in B.

² the maieftie added in B, E, F.

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

⁵ and erogate to B, E, F. ⁶ and subvention of B, E, F. ⁸ do not in F.

⁹ Or at the commaundement of † their fuperintendent, or Archprimate, ‡ for fome speciall consideration or purpose, added in B, E, F. (†—‡ the chief Magistrate F.)

¹⁰ England (*and fo 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.

† leaf 10, back. Riche ornaments. B.

^{17—17} in a christian common wealth E, F.

Maiefrats
may were
sumptuous
attyre, & why.
[³ leaf 10. B.*]

[⁷ C 2, back]

[Men die for
want of food.]

Not lawfull
for priuate
subiectes to
weare sumptuous
attyre.

Hard to know
a Gentleman
from another
by apparell.

[¹⁶ leaf 10, back.
B.†]

fatens, damafks, taffeties, gold, filuer, preciouſe ſtones, & what not, wherefore 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 magiftery, for the cauſes abouefaid, but not of euery proud fixnet³ Wherefore the lord made riche ornaments.
 indifferentlie, that haue⁴ ſtore of other attyre enough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouſe veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh,⁵ bewtiſe, and ſet forth, the maieſty & 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 ſeruyle occupations, but alſo to decorate,⁶ to bewtiſe, & become⁷ the houſe, and to ſhewe the riche eſtate and glorie of the owner ; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and ſumpteuſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this World, do not onelie ſerue 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 Wherto riche ornaments do ſerue.
 And here in the prouidence and mercy of God appeareth moſt plainelye ; for wher there is ſtore of other clothing, there hath he geuen leſſe ſtore of filks, veluets, fatens, damafks, ⁹ and ſuch like : and wher there is plenty of them, there is no clothing els almoſt ; & thus the Lord ¹⁰did deale¹⁰, for that euery cuntrey ¹¹ought to contente themſelues¹¹ with there owne kind of attyre ; except neceſſytye inforce ¹²the contrarie ; for than we are to vſe our libertie, [⁹ leaf 11. B. †]
 in the feare of God. [¹² C 3, back]

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

Philo. Your requelte is both diffuſe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend¹³ ; yet leaſt I might bee adiudged vnwilling to doe good, I will aſſay to doe the beſt¹⁴ I can. When, where, and for what cauſe our apparell was giuen vs.

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectuall vnderſtanding ſubſtance, incomprehenſible, immenſurable, & inacceſſible, had, by

² Gentry F. ³ Thraſo B, E, F. ⁴ hath B, E, F.
⁵ ſplendiſhe B, E, F. ⁶ decore B, E, F. ⁷ adorne F.
⁸ thynges B, E, F. † leaf 11. 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.

his woord and heauenly wifedome, Christ Iefus, created and made *the* world & all things therin containd, *the* fixte day he created man after his own fimilitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteoufnes, & all kind of perfection, ¹he placed¹ him in Paradiſe tereſtrial, *commaunding*² him to tyl & manure *the* ſame. Than *the* deuill, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angel in heauen, & through ſin³ of pride in arrogating to himſelfe *the* ſeate & throne of Gods maieſty, caſt down into *the* lake of hell, enuying mans glorious eſtate, which he than had loſt, came vnto man in Paradiſe, & ⁴inticed 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 ⁶his wife her perſwaſions,⁶ or ⁷rather to⁸ the Serpent,⁹ hauing buzzed his venomous ſuggeſtions into their¹⁰ eares, tooke of the apple & did eat, contrary to *the* expreſſe commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei ſaw their nakednes, & were not a litle aſhamed; (& yet before ſin was committed, they, being both naked, were not aſhamed; but ſin once committed¹¹ they became vncleane, filthie, lothſome, & deformed,) & ſewed them garments of fig leaues together, to couer their ſhame withall. Than the Lord, pitying their miſerie & loathing their deformity, gaue them pelts & ¹²felles¹³ of beaſts¹² to make them garments withall, to the end that their ſhamefull parts might leſſe appeare; yet ſome are ſo braſen faced & ſo impudent that, to make *the* deuill & his members ſport, will not ſticke to make open ſhew of thoſe parts which God *commaundeth* to be couered, nature willethe to be hid, & honeſty is aſhamd once to behold or looke vpon.

Spud. I gather by your words three ſpeciall poynts. Firſt, *that* ſin was the cauſe why our apparell was giuen vs; Secondly, *that* God is the author & giuer therof; Thirdly, *that* it was giuen vs to couer our ſhame withall, & not ¹⁴to feed *the* infatiable deſires of mens wanton & luxurious eies.

¹—¹ and placing B, E, F. ² commanded B, E, F. ³ the ſinne B, E, F.

* leaf 11, back. The fall of Adam. B.

⁶ like a F.

⁶—⁶ the perſwaſions of his wife B, E, F.

⁸ of B, E, F.

⁹ in his wife *added in* F.

¹⁰ her F.

¹¹ contracted F.

¹²—¹² beaſts felles and ſkinnes F.

¹³ and ſkins E.

† leaf 12. Proude Ap[parell] the Deuils nets. B.

[⁴ leaf 11, back. B.*]

The fall of man by the malice of the deuill. [7 C 4]

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

[¹⁴ leaf 12. B.†]

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, seeing *that* our apparell 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 miseries, ¹ frailties, imperfections, and sin, of our backflyding from the commaundements of god and obedience of the highest, and to excite ² vs the rather to contrition and compunction of the ³ spirit, to bewaile our misery, & 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 cause ⁴ therof,) and vse them to the glory of our God, & the benefyte of our bodies and soules, ⁵ against the great day of the Lord appeare. But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respects before rehearsed, we haue so peruerted as now they serue, in stead of the deuills nettes, to catche ⁶ poore soules in; for euery one now adaies (almost) couet to ⁷ deck and painte their liuing ⁸ sepulchres, ⁹ or earthy graues ⁹ (their bodies I meane) with all kind of brauerie, what foever can be deuised, to delight *the* eyes of the vnchast behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence ¹⁰ is encreased, ¹⁰ and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Wherfor our
apparell was
geuen vs.
[¹ C 4, back]

Mens bodies
lyuing sepul-
chres.

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not hauing 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 euer, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to ¹³ go in ¹⁴ richer arraye, ¹⁴ without ¹⁵ offendinge his maiestie?

[¹¹ leaf 12, back
B.†]

[¹⁵ C 5]

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, saith the Lord by his Psalmist; And by his Prophet, Gold is myne, siluer is myne, and all the riches of the world is my ¹⁶ 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

² 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.
⁸ liuing *not in* B, E, F. ⁹—⁹ *not in* B, E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ 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.

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

to walke meanelye and simplye, than gorgiously or pompously; rather seruing presente necessitie, than regarding the wanton appetits of our lasciuiose mindes. Not-withstandinge, I suppose not that his heauenlye maiesty would that those garments of lether should stand as a rule or pattern of necessitie vnto vs, wherafter we should be bound to shape all our apparell for euer, or els greuouslye to offende; but yet by this we may see his blessed will is,² that we should rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a iote aboue. And *that* any simple covering pleaseth the Godly, so that it repell the colde and couer the shame, it is more than manifest, as well by the legends both³ of prophane Historyographers, Cronologers, and other writers, as also by the censures, examples,⁴ and lyues of all Godly since the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not⁵ that the attyre of Adam should haue bene a signe or patterne of mediocritie vnto vs, he both in mercy would &, in his almighty⁶ power, could, haue inuested them in silks, veluets, satens, grograins, gold, siluer, & what not.⁷ But the Lord our God foresawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiose attyre (suche is our proclynitye to sinne), he wold haue bene proude therof,⁸ as we see it is come to passe at this day (God amend it!), and therby⁸ purchase to himselfe, his body and foule, eternall damnation.

[⁴ leaf 13. B. †]

Adam's his mean kind of attyre was a signe of mediocritie vnto vs in our apparell.

[⁵ C 5, back]

Spud. Than, it seemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance,⁹ that we resemble our first Parents in austerity¹⁰ and simplicity of apparell,¹⁰ so muche as maye be possible, doth it not?

Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like simple attyre of our parents Adam & Eua (as¹¹ our Papistes, Papists? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists¹¹ do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments & Romish raggs) so that we obserue a meane, and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a litle nearer them in Godly simplicities and Christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of luyinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enrichte our Cuntrey, but also auoyd many scandals & of¹²fences which grow

No religion reposed in apparell.

[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 attyre B, E, F.
¹¹—¹¹ Sorbonicall Papists B, E, F (F *prefixes* the).

daily by our exceſſiue ryot, and ryotouſe exceſſe in apparell. For doth not *the* ¹ apparell ſtyrre vppe the heart to pride? doth it not intice others to ſinne? and doth not ſin purchaſe hell, the guerdon of pride?

[¹ leaf 13, back. B.*]
The fruite of Pride.

Spud. But they ſay they pleaſe God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouſe attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanſhip in them doth more² appeare. Beſides 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 ſplendente ſhewe of outward apparell, or that it ſetteth forth *the* glory of his Creatures, and the maieſty of his kingdom, I ſuppoſe ther is no man (at leaſt no perfect chriſtian man) ſo bewitched or aſtotted: For that weare as much as to ſay, that ſtinking pride & filthie ſinne tended to the glory of God; ſo that the more we ſyn, the more we increaſe his prayſe and glorye. But the Lord oure God is ſo farre from delightinge in ſinne, that he adiudgeth them to eternall Death and damnation that committe the ſame. Than, who is he that will take pleaſure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle, will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne, will ſoone rotte, or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure ³ wayes, his iudgements not⁴ our iudgements, as he ſayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that Apparell ſetteth foorth the glory of his Maieſtie in his creatures, makynge them to appeare fairer, than other wyſe they would of themſelues, ⁵it is blaſphemouſly ſpoken, and muche derogateth from *the* excellency and glory of his name. For, ſaith not God by his prophet Moyſes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, & behould they weare (and eſpecially man, the excellenteſt of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own ſimilitude & likneſſe) excedinge good? And were all creatures good & perfect, & only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If theſe their ſpeeches were true (which in the⁶ fulneſſe of their blaſphemie they ynſhame not to ſpeake) than might we eaſily conuince the Lord of ⁷vntrue ſpeak-

The Lord accepteth no man after his apparell.

[³ C 6, back]

No attyre can make the creature of God ſeeme fayrer.
[⁵ leaf 14. B.†]

* leaf 13, back. Hell, the rewarde of Pride. B.

² more *not in E*; more brauely F.

⁴ are not F.

† leaf 14. Man comely of hymſelf. B.

⁶ the *not in F*.

⁷—⁷ untrueth B, E, F.

ing,⁷ who in his sacred word informeth¹ vs, that man is the perfectest Creature, & the fayrest of al others, *that* euer he made (excepting the heuenly fpirits, & Angelical creatures)² after his own liknesse,² as before. O³ man! who arte thou, that reafoneft with thy Creator? shall the clay fay vnto the potter, why haft thou made me thus? Or can *the* clay make himfelfe better fauored than the potter, who gaued him his first stamp & proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanshippe of the Lord to⁴ seeme fayrer? Than, why did not the Lord cloth vs⁵ so at *the* first? or at least, why gaued he not commaundement in his will & testament, which he sealed with the⁶ price of the⁶ bloud of his sonne, to cloth our selues in riche & gorgiouse apparel to set forth his glory *the* more? But away with these⁷ dogs & hellish hagg, who retaine⁸ this opinion,⁹ that cur¹⁰sed pride glorifieth God, & setteth forth or bewtifith his workmanshippe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expostulat with them, for doubtles *non* hould this, but such as be¹¹ miscreants (or deuills incarnate)¹² & men¹² cast off[f] into a reprobate sence,¹³ whom I beseech 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 vpon¹⁴ Israel. Thus, hauing sufficiently (I trust) refelled their false positions, I leaue them to the Lord, beseeching them (as they tender their own saluation, *linguas compefcere digitis*, to stoppe their sacrilegiouse mouthes with ther fingers, & not to spit against heauen, or kicke against the pricke, as they do, anie longer: For the Lord our God is a consuming fier, & vpon obstinate finners shal raine down fire & brimston, & consume them in his wrath. This is our¹⁵ portion acquired by sinne.

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

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

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.

[¹⁶ C 7, back]

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.

⁸ are of B, 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 preiudicate opinion added in F.

¹⁴ vnto F.

¹⁵ their B, E, F.

confeſſe, they are the more eſteemed in reſpect of their apparell; but nothing at all the more, but rather the leſſe, amongeſt the godly wyſe. So farre of[f] will all wyſe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer ſo gallantly pain¹ted or curiouſly plumed in the deceitfull 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 ſeeing it cannot ſtand with the rule of god his iuſtice, to accept, or not to accept,³ any man for⁴ his apparell, or any other externe ſhew of deceitfull vanytie, it is manifeſt, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a *Iudas* to the truth, a Traytor to iuſtice, & an enemy to the Lord: wherefore farre be that from al good chriſtians; and if thoſe that go richely clothed ſhould be eſteemed *the* rather for their rich apparell 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 from⁵ the king of heauen, ⁶& only Sauour,⁶ be contemned, for he came in poore & mean array: but Chriſt Ieſus is bleſſed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich & precious attyre. Vnder a ſimple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wiſdom & knowledg; & contrarely, vnder braue ⁷attyre ſometime is couered great ydiotacy⁸ and folly. ⁹Hereof euery daies ſucceſſe offreth prooffe ſufficient: more is the pytie⁹!

[* leaf 15. B.*]

The wiſe will not accept of any after, apparell.

[Wiſdom not tyed to exteriour pompe of apparell. B, E.] [7 C 8]

Spud. Wherefore would you haue men accepted, if not for Apparell?

Philo. If any be ſo fooliſh to ymagin that he ſhalbe worſhipped, reuerenced, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not ſo wyſe as I pray¹¹ God make me. For ſurely, for my part, I will rather worſhippe & accept of a pore man (in his ¹²clowtes & pore raggs¹²) hauing the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him *that* roifteth & flaunteth¹³ daylie & howrely in his ſilks, veluets, ſatens,

¹⁰ Reuerence due to vertue, not to attyre.¹⁰ [11 leaf 15, back B.†]

* 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.⁶—⁶ not in B, E, F.⁸ adiocie F.⁹—⁹ not in B, E, F.

† leaf 15. Reuerence due to Vertue. B.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in E.¹²—¹² torne clowtes and ragges E; ragged clowtes F.¹³ flaunteth it out F.

damasks, gold or filuer, what soeuer, without *the* induments of vertue, wherto only al reuerence is due. And therefore 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,¹ wifdome, knowledge, discrecion, modestie, sobrietie, affability, gentleness & fuche like ; than can they be without reuerence or acceptation, no more than *the* sonne can be without light, the fire without heat,² or the water without his naturall moyfture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would haue men accepted for vertue & true Godlines,³ wold you not ?

Ph. I would not only haue men to be accepted & reuerenced for their vertue (though the ⁴chiefeft reuerence is onely to be attributed to him, whose sacred brest⁵ is fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie*⁶ of true wifdome and Godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes sake, parentage and confanguinitie⁷; and not only that,⁸ but ⁹also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the Temporal Magistry, or¹⁰ Ecclesiastical presbitery (so long as they gouerne godly and well): For the Apostle sayth, that those Elders which¹¹ gouerne wel amongst vs are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath blessed with vertue and true godlynes, though he be neyther of great byrth nor callinge, nor yet any Magistrate whatsoever, is worthie of more reuerence and estimation than any of the other without the ornaments of *the* minde, & gifts of vertue aboue said. For what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserueth¹² 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, making a fayre shewe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all stinche & lothsomnes ? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a Gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall disdayned an other, for that he was come to great autho¹³rytie onely by vertue,

[All reuerence due to vertue and not to riche attire. B, E.]

[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 excellent apothegme. E, F.]

[¹³ D 1]

¹ F adds feare of God, zeale to religion

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

⁶ storehouse F. ⁷ discent F. ⁸ for that E.

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

¹⁰ a or (*sic*) A.

¹¹ that F.

¹² maketh B, E, F.

being but a poore mans child by byrthe: "What! faith¹ the Gentleman by birth,² arte thou fo lustie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman by³ byrth and calling?" To whome the other anfwere⁴, "thou arte no Gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in⁵ that my gentilitie beginneth in me:" Meaning (vnleft⁶ I be deceiued) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him selfe: for virtue therefore, 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 to passe, that we might more esteme⁷ of one, both meane by birth, base without⁸ vertue, seruyle by calling, & poore in estate, more than of some, by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable.⁹ And the reason is because euery one, tagge and ragge, go brauer, or at least as braue as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

Spud. But I haue hard say, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in other some; which makes them so much to affecte vary[e]tie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the fomme¹⁰ of their religion doth consist in apparell. And, to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more,¹¹ or as much holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, iust none at all. But admit that there be holynesse in apparell (as who is fo infatuated to beleue it) than¹² it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them; & so be they plaine Hipocrits to make shew of that which they haue not. And if the holines by there attire prefaged be in them selues, than is it not in the¹³ garments; & why do they than attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer so, why do they glory of it to the world? but I leaue them to their follie, hastinge to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

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

[⁵ leaf 16, back. B.*]

The exordium of virtue is the exordium of gentilitie & worship, and want of the one is the decay of the other.

[¹¹ D 1, back]

No holynes in apparell

[¹³ leaf 17. B.†]

¹ quoth B, E, F.

² by birth *not in* F.

³ both by B, E, F.

⁴ replying, saide B, E, F.

* leaf 16, back. Vertue maketh Gentilitie. B.

⁶ vnlesse F.

⁷ accept B, E, F.

⁸ in B, E, F.

⁹ venerable B, E, F.

¹⁰ and enargie *added in* B, E; and substance *added in* F.

¹² then B.

† leaf 17. An obiection to maintain Pride. B.

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

An argument trimly contrued.

God: *ergo* no kynde of apparell can hurte. And if there be anie abufe in it, the apparell knowethe it not; Therefore take awaye the abufe, and let the apparell remaine fill, for fo it maye (fay they) without anie hurte at all.

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

[² D 2]

Philo. Thefe be well feafoned reafons, and fubftantiall affeuerations in deed; but if they haue no better arguments to leane vnto than thefe, their kingdome of Pride will fhortlie fall ¹without all ¹hope 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 wickedneffe abufed. And therefore wo be to⁴ them that make the good Creatures of God instruments of dampnation to them felues, by not vſing them, but abufing them. And yet, not withftanding, it maye be ſaid to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abufed or not abufed; And wheras they would haue the abufe of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remaine fill, it is impoſſible to ſupplant the one, without ⁵the extirpation of the other alſo. For it is trulye ſaid, *ſublata cauſa, tollitur effectus*; But not *ſubrepto*⁶ *effectu tollitur cauſa*; Take away the cauſe and the effecte falleth,⁷ but not contrarylye, take away the effecte and the cauſe falleth.⁷ The⁸ efficiente cauſe of Pride is gorgiouſe attire; ⁹the effecte is pride it ſelfe ingenerate by attire⁹: But to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaye the cauſe firſt (namelie ſumptuouſe attyre) is as if a man, intendinge to ſupplante a Tree by the rootes, ſhould begin to pull the fruite and branches onelye; or, to pull downe heauen, ſhould dig in the earthe, workinge altogether prepoſterouſlie and indyreclye.¹⁰ And the reaſon is,¹¹ theſe two collateral Cofins, apparell and Pride (the Mother and Daughter of miſchiefe) are ſo combinate together, and incorporate the one in ¹²the other, as the one can hardlie be dyuorced¹³ from the other, without the diſtruction of them both. To¹⁴ the accompliſhmente wherof, God graunte that thoſe hoſome lawes, ſanctions, and ſtatuts, which, by our moſt gracious and ſerene princeſſe (whome Ieſus preferue for euer)

[⁵ leaf 17, back. B. f.]

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

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

^{1—1} withall B.

³ through our F.

⁴ to *not in F.*

† leaf 17, back. Appa[rell] the Mother of Pride. B.

⁶ ſublato B, E, F.

⁷ fayleth F.

⁹ The externe B, E, F.

^{9—9} *not in 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 ſuche riche attire, wheras meaⁿer is both better cheape, eaſier to be had, as warme to the bodie, and as decent and comly to any chaſt chriſtians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his boſome and not to burne. Therefore, would God euery man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, eſtat, and condition of life; which, if it were brought to paſſe, I feare leaſt ſome who ruffle now in filks, velnets, ſateens, damasks, gold, ſiluer, and what not,² ſhold be glad to weare frize cotes, & glad if they might get them.³

[² leaf 18. B. *]

Vnpoſſible not to be proud of rich attyre.

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

⁴ *Philo.* No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections⁵ and 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 whatſoeuer, ſo the chaſte, Godly, and ſober Chriſtians haue euer eſchewed this exceſſe of apparell, hauing a ſpeciall regard to weare ſuche attyre as might neyther offend the maieſtie of God, prouoke them ſelues to pride, nor yet offend⁶ any of⁶ their Brethren in any reſpecte. But (as I haue ſaid) not onely the Godlie haue deteſted and hated this vaine ſuperfluitie of apparell in all tymes ſince the be⁷ginning of the Worlde, but alſo the verie panims, the heathen *Philophers*, who knew not God (though otherwiſe wyſe Sages and great Clarks), haue contemned it as a peſtiferouſe euill; in ſo muche as they haue writ (almoſt) whole volumes againſt the ſame, as is to be ſeene in moſt of their Books yet extant.

[⁴ D 3]

The Godly haue euer deteſted pride of apparell.

The verie hethen haue contemned ſumptuous apparell.

[⁷ leaf 18, back. B. †]

Spud. Are you able to proue that?

Philo. That I am, verie eaſily; but of an infinyte number, take a taſte of theſe few. *Democrates* beeing demaunded, wherin the

Testimonies of

* leaf 18. The godly abhorre Pride. B. ² not els F.

³ them too F.

⁵ blemishes added in F.

⁶⁻⁶ not in B, E, F. † leaf 18, back. Vertue the comeliest ornament. B.

hethen people
who derided
riche attyre.

[¹ D 3, back]

Vertue is the
comlyest orna-
ment of all.

[³ leaf 19. B.†]

Diogines his
ansuerity.⁴

[⁵ D 4]

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

bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, consisted? answered, in fewnes of speaches well tempered together, in vertue, in integrity¹ of life, and suche like. *Sophocles*, seinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, ‘thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a manifest shewe of thy follie.’ *Socrates*, being asked what was the greatestt ornamente in a woman, answered, ‘that which most sheweth her chastitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, & not sumptuose attyre, which rather sheweth her adulterate life.’ *Aristotle* is so difficut² in this point, that he would haue men to vse meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The Wife of *Philo*, the *Philosopher*, being vppon a tyme demaunded why she ware not gold, siluer and preciouſe garments, said, she thought the vertues of her husbande sufficiente ornaments for her. *Dionysius*, the king, sente the richest garments in all his wardrobes to the noble Women of the *Lacedemonians*, who returned them from whence they came, sayinge, they would be a greatert shame to them than honore. Kinge *Pirrus* sente riche attyre to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menstruous 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 such like. *Diogines* so much contemned sumptuous attyre, that he chose rather to dwell in wilder nesse amon⁵gest brute beaſts all his lyfe longe, than in the pompouſe 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 certain 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 soe nie the kings maieſties courte?’ The poore Philosopher, seing it lighten so fast, retyred back for feare of their thunderclappes,⁷ and repayringe home, appareled himselfe in riche Attyre, and came againe marching towards the court: he was no sooner in sight, but euery one receiued him plausiblie, and with great submission and reuerence. When he came in presence of the kinge, and other

¹ strict F.

† leaf 19. Philosophers examples. B.

⁴ austerie [austerity] in B, E.

⁶ resiant F.

⁷ thunderboltes F.

mightie potentats, he kneled¹ down, and² ceafed not to kifse³ his garments. The king and nobles marueylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherefore he did fo? Who aunfwered, 'O noble kinge! it is no marueyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my Apparell hath brought to paffe: For I, comminge to thy gates in my PHILOSOPHERS⁴ weede, was repelled; but hauing put vpon me this riche attyre, I was brought to thy prefence with as great veneration and worfhip as could be.' Whereby is⁵ to be feene in what deteftation he had the ftinginge Pride of apparell, takeing this occafion to giue the King to vnderftand the inormious abufe thereof, and fo to remoue the fame as a peftilent euill out of his whole dominion & kingdome. I read of a certen other *Philofopher* that came before a king, who, at the fame tyme, had inuited his nobles to a feaft or banquet: the Philofopher comming in and feinge no place to fpat in (for euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of filuer, tinfell, arrace, tapeftrie, and⁶ what not⁶) came to the kinge and fpat in his face, faying, 'it is meet (o king!) that I fpat in the fowleft place.' This good *Philofopher* (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleafure or delight in the vaine gliftering fhewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to haue confideration of his owne filthynes, miferie & finne, not ryfing vp into pride, and fputting againft heauen, as he did, by dilighting in prowde attyre and gor⁷geoufe ornaments. Thus we fee the verie painims and heathen people haue from the beginning difpysed this exceffe of apparell, both in them felues and⁸ others, whofe examples heerin god graunt we may folowe.

⁹*Spud.* But you are not able to proue that any good Christians euer fet light¹⁰ by precious attyre, but alwayes efteemed it as a fpeciall ornament to the whole man. As for thefe Heathen, they were fooles, neyther is it materiall what they vfed, or vfed not.

Philo. I am able to prouue that euen from the beginning of the world, the chofen and peculiar people of God haue contemned proude¹¹ Apparell, as things (not onely) not neceffarie, but alfo as very euilles

[³ leaf 19, back B.*]

The example of a Philosopher deriding the pompe of the World.

[⁴ D 4, back]

The example of a Philosopher who spat in the kings face.

[⁷ leaf 20. B.†]

[⁹ D 5]

Probatioz that the former world hath

¹ kneelyng, B, E, F.

² not in B, E, F.

* leaf 19, back. The Heathen difpife Pride. B.

⁵ it is E, F.

⁶⁻⁶ the like F.

† leaf 20. The base attyre of the former age. B.

⁸ and in F.

¹⁰ lightlie F.

¹¹ gorgious F.

48 Christ his example for Ap[parell]. The Anatomic

contemned
pomposse
attyre.

themselues, and haue gone both meanely and poorely in their vsuall attyre. What say 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 see a woman inuested² all ouer in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What saye you to the noble Prophet of the world, *Elias*? did hee not walke in the solitude³ of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gownne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? *Elizeus*, the Prophet, did not he in a manner the verie fame? And what say you to *Samuell*, the golden mouthed Prophet, notwithstanding *that*⁴ hee was an Archprophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? did hee not walke so meanely, as *Saul*, feking his fathers Asses, could not know him from the reste, but asked him, where was⁵ the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common sorte of people in his time? The Children of *Israell*, being the chofen people of God, did they not weare their Fathers attire fortie yeeres together in the wildernes? was not *John* 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 Apoflle of our Sauour, was not distinct from the rest of his Fellowes,⁶ Apoflles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not haue said, 'I know thee by thy tung,' but rather, 'by thy apparel.' The Apoflle *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrues*, saith that the persecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed, some in Sheep skinces, and some in Gote skinces, some in Camels heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in whatsoeuer they coulde get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept⁷ them from the colde, they thought it sufficient, they required no more. but, to speake in one woord for all: did not our Sauour *Iesus Christ* weare the very same fashion of apparell that his Cuntrey-men vsed, that is, a cote without a feame, either knit or weaved⁸? which fashions the⁹ *Palestynians* vse there yet to this day, without any alteration, or change, as it is

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 vpon
earth.
[⁹ leaf 21. B.†]

¹ strange F ² couered F. or wildernesse added in F.
* leaf 21, back. Christ his example for Appa[rell]. B. ⁶ fellow F.
⁷ keepe F. ⁸ wouen F.
† leaf 21. Greate superfluitie of Ap[parell]. B.

thought. This his attyre was not ¹very hanfome (one would think): [¹ D 6] at the ²leaft it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; ³but, as the Poet wel faid,³ *nitimur in vetitum, femper cupimusque negata*, we defire things forbid, and couet thinges denied vs. We lothe the ⁴simplicitie of Chrifte, and abhorring the christian pouertie, and godly mediocritie of our Forefathers in apparell, are⁵ neuer content except wee haue fundry futes of apparell, one diuers from an other, fo as our Prefses crack withall, our Cofers bruff, and our backs fweat with the cariage therof: we muft haue one fute 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 fafhion, 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, and⁶ another of clothe, with more difference and varietie than I can exprefse. god be merciful vnto vs, and haften his kingdome, ⁷that all imperfections may be doon away⁷!

[Modern extravagance.]

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

* Superfluitie of apparell With dyuersitie of fashions.

A perticuler Difcription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

⁹[*Spud.*] YOU haue borne me in hand of many and greeuous abufes reigning in *Ailgna*,⁸ but now fetting aparte thefe¹⁰ ambagies and ¹¹superfluuous vagaries, I pray you describe vnto me more¹² particularly the fundrie abufes in¹³ Apparell there vfed; running ouer by degrees the whole ftate thereof, that I maye fee, as it were, the perfect Anatomie of that Nation in Apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye defire to knowe.

[⁹ leaf 21, back. B. f.]

[¹¹ D 6, back]

Philo. Your request feemeth both ¹⁴intricate and harde,¹⁴ confider-

² the *not in F.*

^{3—3} For of us that Poeticall Apothegme maie very well be verified B, E, F.

⁴ this F. ⁵ wee are F. ⁶ and *not in B, E, F.*

^{7—7} for his electes sake B, E, F. ⁸ England F.

† leaf 21, back. Hattes of sundry fashions. B.

¹⁰ these impertinent 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.

ing¹ there bee *Tot tantæ mæryadæs inuentionum*, So manie and fo fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day.¹ But yet, left I might be iudged vnwilling to shewe you what pleasure I can, I will affay (*pro virili mea*,² *omnibus neruulis vndique extenſis*)², with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore, to begin first with their Hattes.

³Sometimes they were⁴ them sharp on the crowne, pearking vp like a⁵ sphere,⁶ or shafte of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard about *the* crowne of their heades; some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their⁷ mindes. Otherfome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements⁸ of a house. An other sort haue round crownes, sometimes with one kinde of bande, sometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now russet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, neuer content with one colour or fashion two dayes⁹ to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spende the¹⁰ Lorde his treasure,¹¹ confuming their golden yeares and filuer dayes in wickednes & sin. And as the fashions bee rare and strange, fo¹² are the things¹² wherof their Hattes be made, diuerse also; for some are of silke, some of veluet, some of taffetie, some of sarcenet, some of wooll: & which is more curious, some of a certaine kind of fine haire,¹³ far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee sure¹³; And so 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 a¹⁵ 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 Besides this, of

The diuersity
of hattes in
Ailgna.

[¹⁰ D 7]
[¹¹ leaf 22. B. f.]

The sundrye
things wherof
hattes be
made.

¹— the innumerable *meriades* of sondrie fashions daiely inuented amongst them B, E, F.

²— *not in F.*

³ A description of the Hattes of England *added in F.*

⁴ vsc B, E, F.

⁵ the B, E, F.

⁶ speare F.

⁷ their inconstant B, E; their waucring F.

⁸ battlement F.

⁹ moneths F.

† leaf 22. Varietie of Hattes. B.

¹²—¹² is the stuffe B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ These thei call Beuer hattes of xx, xxx, or xl shillings price fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a greate sorte of other varieties* doe come besides B, E, F. (*vanities F.)

¹⁴ them F.

¹⁵ a *not in F.*

¹⁶ these B, E, F.

¹⁷ F *adds*:—They haue also Taffeta hattes of all colours 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 vnseemlie (I will not say how Assy) a fashion that is, let the wise iudge. Notwithstanding, howe euer it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. An other¹ fort (as phantastically as the rest) are content with no kind of Hatt without a great bunche² of feathers of diuerse and fundrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not vnylike (I dare not say) Cockscombes, but³ as sternes of pride and en⁴signs of⁵ vanitie; and³ these fluttering sayles and feathered flags of defiance to vertue (for so they are⁶) are so aduanced in *Ailgna*, that euery Childe hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and selling of them, and not a fewe prooue them selues more then fooles⁷ in wearing of them.

Wearing of
hattes without
bandes.

[Wearing of
Feathers in
hattes. B, E, F.]

[4 D 7, back]
[5 leaf 22, back.
E.]

Spud. These Fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly conuince them of instabilitie and folly; for sure I am, handsome they cannot be, therefore Badges⁸ of pride they must needs be, which I think none wil weare, but such as be like them selues. But to your intended discourse.

⁹ *Philo.* They haue great and monstrous ruffles, made either of Cambrick, holland, lawn, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, whereof some be a quarter of a yard deep, yea, some more, very few lesse; So that they stand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging ouer their shoulder poynts, insted of a vaile.¹⁰ ¹¹ But if *Aeolus* with his blasts, or *Neptune* with his stormes chance to hit vpon the craftie bark of their brused ruffles, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying¹² abroad,¹³ and lye¹³ vpon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a flut.¹¹ But wot

Great ruffles
deformed &
ill fauored.

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.

¹ And another B, E, F.

² plume 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.

⁸ Ensignes. F.

⁹ heading:—Of great Ruffles in England. F.

¹⁰ Pentise F.

¹¹⁻¹¹ F has: But if it happen that a shoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffles strike sayle, and downe they fall, as dishcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill sayles.

¹² that flew B, E.

¹³⁻¹³ liyng B, E.

[¹ D 8]

Two arches or pillers to vnder proppe the kingdom of great ruffes withall, *vide licet* supportasies and stanche.

[⁵ leaf 23. B.*]

you what? the deuill, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first inuented these ¹great ruffes, so hath hee now found out also two great staves² to beare vp and ³maintaine that³ his kingdome of ⁴great ruffes⁴ (for the deuill is ⁵king and prince ouer all the children of pride): the one arch or piller wherby⁶ 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, ⁹when they be⁹ 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, siluer or silk, & this hee calleth a suppartasse, or vnderpropper. This is to be applied round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the out side 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 perceiue the deuill not onely inuenteth mischeif, but also ordaineth instrumentall¹¹ meanes to continue the same. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that¹² but fewe haue of them: ¹³if they haue, they are better monyed then I am.¹³

Philo. So fewe haue¹⁴ them, as almost none is without them; for euery one, how meane or ¹⁵simple soeuer they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure apeece for fayling. And as though Camericke,¹⁶ Holland, Lawne, and the finest cloth that maye bee got anie where for money, were not good inough, they haue them wrought all ouer with filke woorke, and peraduenture laced with ¹⁷golde and siluer, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they haue Argente¹⁸ to mayntaine this geare withall, or not, it ¹⁹forceth not muche,¹⁹ for they will haue it by one meane or other, or els they

[¹⁵ D 8, back]

Euery pesant hath his stately bands & monsterouse ruffes, how costly soeuer they be.

[¹⁷ leaf 23, back. B.†]

² pillers B, E, F. ^{3—3} vphold this F. ^{4—4} Pride withall F.

* leaf 23. Great Ruffes and Supportasies. B. ⁶ wherewith F.

⁷ learned F. ⁸ their B, E, F. ^{9—9} beyng B, E, F.

¹⁰ F *adds*:—And this starch 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.

¹¹ instrumentes and F.

¹² that comes before as F

^{13—13} such as are of the richer sort F. ¹⁴ haue of F. ¹⁶ Cambricke F.

† leaf 23, back. Costly shirtes and bandes in Ailg. B. ¹⁸ Unde F.

^{19—19} is not greatly material B, E, F.

will eyther¹ fell or² morgage their Landes³ (as they haue good store)³ on Suters hill & Stangate hole,⁴ with loffe of their lyues at Tiburne in a rope.⁵

[New kind of Ruffes, called Three steps and a halfe to the Gallowes. F.]

Spud. The state and condition of that Land muft needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to greate scarcitie and dearth, where is such wayne⁶ Prodigalitie, and⁶ exceffe of⁷ all thynges⁷ vsed.

⁸*Philo.* Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the Nobilitie or Gentrie onely did weare them, it were somedeal⁹ more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Holland, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And of these kindes of Shirtes euerie one now doth weare alike: so as it may be thoght our Forefathers haue made their Bandes & Ruffes (if they had any at all) of grossier cloth and baser stuffe than the worst of our shirtes¹⁰ are made of now a dayes. And these shurts (sometimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and such like, and curiousely fitched with open seame, and many other knackes beydes, mo than I can describe.¹¹ [In so much as I haue heard of Shirtes that haue

The shirts vsed in Ailgna.

[¹⁰ E 1.]

coft some ten shillinges, some twentie, some fortie, some fine pound, some twentie Nobles and (which is horrible to¹² heare) some ten pounce a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is worne of any, doest coft a crowne, or a noble at the least: and yet this is scarcely thought fine enough for the simplest person that is. B, E, F.]

[The cost of these Shirts.]

[¹² leaf 24. B.]

Spud. These be goodly shurts indeed, & such yet¹³ as will not¹⁴ chafe their tender skinnes,¹⁵ nor¹⁶ vlcera¹⁷ their¹⁷ lylie white¹⁵ bodies; or if they¹⁸ do, it will not be much to their grieuances, I dare be bound. Is it anie maruell, *si Cristas erigant & cornua attollant*, if they stand vpon their pantoffles, and hoyfe vp their sayles on highe, hauinge

¹ eyther *not in* B, E, F. ² or at the least F. ^{3—3} *not in* F.

⁴ F *adds*, and Salisburie plaine.

⁵ F *adds* :—& in sure token therof, they haue 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, fittle called: *Three steps and a halfe to the Gallowes*.

⁶ *vaine comes after* and *in* B, E, F. ^{7—7} things is F.

⁸ *heading in* F :—Of costly Shirtes in England. ⁹ *not in* F.

¹¹ recount F. † leaf 24. Nice Appa[rell] make tender bodies. B, F.

¹³ yet *not in* B, E, F. ¹⁴ neither B, E, F.

^{15—15} nor yet fret their delicate F. ¹⁶ nor *not in* B, E.

¹⁷ tender fleshe, nor yet make perforation into their *added in* B, E.

¹⁸ it F.

these dyamond shurts on their ¹ delicate bodies¹: but how foeuer it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious² People, who ³ are thus nuffeled vp³ in such daintie attyre.

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiofity, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) tranfnatureth them,⁴ makinge⁵ them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide fuch ⁶ sharp conflicts and blustering stormes⁶ as many other people, both abroade farre from them, and in their confines nie to them, do daylie⁷ fustaine. I haue hard my Father, with other wyfe Sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compaffe of foure or fyue fcore yeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hosen of Hufwyues carzie of the fame coloure, ⁸ that the sheep bore⁹ them (¹⁰ the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the exceffiue wering of filks, velucts, fatens, damafks, taffeties, and fuch like, hath and doth make many a thousand in *Ailgna* ¹¹ as poore mendicants¹¹ to begge their bread) wherof fome weare ftrait to the thigh, otherfome litle bigger: and when they ware shurts of hempe or flax (but now these are to groffe, our tender stomacks cannot easlye difgest fuch roughe and crude¹² meats) men weare ftronger than we,¹³ helthfuller, fayrer complectioned, longer lyyunge,¹⁴ and finallye, ten tymes harder than we,¹⁵ and able¹⁰ to ¹⁷ beare out¹⁷ any forowe¹⁸ or paynes whatfoeuer. For be fure, this pampering of our¹⁰ bodies makes them weker, tenderer and nefher, than otherwyfe they would be, if they were vfed to hardneffe, and more fubiect to receiue anye kind of infection or maladic; And²⁰ rather abbreviat²¹ oure dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our liues one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no leffe; for how fronge men were in tymes past, how long they lyyed, and how helthfull they weare before fuche Nicenes, and vayne pamperinge curiofitie was inuented, we may reade, and many that lyye at this daye can teftifie. But now,

¹—¹ backes F.

² womanish kind of 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.

⁹ bare F. † leaf 14, back. Men strong in tymes past. B.

¹¹—¹¹ not in B, E, F.

¹² a hard F.

¹³ than we not in B, E, F. ¹⁴ liued F. ¹⁵ we be now B, E, F.

¹⁶ abler F. ¹⁷—¹⁷ undure F. ¹⁸ any discrasie B, E. ¹⁹ their B, E, F.

²⁰ and doeth B, E, F.

²¹ shorten F.

Nicenes of
apparell mak-
eth the body
tender.

[⁸ E r, back]
[¹⁰ leaf 24, back.
B. †]

Our predeces-
sours weringe
meaner appa-
rell were
stronger[er] than
we.

through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, we haue brought our felues into fuche pufil¹manimitie and effeminat condition, as we may seeme rather² nice dames and yonge³ gyrles than puiffante⁴ agents or manlie⁴ men, as our⁵ Forefathers haue bene.

[¹ E 2]

[5 leaf 25. B.*]

⁶ *Philo.* Their dublettes are noe leffe monstros than the reste ; For now the fashion is to haue them hang downe to the middest⁷ of their theighes, or at least to their priuie members, beeing so harde-quilted, and⁸ stuffed, bombafted and sewed, as they can⁹ verie hardly eyther stoupe downe,¹⁰ or decline¹¹ them felues¹² to the grounde, foe styffe and sturdy they stand about them.

The monstrous dublets in Ailgna.

Now, what handfomnes can be in these dublettes whiche stand on their bellies like, or¹³ muche bigger than, a mans codpeece (fo as¹⁴ their bellies are thicker than all their bodyes beyde) let wyse men iudge ; For for¹⁵ my parte, handfomnes in them I see none, and muche leffe profyete. And¹⁶ 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 fuche, or els¹⁷ are affected that way ?¹⁷ This is the truest signification that I could euer¹⁸ presage or diuyne¹⁸ of them. And this maye euerye one¹⁹ iudge of them that seeth them ; for certaine I am there was neuer any kinde of apparell euer inuented that could more disproportion the body of man then these Dublets *with* great bellies, hanging down beneath their *Pudenda* (as I²⁰ haue said), & stuffed with foure, fiue or six pound of Bombast at the leaf. I say nothing of what their Dub-

Great bellied dublets betoken gourmandice, gluttony, and such like.

[¹⁹ E 2, back]

[²⁰ leaf 25, back. B.||]

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.

⁷ middle B, E, F. ⁸ and *not in* B, E, F.

⁹ neither worke, 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 stiffness)

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.)

¹⁷—¹⁷ would be thought to be such F. ¹⁸—¹⁸ gather F.

|| leaf 25, back. Pride in Dublets, and Hose. B.

Dubblentes of
dytirse¹ fash-
ions.

lets be made, some of Saten, Taffatie, filk, Grogram,² Chamlet, gold, filuer, & what not; flashed, iagged, cut, carued, pincked and laced with all kinde of costly lace of diuers and sundry colours, for if I shoulde³ stand vpon⁴ these particularities,⁴ rather time then matter would be wanting.

Spud. These be the strangest dubblents that euer I heard of; and the furdest from hanfomnes in euery respect, vnlesse I be deceiued.

Hosen of
diuerse &
sundry fash-
ions.

[French hosen
of two sortes. E,
F.]

⁵ *Philo.* Then haue they Hofen, which as they be of diuers fashions, so are they of sundry names. Some be called french-hose, some gally-hose,⁶ and some Venitians. The french-hose are of two diuers makings, for the common french-hose (as they list to call them) containeth length, breadth, and fidenes sufficient, and is made very round. The other containeth neither length, breadth nor fidenes (beeing not past a quarter of a yarde fide) wherof some be paned, cut and drawne out with costly ornaments, with Canions annexed⁷ reaching down beneath their knees.

[Gally hosen. E,
F.]

[⁸ E 3]

[¹¹ leaf 26. B.†]

[* Side-note here
in B.]

⁸ The Gally-hosen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hose. And the Venetian-hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place to⁹ the Leg,¹⁰ where they are tyed finely with¹¹ silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace,¹² or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of filk, veluet, faten, damask, and other such precious things¹³ beside: yea, euery one, Seruing man and other inferiour to them, in euery condition, wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparel futable therunto.

* The great ex-
cesse vsed in
hosen.

In times past, Kings (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doo recorde) would not disdain to weare a paire of hosen of a Noble, tenne Shillings, 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

¹ diuers B, E, F.

² grograine B, E, F.

³ could F.

⁴—⁴ particularie F.

⁵ heading in F: Costly Hosen in Englande.

⁶ Gallie in B, E; Gallie hosen F.

⁷ adioyned F.

⁹ of F.

¹⁰ beneath the knee added in B.

† leaf 26. Great excesse in hose. 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 wonderful exceſſe as euer I hearde of, woorthy with the Swoorde² of *Iuſtice* rather to be puniſhed, then with paper and pen to be³ ſo gentlie³ confuted.⁴

⁵ *Philo.* Then haue they nether-ſtocks to theſe gay hoſen, not of cloth (though neuer ſo fine) for that is thought to baſe, but of *Iarnſey* worſted,⁶ ſilk, thred, and ſuch like, or els at the leaſt of the 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 ſometime (haply) interlaced with gold or ſiluer threds, as is wonderful to behold. And to ſuch⁹ infoleney &¹⁰ outrage it is now growen, that euery one (almoſt) though otherwiſe verie poor, hauing ſcarce fortie ſhillings of wages by the yeer, wil¹¹ be ſure¹¹ to haue two or three paire of theſe ſilk neither-ſtocks, or els of the fineſt yarne that may be got, though *the* price of them be a Ryall¹² or twentie ſhillings or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be leſſe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and ſome much more? The time hath beene when one might haue clothed all his body well¹³ for leſſe then a pair of theſe neither-ſtocks wil coſt.

Spud. I haue feldome hearde the like: I think verely that *Sathan*, prince of darknes & Father of pride, is let looſe in *the*¹⁴ land, els it could neuer ſo rage¹⁵ as it dooth; for *the* like pride (I am fully perſwaded) is not vſed vnder the ſonne of any nation or people how barbarous ſo euer: wherefore wo be to this age, and thrife accuſed be theſe dayes, which bring¹⁶ fourth¹⁷ ſuch ſowre¹⁸ frutes; & vnhappie are that people whom *Sathan* hath ſo bewitched &¹⁹ captiued in ſin. *The Lord holde his hand of mercy ouer vs !*¹⁹

Philo. To theſe their nether-ſtocks, they haue corked ſhooes, pinſnets, and fine pantofles, which beare them vp²⁰ a finger or two²⁰

[⁵ E 3, back*]

The diuerſity of neither-ſtocks worne in Ailgna.

[⁸ leaf 26, back. B.†]

The miſerie of theſe daies.

[¹⁷ E 4]

¹ and yet is this thought no abuſe neither *added in* B, E, F.

² Rodde F. ³⁻³ not in F. ⁴ confuted F. ⁶ 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.

¹⁰ and ſhamefull B, E, F. ¹¹⁻¹¹ not ſticke B, E, F. ¹² royal 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 captiuat in Pride. (*heading*) Corked ſhooes in England. F.

²⁰⁻²⁰ two inches or more F.

Corked ſhoes,
Pantoffles and
pinsnets.
[¹ leaf 27. B.*]

Pantoffles &
ſlippers are a let
to thoſe that
go abroad in
them.

Pantoffles vn-
caſie to go in.

[⁸ E 4, back]

[¹¹ leaf 27, back.
B.†]

The varytie
of coates and
ierkins.

from the ground; wherof ſome be of white leather, ſome ¹ of black, and ſome of red, ſome of black veluet, ſome of white, ſome of red, ſome of green, rased, carued, cut, and ſtitched all ouer with ſilk, and laid on with golde, ſiluer, and ſuch like: yet, notwithstanding,² to what good vſes ſerue theſe pantoffles,³ except it be to wear in a priuate houſe, or in a mans Chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the onely vſe wherto they beſt ſerue in my iudgement) 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 keepe them on his feet? ⁵ wherfore, to diſcloſe euen the bowels of my iudgement vnto you,⁵ I think they be rather worne abroad 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 ſhould they be eaſie, when ⁶ as the heele hangeth an inch or two ouer the ſlipper on ⁷ the ground? Inſomuch as I haue knowen diuers mens legs ſwel with the ſame. ⁸ And handſome 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 ¹¹ be ſo handſome, nor yet ſo warme as other vſuall¹² common ſhoes be, I think. Therefore the weringe of them abroad rather importeth a Nicenes (as you ſay) in them that wear them, than bringeth any other commoditye, els vnleſſe I be deceiued.

¹³ *Philo.* Their coates and Ierkins, as they be diuerſe in colors, fo be they diuerſe in faſhions; for ſome be made with colors, ſome without, ſome cloſe to the bodie, ſome looſe,¹⁴ couering the whole

* leaf 27. Greate exceſſe in ſhooes. B.

² I ſee not *added* in F.

³ doe ſerue *added* in F.

^{4—4} wall, ſtone F.

^{5—5} And therefore to tell you what I iudge of them F.

⁶ a man can not goe ſteadfaſtly in them, without ſlipping and ſliding at euery pace ready to fall doune: Againe how ſhould thei be eaſie where *adda* 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.

¹² *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 drawn ouer them, hidinge the dimenſions and proportions¹ of the body: ſome are buttoned downe the breſt, ſome vnder the arme, & ſome downe the back; ſome with flappes ouer the breſt, ſome without, ſome with great ſleeues, ſome with ſmall, and ² ſome with non at all²; ſome pleated and creſted behind, & curiouſlye gathered; ſome not fo³; & how many dayes ⁴(I might ſay houres, or minuts of houres,⁴ in the yeare) ſo many fortes of apparell ſome⁵ one man will haue, and thinketh it good prouiſion in faire weather to lay vp againſt ⁶a ſtorme!⁶ But if ⁷they would conſider that their clothes (except thoſe that they weare vpon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would not heape vp their preſſes and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions⁸ of ſundry fortes⁸ of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Ieſus ⁹Chriſte die at their doores for wante of clothing? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miſerable poore man, nor begger amongeſt vs, but that euery one be prouided for and maintained of that abundance¹⁰ which God hath bleſſed vs withal. But we thinke it a great matter if we geue them an old ragged coate, dublet, or a paire of hoſen, 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 meſſe of porredg (nay, the ſtocks & 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 ſupererogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure ſelues, feeding on many a dainty¹¹ diſh. There is a certen Citye in *Ailgna* called *Munidnol*,¹² where as the poore lye in *the*¹³ ſtreets vpon pallets of ſtrow, and well if they haue that to, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is ſeene, ¹⁴hauing neither houſe to put in their heads, couering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their ſhame withal, penny to buy them ſuſtenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted¹⁵ to dye in the ſtreets like dogges, or beaſts, without anie

[The ſhapes * of coats and jerkins.]

(* varitie (*sic*) F.)

[7 E 5]

The poore ought to be prouided for.

[9 leaf 28. B.†]

Our ſmal regard to the poore.

[Londinum in Anglia.]

Cold charitie to the poore. [14 E 5, back]

¹ lineaments B, E, F. ^{2—2} not in F. ³ so not in B, E, F. ^{4—4} not in F.

⁵ some some (*sic*) F. ^{6—6} foule F. ^{8—8} of sutes F.

† leaf 28. Cold Charitie in Ailgna. B. ¹⁰ store F. ¹¹ danity A.

¹² London F. ¹³ the not in F. ¹⁵ suffered B, E, F.

mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it) or any other¹ disease, their Maisters and Maistres² are so impudent³ (being,⁴ it should seeme, at⁵ a league with Sathan, a couenante with Hell, and⁶ as it were obliged them-selues by⁶ obligation to⁷ the deuil neuer to haue to do with the works of mercy) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores. And so being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwise,⁸ and thrown⁸ in the freats,⁹ there⁹ they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarcely haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene vsed in all¹⁰ the World. But they say *vnus testis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyued than a thousand eare witnessess belydes. But to leaue these excursions, and to returne from whence I haue digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will¹¹ as much respect¹¹ my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked¹² World did at¹³ the preaching¹⁴ of our Sauour Christe Iesus; that is, iust nothing at all.

[³ leaf 28, back. B.*]

The Turkish impietie of some towards the poore diseased.

[¹⁵ E 6]

¹⁵ *Spud.* Well then, seeing they are suche a stifneckned People, leaue them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.¹⁶

¹⁷ *Philo.* They haue clokes there also in nothing discrepante¹⁸ from the rest, of dyuerse and sundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, ruffet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, veluet, taffetie,¹⁹ and such like, wherof some be of the Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion²⁰: Some short, scarcely reaching to the gyrdlestead, or wast, some to the knee, and other some traylinge vppon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes. ²¹ These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced; and sometimes²¹ so lynced as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the

The sundry fashions of cloks.

[¹⁹ leaf 29. B.†]

¹ other mortall B, E, F.

² 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.*

⁶⁻⁸ an B, E; sealed an an F.

⁷ with B, E, F.

⁸⁻⁹ are laied doune either B, E, F; *but E F haue* 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.*)

¹⁰ any place of F. ¹¹⁻¹¹ regard as much F. ¹² former B. ¹³ at *not in F.*

¹⁴ of Noah, or the latter worlde at the preaching *added in B, E, F.*

¹⁶ discourse F.

¹⁷ *heading in F:* Cloakes in Englande.

¹⁸ different F. † leaf 29. Costly Clokes in Ailgna. B. ²⁰ fashions F.

²¹⁻²¹ Then are thei garded with Veluette gardes, or els laced with costly lace,

outside: some haue sleeues, otherfome haue none; some haue hoodes to pull ouer the head, some haue none; some are hanged with points & tassels of gold, siluer, or filk, some without al this. But how foouer¹ it be, the day hath bene when one might haue bought him two clokes for lesse than now he can haue one of these clokes made for,² they haue such store of workmanship bestowed vpon them.

Spud. I am sure they neuer learned this³ at the hands of our *Proconful*, and chief Prouost,³ Christ Iesus, nor of any other that euer lyued godly in the Lord; but rather out of the deceitfull forge of their own braines haue they⁴ drawn⁵ this⁶ curfed Anatomy⁶ to their owne destruction⁷ in the end, except the⁸ repente.

The counting house of all euill is mans braine.
[4 E 6, back]

⁹ *Philo.* They haue also bootehose which are to be wondered at; for they be of the fyneft cloth that may be got, yea, fine enough to make any band, ruffe, or flurt¹¹ needful to be worn: yet this is bad enough to were next their gresie boots. And would¹² God this were all¹³: 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 comlie¹⁵ forte.¹⁶ So that I haue knowen the very nedle work of some one payre of these bootehose to stand, some in iiij pound, vi. pound, and some in x. pound a peece. Besides this, they are made so wyde to draw ouer all, and so longe to reach vp to the waste, that as litle, or lesse, clothe would make one a reasonable large flurte. But tuff! this is nothing in comparifon of the reste.

[9 leaf 29, back. B. f.]
¹⁰ The vain excesse of boote hosen.¹⁰

Spud. I would thiuke that boote-hosen of groffer lynnens, or els of¹⁷ wollen clothe, were both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not so fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for

The varietie of fashions conuince vs of follie.

either of golde, siluer, or at the least of silke three or fower fingers broade doune the back, about the skirtes, and euery where els. And now of late thei vse to garde their clokes rounde about the skirtes with (bables) I should saie Bugles, and other kinde of glasse, and all to shine to the eye. Besides al this, thei are so faced, and withal B, E, F.

Bugled clokes.

¹ howeuer E, F. ² for *not in F.* ^{3—3} of our sauour F.
⁴ sucked E, F. ^{5—6} filthy poyson F. ⁷ confusion B, E, F. ⁸ they F.
† leaf 29, back. Great excesse, in Boote hose. B. *Heading in F:* Boothose in England. ^{10—10} *not in E.* ¹¹ shirt of F.

¹² would to E, F. ¹³ all too F. ¹⁴ oh *not in F.* ¹⁵ sumptuous B, E, F.
¹⁶ yea and of late, imbroydered with Golde and Siluer very costly *added in F.*

¹⁷ of *not in E.*

those geugawes wherwith you say they be blanched 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 gilt
& damasked.
[² leaf 30. B. †]

¹*Phil.* To these haue they their Rapiers, Swords and Daggers, gilt twife or thrife ²ouer 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 say it is, there be some hiltes made all of pure filuer itself, and couered with golde. Otherfome at the leaft are Damasked, Vernished, and ingrauen marueilous goodly: and leaft any thyng should be wantyng to fet forthe their pride, their]³ scaberds and sheathes of⁴ Veluet or the like; for leather, though it be more profittable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a ⁵porte or countenance like⁶ the⁵ other. And wil not these golden swoods & daggers almoste apale a man⁷ (though otherwise neuer so stout a *Martialiſt*) to haue any deling with them? for either to *that* end they be worne, or els other swoods, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and steele were as hanfom as they, & much more conducible⁸ to that end whereto swoods and rapiers should serue, namely,⁹ for a mans lawful and godly defence against his aduerfarie in time of necessitie. But wherfore they be so 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 greuous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie¹⁰ to lauish foorth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of Iudgement, when it shall be saide to euerie one, *Redde rationem Vilicationis tuæ*. Come, giue accounts of thy Stewardship.

[Scabbards and
sheaths of
veluet.]

[Why gilt
swords, and
daggers be
worne. E, F]

Lucc. 16.

¹ *Heading in F* :—Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilte in Englande.

† leaf 30. Swords, Rapiers, and Daggers. B. ^{3—3} in B, E, F.

⁴ are of B, E, F. ^{6—5} Maiesty or glorious shewe as the F. ⁶ as B, E.

⁷ thinke you *added in F*. ⁸ auailable F. ⁹ that is F. ¹⁰ wastfully F.

¹ *A particulare Discription of the Abufes of Womens* ²
apparell in *Ailgna*.

[¹ E 7, back ;
leaf 30, back. B.]

THus hauinge geuen thee a³ superficiall⁴ viewe, ⁵or small taft⁵
(but not difcovered the hundreth part) of the guyfes of *Ailgna* in mens
apparell, and of the abufes contained in the fame, now wil I, with like
⁶celeritie of matter,⁶ impart vnto thee the guyfe and feuerall Abufes
of the apparell of women there vfed alfo : wherefore, geue attentieue
eare.

[The abuses in
women's
apparell.]

Sp. My eares be preft to heare : begin when you wil, and truly
herin you fhall pleafur me much, for I haue greatly defired to know
thorowly the ftate of *that Land*, euen a *crepundiis* (as they fay) from
my tender yeres, for the great prayfe I haue hard therof. Wherefore
I pray you proceed to the fame, & though I be vnable with any bene-
fit to counteruail your great pains,⁷ yet *the Lord*, I doubt not, wil
fupplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, & a bountifull Re-
warder of euery one that trusteth in him ; but yet (fuch is *the magnifi-
cency*⁸ & liberalitie of that gentle fex) that I trust I fhall not be
vnrewarded at their hands, if⁹ to be called a thousand knaues be a
fufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe¹⁰ a corrofiue¹¹ to
their hautie¹² ftomacks, & a *nippitatum* to their ¹³tender brefts¹³ to
heare their dirtie dregs ript vp and caft in¹⁴ their dia¹⁵mond faces, yet
hope¹⁶ing that they, feeing the horreur of their impieties, and tragicall
abufes laide open to the world (for now they fleep in the¹⁷ graue of
obliuion) wil at the laft, like good Conuertes and¹⁸ Penitentiaries of
Chriftie Iefus, leaue of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of
God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpofe.

[The rewarde of
the female sex.
B, E.]

[¹⁵ leaf 31. B.†]
[¹⁶ E 8]

² 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.

⁸ munificencie B, E, F.

⁹ if at the least B, E, F.

¹⁰ maie bee perhaps B, E, F.

¹¹ corrasieue F.

¹² tender F.

¹³⁻¹³ haughty minds F.

¹⁴ into F.

† leaf 31. Coloryng of faces in Ailgna? B. E has a new head-line here,
Abuse of the female sex.

¹⁷ dust of silence and added in E, F.

¹⁸ become faithfull B, E ; become the faithfull F.

Coloring of
faces with
oyntments and
waters.

Adulteration
of the Lord
his workman-
ship in his
Creatures.

¹The Women of *Ailgna*² vse 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 see the not that their foules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and at whose presence the heauens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, 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 wise then he hath commaunded⁴?

Yf an Artificer or Craftsman shoulde make any-thing belonging to his art or science, & a cobbler should presume to correct the same, would not *the* other think him self abused, and iudge him⁵ woorthy of reprehension?

[⁸ E 8, back]

[¹¹ leaf 31, back. E.*]

And⁶ thinkest thou (oh Woman!)⁶ to escape the Iudgement of God, who hath fashioned thee⁷ ⁸to his glory, when thy⁹ great, and more then presumptuous, audacitie¹⁰ dareth to alter, & ¹¹change his workmanship in thee¹²?

¹³Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self¹³ fairer then God, who¹⁴ made vs all? These must needs be their inuentions,¹⁵ or els they would neuer go about to colour their faces with such fibber-fawces. And these beeing their inuentions,¹⁵ what can derogate more from the maiestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly conuince the Lord of vntrueth in his word, who saith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terrestiall¹⁶ Creatures. If he be thus faire, then what need they to make them fayrer? Therefore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable coniecture may be presupposed) that they think them selues not faire enough,¹⁷ and then must GOD needs be vntrue in his word.

They that
colour their
faces, deny the
Lord of glory
to be true
God, and so
no God at all.

¹ *Heading in F*:—Collouring of womens faces in England.

² (many of them) use B, E, F.

³ *deas added in* B, E, F.

⁴ made them B, E, F.

⁵ the reproouer F.

⁶—⁶ doe these women thinke B, E, F.

⁷ them B, E, F. ⁹ their B, E, F.

¹⁰ audaciticie A.

* leaf 31, back. Coloured faces abhord of God. B.

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 fo consequently 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 fo euery way they ¹fall in to the finck¹ of offence, ²beeing² ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but ³it is to be feared leaft at the day of Iudgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, & in his wrath ⁴denounce this heauie and ineuitable sentence con⁵demnatorie againft them: [⁴ F 1] *“Depart from mee, you cursed, into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuil and his Angels: I knowe you not: (I say) departe, for you were ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you.”* ⁶”

Sentence condemnatory against those that colour their faces. [5 leaf 32. B.†]

Spud. Wherof doo they make theſe waters, and other⁷ vnctions wherwith they beſmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I⁸ am not ſo ſkilful in their ⁹matters of pride,⁹ but I holde this for a *Maxime*, that¹⁰ they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded¹¹ ſimples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched¹² together, and¹³ tempered with many goodly condiments and holfome confections, I warrant you; els you may be ſure they woulde not applye them to their amorous¹⁴ faces, for feare of harming or blemiſhing the fame.

[Materials of waters, &c. for women's faces.]

[*Spud.* I praie you ſhewe me the ¹⁵iudgements, and¹⁵ opinions of the Fathers, concernyng theſe colourynges¹⁶ of faces ¹⁷with ointmentes and waters, that I maie the better know, what to iudge of it¹⁸ my ſelf.¹⁷ B, E, F; part inserted with the pen in A.]

Philo. S. Ciprian, amongſt all¹⁹ the reſt, ſaith, a Woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, ſheweth her ſelf to be more then whoriſh. For (ſaith 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-

Iniectiues of the Fathers against paynting and colouring of faces.

^{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.

† leaf 32. Harlottes vse painted faces. B.

⁷ other *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ Truly I, F.

⁶ in you *not in* F.

¹⁰ that *not in* E. ¹¹ compoude B, E; *not in* F.

^{9—9} dealings.

¹³ and artificially B, E, F.

¹⁴ amiable F.

¹² mingled B, E, F.

¹⁸ this colouringe A, pen.

^{17—17} *not in* A, pen.

^{15—15} *not in* A, pen.

¹⁹ all *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁸ them E, F.

fawces, wheras the Lord saith, "*Thou canst not make one haire white or black.*" In an other place hee saith, *Qui se pingunt² in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit³ Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis venerit, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.* Those which⁴ paint or collour them selues in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of iudgement commeth, the Lorde wil not know them for his Creatures. Againe, *Feminae crines suos inficiunt malo praefagio, capillos enim flammeos auspicari⁵ non metunt.* Whosoever doo color their faces, or their haire, with any vn-naturall collour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose saith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and that they which⁶ color their faces doo purchase to them selues the blot and stain of chastitie.

For what a dotage is it (saith hee) to change 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 hippocritically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curse 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, Chrysostome, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Gualter,* and of an infinite number moe; ⁷yea, of all generally since the beginning of ⁸the world, against this⁹ 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 words are sufficient.

Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coulouring of faces with artificiall colours, and vnnaturall Oyntments, is moste offensiuue to God, and derogatorie to his Maiestie: [And when thei haue doen all that thei can, and the cunningest artifit that euer liued besides, yet shal thei neuer be able to make so splendent, so orient, and

[1 leaf 32, back. B.*]

[3 F 1, back]

[St. Cyprian against face-painting.]

No painting can make any to seem fairer, but fowler.

[7 F 2]

[8 leaf 33 B.†]

† Colouring of faces, the deuils net.

² pingunt E. * leaf 32, back. Colouring of faces detestable. B.

⁴ that F.

⁵ auspicare F.

⁶ which comes before that in F.

† leaf 33. Painted faces, the Deuilles nets. B.

⁹ those E.

¹⁰ sapientia B, E, F.

fo naturall a colour, as dame Nature hath giuen to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath imprinted suche an excellent colour in the graffe of the feeld, which to-day ¹ is standing,¹ and to-morrow is cut doune; how muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the excellentest creature of all others²? Therefore ought euery one to content himself with the shape that God hath giuen hym, without sekynge 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 hoaff of heauen with vnspcakable glorie, and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their fibberfawces? And what are they³ els then the Deuills inuentions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

[God's own colouring of man.]

[† side-note, p. 66, here in B, E.]

⁴ *Philo.* Then followeth the trimming and tric⁵king of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frised and crisped, laid out (a World to see!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other. And lest it should fall down, it is vnder propped with forks, wyers, & I can not tel what, rather⁶ like grime⁷ sterne monsters, then chaste christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolstred heir (for it standeth crested round about their frontiers, & hanging ouer their faces like⁸ pendices⁹ with glasse windowes an¹⁰ euery side) there is layd great wreathes of gold and siluer, curiosulie wrought & cunninglie¹¹ applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to fet forth their pride withal, at their heyre, thus wreathed and crested, are hanged bugles (I dare not say bables) ouches, rings, gold, siluer, glasse, & such other¹² gewgawes and¹³ trinckets besides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I vnskilfull in wemens termes, I can not easilly recount.¹⁴ But God giue them grace to giue ouer 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.

Laying out of their haire. [8 F 2, back]

Gold wreathes circumsynging the temples of their heads.

Gewgawes hazged about their Frontiers.

Spud. The Apoflle *Paul* (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cherilh their heyre, saying that it is an ornament to them; &

¹ standeth E. ² other F. ³ but F.

⁴ 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 vailles 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.

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
used to be
worn.

[Children's hair
cut off by women
in London.]

[¹⁰ F 3]

[Women dye
their hair.]

[¹⁶ leaf 34, back.
B.†]

² *Philo.* If curling, & laying out of³ their owne naturall heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, ⁴ notwithstanding for⁴ it is the⁵ ensigne of Pride, and the stern⁶ of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the lesse matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre,⁷ dying it of what color they list themselues: [And if there be any poore women (as now and then, we see God doeth blesse 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 secrete 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 were⁹ in the same order as you haue¹⁰ heard, as though it weare their owne¹¹ naturall heire: and vpon *the* other side, if any haue heyre¹² which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into¹³ dyuerse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dynelish, & more than thirise curfed deuyfes. So, wheras their heire were geuen them as a signe of subiection, and therefore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now haue they made¹⁴ (as it were) a *Metamorphosis* of it, making¹⁴ it an ornament of Pride, and destruction to them selues¹⁵ for euer,¹⁵ except they repent.

¹⁶ *Spud.* This is a styfnecked People, & a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in euerie respecte, to peruert the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge vp to them-selues cesterns of iniquity,¹⁷ & pittes of aduerfity,¹⁷ which in th'end, without the great mercy of God, will be their vtter confusion.

¹ forth F.

* leaf 34. Bought haire & coloured, worn. B.

³ of *not in* B, E, F. ^{4—4} beyng as B, E, F. ⁵ an B, E; and F.

⁶ standerd F.

⁷ either of Horses, Mares, or any other straunge beastes *added in* E, F.

⁸ London F.

⁹ weare F.

¹¹ owne owne F.

¹² haire of her owne naturall growyng B, E, F. ¹³ in E, F.

^{14—14} *not in* B, E, F.

^{15—15} *not in* F.

† leaf 34, back. Capitall ornamentes for heads, B.

^{17—17} *not in* F.

¹ *Philo.* Than, on toppes of theſe ſtately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true Philoſophie now and than) ſtand their other capitall ornaments, as french hood, hat, cappe, kercher, and ſuche like; wherof ſome be of veluet, ² ſome of taffatie, ſome (but few) of woll, ² ſome of this faſhion, ſome of that, ³ and ſome of this color, ſome of that, ³ according to the variable fantaſies of their ſerpentine minds. And to ſuch exceſſe ⁴ is it growen, as ⁴ euery artificers wyfe ⁵ (almoſt) wil ⁶ not ſtick to goe in her hat of Veluet euerye day, euery marchants wyfe and meane Gentlewomen in her french-hood, and euerye poore Cottagers Daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of woll at leaſt, wel lined with filk, veluet or taffatie. But how they come by this (ſo they haue it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them ſelues and others it ⁷ dooth bring, ⁷ they feare not, But runne daylie *a malo ad peius* (as they fay) from one miſchiefe to an other, vntill they haue ⁸ filled vp the meſure of their euill ⁹ to their owne ¹⁰ perdition at that day.¹⁰

¹¹ They haue alſo other ornaments beſydes theſe to furniſh forth 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 ſiluer, or els tinſell, (for that is the worſt) wherwith their heads are couered and attyred withall ¹² vnderneath their cawles maye ¹³ appeare, and ſhewe it ſelſe in the braueſt maner. Soe that a man that ſeethe them (there heads gliſter and ſhine in ſuche forte) wold ¹⁴ thinke them to haue golden heads. [And ſome weare Lattice cappes with three hornes, three corners I ſhould faie, like the forked cappes of Popiſhe Prieſtes, with their perriwinckles, chitterlynges, and the like apiſhe toyes of infinite varietie. B, E, F.]

Thus lauifhe they fourth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but leat them for a tyme) vppon Pride and naughtinneſſe, delighting (as it ſeemeth) in nothing ſo ¹⁵ muche as in the ſtincking puddle of vanitie and ſinne, which will be their owne decay ¹⁶ at the

Capitall ornaments for the head.

[⁶ F 3, back]

Hattes of veluets: taffaty worn in common

Trahit ſua queneque voluptas.

[¹¹ leaf 35. B.+]

Cawles made Netwyſe.

Golden heads fraught with leaden wit.

[¹⁵ F 4]

¹ heading in F:—French Hoodes in England.

^{2—2} not in F.

^{3—3} not in F.

^{4—4} it is grown that F.

⁵ wyſe A.

^{7—7} bringeth F.

⁸ haue not in F.

⁹ iniquitie B, E, F.

^{10—10} confuſion at the laſt F. † leaf 35. Golden heads with leaden wit. B.

¹² not in F.

¹³ may the better B, E, F.

¹⁴ he would F.

¹⁶ in the end F.

Making of holes
in their eares
to hang rings
and Iewels by.

[² leaf 35, back.
B.*]

A people who
cut their skin
to set precious
stones in
them selues.

laft.¹⁶ Another sorte 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 hold my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of People in the ¹ Orientall parte of the World¹ (as Writers affirme), that are fuche *Philautoi*, ²louers of them selues, and so prowde with all, that, hauing plentie of precious Stones and Margarits amongest them, they cut and launce their skinnes and fleshe, setting therein these precious Stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these Women weare minded to tread their pathes, and³ folowe their direfull wayes in this cursed kind of ⁴vnhard of⁴ 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.

[⁷ F 4, back]

Spud. Except it weare a People wedded to ⁵the deuills eldest Daughter⁵ Pride (for I thinke chastitie⁶ amongest them maye dwell ⁷a Virgin for any that wil marry her), and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am periwaded ⁸neither the *Libertines*, the *Epicures*, nor yet the vile *Atheists*, euer⁹ exceeded this people in pride, ¹⁰nor¹¹ the wickednes of them might euer counterpeafe with the wickednes of these people¹⁰: *God be merciful vnto them!*

Great ruffes,
Neckerchers,
and partlets
vsed of Wo-
men.

[*Starche* the
deuills liquor. E,
F.]

Supportasses
the pillers of
pride.

[⁴ leaf 36. B.†]

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able so wel to describe it, as the eye is to discry¹² 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, freaked, patted, and rubbed ¹⁴very 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

¹—¹ Orient F. * leaf 35, back. Wearing of eare-rings. B.
³ and to F. ⁴—⁴ not in B, E, F.
⁵—⁵ not in F. ⁶ humilitie B, E, F.
⁸ that neither B, E, F. ⁹ that euer liued F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ not in F
¹¹ nor that B, E. ¹² discern F. ¹³ and E, F.
† leaf 36. Great ruffes and minor ruffes. B.

haue a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest; as, namely, three or foure degrees of *minor ruffles*, placed *gradatim*,¹ step by step,¹ one beneath another, and all vnder *the* Maister deuil ruffe. the skyrts, then, of these great ruffles are long and side euery way, pleted and crested ful curiously, God wot. Then, last of all, they are either clogged *with* golde, siluer, or silk lace of stately price, wrought all² ouer with needle woork, speckled and sparkled heer & there with the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities³ straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woork down to the midft of the ruffe and further,⁴ some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gewgawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned vp to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang ouer their shoulders, like⁵ windmil sayles fluttering in the winde; and thus euery one pleaseth her self with⁷ her foolish deuices, for *suus cuiusque crepitus sibi bene olet*, as the prouerb faith: euery one thinketh his own⁸ wayes best⁸,⁹ though they leade to destruction of body and soule, which I wish them to take heed of.⁹ [¹⁰ And¹¹ amongst many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe against Pride,¹² to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of¹³ God, shewed upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna¹⁴ of late, euen the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull found whereof 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 inuited¹⁵ to a Bridall, or Wedding, whiche was solemnized in that Toune, againste whiche daie she made greate preparation, for the plumyng of her self in gorgeous arraie, that as her body was moste beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in euery respecte might bee coreispondent¹⁶ 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 stanche, and sette her Ruffles, and Neckerchers to her mynde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses,

Minor ruffs.

[² F 5]

The great curiosity of 5 ruffs and neckerchers.

[¹³ leaf 36, back B.†]

[Antwarpe. E.]

[A fearfull example against pride shewed vpon a gentlewoman in Antwarpe. E, F.]

[Womens lubricious mindes neuer content with anything when it is well. E.]

¹—¹ not in B, E, F.³ antiques B, E, F.⁴ some with close woork, added in B, E, F.⁵ in E.⁶ flagges or added in F. ⁷ in B, E, F. ⁸—⁸ foist the sweetest F.⁹—⁹ not in F.¹⁰ added in B, E, F.¹¹ But F.¹² I would wish them added in F. † leaf 36, back. No head-line. B.¹⁴ Antwarpe F.¹⁵ inuited A; inuited F.¹⁶ answerable F.

[The fearful
end of the proud
Autwerp lady.]

[³ leaf 37. B.*]

[The deuill
pleaseth women
better then any
bodie els. E, F.]

[The deuill 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 curffe and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wishyng that the Deuill might take her, when she¹ weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the sufferance of God) the Deuill, transformyng himself into the forme² of a young man, as braue, and proper as she in euery pointe in outward appearance, came in, fainyng hymself to bee a woer or suter vnto her. ³And seyng her thus agonized, and in suche a pelytyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vpon their stomackes) how she was abused in the setting of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promised to please her minde, and thereto⁴ tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffes, whiche he performed to her greate contentation, and likyng, in so muche as she lokyng her self in a glasse (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kissed her, in the doying whereof, he writhe her necke in fonder, so she died miserably, her bodie beying ⁵Metamorphosed, into blacke and blewe⁵ colours, most vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was so amorous) became moste deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knowen, ⁶preparaunce⁶ was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearfull bodie was laied therein, and it⁷ conered verie sumpteously. Foure men immediatly assaied 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 stooode. Whereat the standers by marueilyng, caused the Coffin to bee opened, to see the cause thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte verie leane and deformed sittying in the Coffin, setting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and ⁸wonder of all the beholders. This wofull spectacle haue I offered to their viewe, that by looking into it, in stead of their other looking Glasses

¹ shee did F.

² shape F.

* leaf 37. *No head-line* B. *E has head-line*, A fearfull example agaynst Pride.

⁴ so F.

^{5—5} straight waies changed into blew and black F.

^{6—6} in the cittle, great preparation F.

⁷ it *not in* F.

† leaf 37, back. Women wearyng Dublets. B. *E has* The deuill found setting of ruffes.

thei might fee their own filthineffe, & auoyde the like offence, for feare of the fame, or worfer iudgement: whiche God graunt thei maie doe¹.]

Spud. As in a *Camelion* are faid to be all coulours, faue white, fo I think in thefe people are all things els², faue Vertue and chriſtian fobrietie. *Proteus*, that Monſter, could neuer change him ſelf into fo many fourmes & fhapes as theſe women doo: belike they haue made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement³ with the deuil, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God or reſpect to their weak Bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

Proteus.

⁴ *Philo.* The Women alſo there haue dublets & Ierkins, as men haue heer, buttoned vp the ⁵breſt, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the ſhoulder points, as mans apparell is ⁶for all the world⁶; & though⁷ this be a kinde of attire appropriate⁸ onely to man, yet they bluſh not to wear it; and if they could as wel change their ſex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparell 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.

Women wearing dublets and Ierkins. [5 F 5, back]

It is written in the 22 of *Deuteronomie*, that what man ſo euer weareth ⁹womans apparell is accuſed, and what woman weareth mans apparell is accuſed alſo. Now, whether they be within the ¹⁰bands and lynits¹⁰ of that curſe, let ¹¹them ¹²ſee to it them ſelues¹².¹¹ Our Apparell was giuen vs¹³ as a ſigne diſtinctiue to diſcern betwixt ſex and ſex, & therefore one to weare the Apparell of another ſex 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 men.¹⁴

A curſe to them that weare contrary apparell to their ſex. [9 leaf 38. B.†]

Spud. I neuer read nor heard of any people, except drunken with

Hermaphroditi.

¹ added in B, E, F.² 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.⁸ 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.)

*Cyrce*s cups, or poyſoned with the *exorcifms* of *Medea*, that famous and renoumed Sorcereſſe, that euer woulde weare ſuche kinde of attire as is not onely ¹ſinking before the face of God,² offenſiue to man, but alſo³ painteth out to the whole world the ⁴venereous inclination⁴ of their corrupt conuerſation.

[¹ F 6]

The diuerſity of Gownes.

⁵*Philo.* There Gownes be no leſſe famous alſo⁶; for ſome are of filk, ſome of veluet, ſome of grogram, ſome of taffetie, ſome of ſcarlet, and ſome of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie ſhillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or veluet, then the ſame ſhall⁷ be layed with lace, two or three fingers broade, all ouer the gowne, or els the moſte parte.

Simile in purpuris.

[⁸ leaf 38, back. B. †]

Coſtly gownes.

Or, if not ſo (as lace⁸ is not fine enough ſometimes⁹), then it muſt be garded with great gardes of veluet,¹⁰ foure or fix fingers broad at the leaſt, and edged with coſtly lace; and as theſe gownes be of diuers and fundrie colors, ſo are they of diuers faſhions, changing with the Moon, for ſome be of the new faſhion, ſome of the olde, ſome of this faſhion, and ſome of that, ſome with ſleeues hanging down to their ſkirts, trayling on the ground, and caſt ouer their ſhoulders, like Cow-tayles.

Diuers faſhions of Gownes.

Some haue ſleeues much ſhorter, cut vp the arme,¹¹ and pointed with ſilk-ribons very gallantly, tyed with true-looues knottes (for ſo they call them).

[¹³ F 6, back]

Petticots.

Some haue Capes reaching downe to the middeſt of their backs, faced with Veluet, or els with ſome fine wrought ſilk¹² Taffatie¹³ at the leaſt, and fringed about very brauely; & (to ſhut vp all in a word) ſome are pleated & ryueled¹⁴ down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare.¹⁵ Than haue they Petticots of the beſt cloth that can be bought, and of the faireſt dye that can be made. And ſometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to baſe, but of ſcarlet, grogram, taffatie, ſilk, 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.

† leaf 38, back. The great exceſſe in Gownes. B. ⁹ now and then F.

¹⁰ every gard *added in* B, E, F.

¹¹ drawne out with diuers and ſundry colours *added in* F.

¹² ſilk *not in* F.

¹⁴ creasted F.

¹⁵ expreſſe F.

skirts with filk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatfoeuer their petticots be, yet muſt they haue kirtles (for ſo they call them), eyther of filk, veluet, grograin, taffatie, ſaten, or ſcarlet, borde¹red with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what befydes. So that when they haue all theſe goodly robes vppon them, women ſeeme to be the ſmaleſt part of themſelues, not naturall women, but artificiall Women; not Women of fleſh & blod, but rather puppits or mawmets of² rags & clowtes compact together. So³ 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 to flaunt it out in ſuche gownes, petticots, & kirtles as theſe. And not withſtanding that their Parents owe a braſe of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they haue it, *quo iure quauē iniuria*, eyther⁵ by hooke or⁶ crooke, by right or wrong, as they fay, wherby it commeth to paſſe that one can ſcarſly know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worſhipfull Woman, from them of the meaner ſorte.

Spud. Their parents & Freinds are muche to be blamed for ſuffering them to go in ſuche wanton attyre. They ſhould not allowe them ſuch large pittance, nor ſuffer them to meaſure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of ſelfe will, and wicked deſires.⁷

Philo. Than ſhall they⁸ be ſure neuer to haue good day with them, For they are ſo impudent⁹ that, all be it their poore Parents haue but one cow, horſe, or ſheep, they wil neuer let them reſt til they be fould to maintain them in their braueries,¹⁰ paſt all tongue can tell.¹⁰ And, to fay the truth, ſome Parents (worthie to be inaugured¹¹ with the lawrell Crowne of triple follie,) are ſo buxome to their ſhameleſſe deſires, and ſo exorable to their profitute requeſts, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can¹² deſire

* leaf 39. The impudencie of Harlottes. B. ² conſiſtyng of B, F.
³ Yea, ſo F. ⁴ ſtick E, F. ⁶ or by F.

⁷ then ſhould thei not rage † ſo farre as thei doe added in B, E, F; but E F haue could; † F has excede, which comes after far.

⁸ theyr Parents F.

† leaf 39, back. What makes youth wicked. B.

^{10—10} beyond all meaſure B, E, F. ¹¹ for foolles added in E, F.

¹² do E, F.

Kyrtles.

[² leaf 39. B.*]

Women the
leat part of
themſelues.

Poore Mens
Daughters
exceſſe.

[⁵ F 7]

Parents to
blame.

The impud-
ency of proud
harlots.

[² leaf 39, back.
B. †]

Our remisse
lenitie of Pa-
rents to their
Children.

themselues, taking a fingular felicity &¹ furmouzing pleafure in
f[ee]ing them ²to go plumed and decked² in the Feathers of
deceptfull vanity.

[5 F 7, back]

Sp. This ouer great lenitie & remiffe libertie in³ the education
of youthe, in respect of the euent and successe⁴ in the end, maye rather
be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly⁵ pitie⁶ of them to-
wards their children; For what maketh them so foone whores, strum-
pets,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 so litle, and he will runne headlonge to
thyne and his owne destruction also.

[12 leaf 40. B.*]

So long as a sprigge, twift,⁹ or braunche, is yong, it is flexible
and bowable¹⁰ to any thing¹⁰ a man can desire; 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 easlye imprinted¹¹; but tarying till it
be hard, it re¹²ceiueith no printe at all.

So, correct Children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them
to what good lore you will your selfe; but tarie till they be old, than
¹³is it¹³ to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

Netherstocks
of gernsey or
silk.

¹⁴*Philo.* Their neitherstockes, in like maner, are either of filke
gearnsey,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, ruffet,
tawny, and els what,¹⁶ whiche wanton light colours, any¹⁷ sober chaste
Christian ¹⁸(except for necessitie fake)¹⁸ can hardly, without any¹⁹ suspi-
tion of lightneffe, at any tyme weare; but whatfoeuer is a deformitie
or shame in²⁰ others is an ornament to them that be past all shame.
Then these delicate hosen must bee, B, E, F] cunningly knit and curi-

¹ and farre B, E, F.

^{2—2} decked and plumed B, E, F.

³ of theirs in B, E, F.

⁴ that it bringeth *added in F.*

⁶ loue or pittie B, E, F.

⁷ Harlots *added in F.*

^{8—8} *not in E, F.*

⁹ a twist F.

^{10—10} which way F.

¹¹ in it *added in F.*

* leaf 40. New fashions euery daie. B.

^{13—13} it is F.

¹⁴ *heading in F* :—Netherstockes of women in England.

¹⁵ Iarnsey F.

¹⁶ what not F.

¹⁷ no F.

^{18—18} *not in F.*

¹⁹ any *not in E, F.*

²⁰ to F.

oufly indented in euery point¹: wherto they haue korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and ²flippers, some of black veluet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of spanish leather, and some of English lether,³ fitched with silk,⁴ and imbrodered with Gold and siluer all ouer the foote, with other gew-gawes innumerable. All which, if I should ⁵endeuoure my selfe⁵ to expresse, I might ⁶with more⁷ facilitye⁶ number the sands of the Sea, the Starres in the skye, or the grasse vpon the Earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abufes. For weare I neuer foe experte an Arithmetician⁹, ¹⁰or ¹¹Mathematician¹⁰, I weare neuer ¹²capable of¹² the ¹³halfe of them, the deuill brocheth foe many new fashions euery day.

Corked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, & such like, for women.

[² F 8]

The innumerable fashions of womens attire.

[⁸ leaf 40, back B.†]

Wherfore to their *Author* I leaue them, not omittinge to tell you by the way (¹⁴as an *interim*¹⁴) of a certen kynde of sweete Pride vsed amongest¹⁵ Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in *Ailgna*.

Pride stinking before the face of God.

Spud. I haue learned out of the Booke of God, that all Pride is fincking before the face of GOD; wherfore I greatlye desyre to knowe what abortyue Miscreant this is,¹⁶ for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am¹⁷ perfwaded.

¹⁸*Philo*. Is not this a certen¹⁹ sweete Pride to haue cyuet, muske, sweete powders, ²⁰fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, & such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceiued, not only all ouer the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stoncs cast of almost, yea, the bed wherin they haue layed their delicate bodies, the places where they haue fate, the clothes, and things which they haue touched, shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the Prophet *Esaias* telleth them, instead of their Pomaunders, musks, ciuets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall haue stench and horrour in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked liues.²¹

[²⁰ F 8, back] The hauing of ciuet, musk, and other perfumes, a sweet kind of Pride.

Esai, Cap. 3.

¹ with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly *added* in B, E, F.

³ lether *not* in B, E, F.

⁴ 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.

⁹ Arithmetrician A. ^{10—10} *not* in F. ¹¹ never so skilfull a *added* in B, E.

^{12—12} able to recompt F.

¹³ the one B, E, F.

^{14—14} *comes after you* in B, E, F.

¹⁵ amongst the B, E, F.

¹⁶ may be B, E, F.

¹⁷ am fully B, E, F.

¹⁸ *heading* in F:—Muske, Ciuet, and sweet powder in England.

¹⁹ certen *not* in E, F.

²¹ in tyme *added* in B, E, F.

[¹ leaf 41. B.*]Nosegayes &
posies of flow-
ers worn and
caried abroad.Beware the
Spanish pip.[⁸ G.]These ¹¹ curious
smelles obnu-
bilat the
spirits &
darken the
sences.Sweet smells
of musks,
cyuet, and such
like, do ²¹ anoy
the spirits.[²² leaf 41, back.
B. †]The vain
gestures &
coynes of
women in the
middest of

And in the Sommer-time, whilst floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not haue any ¹Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the Cuntrey, but they will carye in their hands nosegayes and posies of floures to smell at; and which is more, two or three Nosegayes² ficked in their brefts before, for what cause I cannot tel, except it be to allure their³ Paramours to catch at them,⁴ wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a flabbering kisse, and, paradeuenteure, more freendship besides: they know best⁵ what I mean.

Spud. You will be thought very fraight laced to speake against these thinges, for I haue heard it said, that these⁶ sweet smels ⁷are bothe corroboratiue to the sences, and confortatiue ⁸to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.⁷

Philo. They are so far from comforting the braines⁹, or lighting¹⁰ the spirits of men¹², that as mystes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawn vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moon, and starres, doo rather¹³ obnubilat¹⁴ and darken the beames of the Sun,¹⁵ not suffering his radiations to disparcle abroad¹⁵; So these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours¹⁶, smells of these¹⁷ musks, cyuets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, & fuche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate¹⁸, darken, and obscure the spirit¹⁹ and sences, then either lighten them, or comfort them²⁰ any manner of way. But howfoeuer it falleth out, sure I am they are enignes of pride, allurements to ²²finne, and prouocations to vice. After all this, when they haue attired them selues²³ in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their minsednes in words and speeches, their gingerlynes²⁴ in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their

* leaf 41. Sweete smelles, hurtfull. B.

² nosegayes *not in* B, E, F.³ their amorous B, E, F.⁴ and to smell at their breastes *added in* F.⁵ best *not in* E, 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.⁹ braine F.¹⁰ illuminating E; reuiuing F.¹¹ The F.¹² man F.¹³ doo rather *not in* B; rather *not in* E, F.¹⁴ obnubilat *not in* F.¹⁵⁻¹⁵ *not in* F.¹⁶ vapours and B, E, F.¹⁷ these *not in* B, E, F.¹⁸ denigrate *not in* F.¹⁹ spirits F.²⁰ by any B.²¹ do *not in* F.

† leaf 41, back. Looking glasses, the deuils spectacles. B.

²³ thus *added in* B, E, F.²⁴ gingerresse B, E, F.

hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclicall countenances. their fingers are¹ decked with gold, filuer and precious stones, their wriſtes with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other preciouſe² Iewels: their hands are³ couered with their ſweet wa⁴ſhed glones, imbrodered with gold, filuer, and what not; & to ſuch abomination is it⁵ grown, as they muſt haue their looking glaſſes caryed with them wherſoeuer they go. And good reaſon, for els how cold they ſee the deuil in them? for no doubt they are the deuils ſpectacles to allure vs to pride, & conſequently to diſtruction for euer. ⁶and aboue al things they muſt⁶ haue their filk ſcarffes caſt about their faces, & flutter in the winde, with great taſſels at euery end, either of gold, filuer, or filk. But I know wherfor they wil ſay 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* ſcarffes are neceſſary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moſte glorious & fair of it ſelf, make any thing foule or ilfaured? the ſun is a moſt glorious & fair creature, & therfor cannot make them fowler then they are of their own nature. From whence then is it⁸ *that* the Sun burneth them, & altereth their orient colour into woorſer hue? The cauſe therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection⁹; for no more is their fowlenes to be aſcribed to the ſtelliferous¹⁰ beames of *the* gliftering¹¹ Sun, then *the* ſtench of a dead carcaſſe may be ſaid to ¹²come of¹² *the* ſun, & not rather of it own corruption & filthines. They buſie themſelues in

their pecok
fethers.
Fingers clog-
ged with
rings.
Womens
trinckets.
Sweeted
gloues.
Loking
glaſſes, the
deuills specta-
cles.
[⁴ G x, back]

Silk ſkarfes.

A queſtion to
ſkarfe werers.

¹ must be B, E, F. ² costly B, E, F. ³ are *not in* B, E, F. ⁴ it is F.

^{6—6} *Spud.* The denill could neuer haue found out a more peſtilent euill then this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being naturally giuen to flatter hymſelf too much, is eaſely drawn to thinke well of hymſelf: and yet no man ſeeth the true proportion of his face, but a counterfaite effgie, and false image therof in the glaſſe, whiche the Denill ſuffereth hym to ſee, that thereby he maie riſe into Pride, and ſo [so *not in* E, F] offende the Diuine Maiestic. Therefore maie theſe lookyng glaſſes⁷ be called the denils bellowes, wherewith he bloweth the blaſt of Pride into our hartes: and thoſe that looke in them may be ſaid to looke in the Denilles arſe, whileſt he infuſeth the venomous winde of Pride into their ſoules. *Philo.* * Then muſt thei B, E, F. * *Heading in F*:—Scarffes and Maſkes in England.

[Looking-glaſſes
the denils
bellowes. E, F.]
[⁷ leaf 42. B.†]

† leaf 42. Silke Scarffes in Ailgna. B.

⁸ it is F. ⁹ prauitie F. ¹⁰ ſplendent F. ¹¹ gliftering *not in* F.

^{12—12} proceed of B, E, F.

prefering the beautie of their bodies, which lasteth but for a time, & in time ¹is cause of his ²own corruption, & which, ³in effect, is nothing els then ⁴putrification it self, & a dunghil couered with white & red; but for *the* beautie of *the* soule they care nothing at all. When they vse to ride abroad, they haue ⁵inuifories, ⁶or ⁷vifors made of veluet, ⁸wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in *them* against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chauce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a deuil; for face hee can see ⁹none, but two brode holes against her ¹⁰eyes with glaffes in them. Thus they prophane *the* name of God, & line in al ¹¹kinde of voluptuonfnes & pleasure, wurffe *then* euer 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 whosoouer is author of any euil must needs answer for the euil. And surely *the* authors ¹²of these newfangles are ¹³not vnworthy ¹³to be canonized faints when the yeere of *Iubilie* commeth (I meane faints of fathan); for ¹⁴there is no ¹⁴deed so flagitious, no ¹⁵fact ¹⁶so dangerous, ¹⁷nor any ¹⁷thing ¹⁸so hainous, which ¹⁹with alacritie is not plaufibly committed for the ²⁰maintenance of these Diuelish toyes and deuices: And albeit that the Persons themselues who offend this way shal dye in their finnes, their owne blood 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 say they, 'if I make them not, an other wil, & it is as good for me to make them as an other; & it is my lying; wherefore

² it B, E, F. * leaf 42, back. Veluet Visours to ride with. B.

⁴ but E, F. ⁵⁻⁶ not in B, E. ⁶ masks F. ⁷ and F.

⁸ (or in my judgement thei maie rather be called inuisories) added in B, E, F.

⁹ 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 Caueat for Artificers. B.

[¹ G 2]

[³ leaf 42, back. B.*]

Visors or inuisories of veluet to ride abroad 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.

I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with sweate of my face, and with trauaile and paine to get my lyuing.'

Philo. We are commaunded (*sic*), indeed, to get our lyuing with the sweate of our face; but how? Not in doing those things which are euill of themselves, and also drawe and intice others to euill, but in things lawful and good,¹ & which induce to goodnesse.² And to say 'others will make them, if I³ do not,' no more excuseth them of offence,⁴ than for a Murtherer or⁵ Thief to say, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, discharge him from the penaltie of the iudiciall⁶ lawe⁷ to be inflicted against⁸ him.⁷ Is it lawfull for vs to do euill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyuer me⁹ from blame, if I¹⁰ commit the same offence? no, nothing lesse. Wherefore let Taylers and Artificers be¹¹ ware how¹² they eyther inuente or make these new deuyces and Dyuelish fashions every day: And being requested to make them, if they perceiue them¹³ tende to vice, and¹⁴ allure to sinne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the saluation of many, than the priuat commodity of themselves alone: which thing, if euery one wold do, he should delyuer his own soule, & support an infinit number from falling into the gulpe of sinne; and so in short tyme these new toys, fond deuyces, and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold foone vanish away and come to naught¹⁵: which God graunt may¹⁶ once be seene¹⁶!

¹⁷*Spud.* Did the women of the former world attire themselves in such sorte as these women do?

Philo. The Women of the former age, you may be sure, neuer appeared themselves like one of these. But least you should thinke that *the* Godly onelie lyued thus austerly, you shal heare how litle the very hethen and barbarian Women haue, and do at this present, esteeme of apparell; as *Superius* witnesseth, whose words are these,

¹ honest F. ² godlinesse E, F. ³ they B, E, F.

⁴ before God added in F. ⁵ or a F. ⁶ not in 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 naught (*sic*) F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ come to passe E, F.

¹⁷ heading in F: The meane attire of both Heathen and other Women in olde time.

We are bound to get our lyuing in well doing, not in euill doing.

A caueat to Artificers that inuent new fashions.

[¹¹ leaf 43, back. B.†]

[¹² G 3]

[A caueat for Tailours and Artificers, F.]

[Heathen women despise dress.]

82 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 congre- di, quasunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent* ; Which may be thus turned into English verse :

[¹ G 3, back]

¹ *The Egiptian Matrones neuer vse
Their fashion² of attyre to change,*

[³ leaf 44. B.*]

³ *But euer keep one forme to chuse,
Although they visite Nations strange.*

AND as all Writers doo affirme, all the Women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat vpon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the rest, soo farre are these People from Pride, and hunting after strange fashions as our Women doo.

[The meannes of other Nations in attire. B, E, F ; with maners for meannes.]

The Women of *Affrica* are witnessed, by the same *Stuperius*, and others, to be so farre from affecting⁴ strange fashions, or curiosity in aparel, that they cloth themselves, in a manner, all ouer *ferinis pellibus*, with beasts skinnes, furses, and such like. And this they think so riche attyre, as they vse it altogether when they celebrat their festiual solemne daies, or when they go abroad to be seene.

The *Brazilian* Women esteeme so litle of apparell also, as they rather chose to go naked (their secret partes onely being couered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or desirouse of such vanities.⁵

[German women dress plainly.]

The *Cantabrian* Women likewyse, with many others,⁶ do the same. In High *Germany*, the Women vse in effect one kind of apparel or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other Nations delighting in new fangles, ⁷ yea, the wiues there are so far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their household stufte, and other trinckets,⁸ about with them vpon their backs in tyme of extremitie.⁹ These¹⁰ Mayds & Virgins go very plain, with kerchers only on their heads, their¹¹ haire hanging down behinde, in token of Virginitie.

[⁷ G 4]

[¹¹ leaf 44, back. B.†]

Thus, you see, euery Nation, how barbarous foeuer, are much inferiour to *the* people of *Ailgna* in pride & excesse of apparell ; and

² fashions F. * leaf 44. Wommens habit, in other Countries. B.
⁴ affecting of E, F. ⁵ vanity F. ⁶ other F.
⁸ supellectiles E, F. ⁹ necessity F. ¹⁰ Their B, E, F.
† leaf 44, back. Brutish Attire not commendable. B.

yet these examples I alledge not to th' end I wold wish all others to vse *the* fame, or *the* very like brutish¹ kind of auster² habite, but to shew 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 haue so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, & so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therewith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdom, continency, chastitie, & true godlynesse, thinking the fame bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumpteous apparell, & their minds to be naked, & voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after *the* bewtie of *the* mind, they wold not affect apparell so 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* apparell⁴ that can make them fairer. And either their bewtie consisteth in them, or in their apparell: If in them, than not in the Apparell, & so it is meere foolery to were them; And if in apparell, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whome God & na⁵ture hath made otherwise: wherfor look in what shape, forme, or condition, euerye one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the fame, without any alteration or change, with praife to his Creator.

[The contempt of apparell of the former age. B, F.]

[4 G 4, back]

[5 leaf 45. B.1]

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so much hateth and detesteth.

Philo. It is very true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he will be serued and obeyed 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 iustice) punish the pride of Apparell with the like, being booth ioyned in one predicament of sinne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Pride of the heart.

Pride of apparel equiualet with Pride of 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, notwithstanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is secret betwixt God and him-

¹ sauge F.

² not in F.

³ deformed F.

† leaf 45. Pride of the harte, and of Ap[parell]. B.

[¹ G 5][Pride of apparell
more damnable
than pride of
heart.]

¹ selfe, 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 offensiue 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.

[² leaf 45, back.
B.*]

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this sinne of pride with any notable torture³ or punishment euer from the beginning of the World vnto this day, or hath he ⁴ omitted the reuenge therof⁴ as a thing of small force, or ⁵ importance?

Examples of
God his
punishments
executed
vpon them
that offended
in Pride in all
ages.

⁶ *Philo.* Most fearfull plagues and dreadfull iudgements of God haue in all ages beene powred vpon them that offended herein, as all Histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooffe wherof I will geue you a taste 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 recusants⁷ and back-flyders from God) haue rebelled against his maiestie. The deuill, who before was an Angell in Heauen, arrogating to himselfe the imperial throane of the maiesty of God, was cast downe into the depth⁸ of Hell, burning with fire⁹ and sulphur for euer.

[¹⁰ G 5, back]

Adam, desiring to be a God (for the serpent ¹⁰ tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good & euill), was for the sin 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 stirring vp mutenie,¹¹ ¹² rebelling against their lawfull Magistrate, were swallowed vp¹³ quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth & deuouring them, ¹⁴ with all their complices whatsoeuer. The People of *Babylon*, intending to builde a tower, whose top should ¹⁵ tutch the Skye,¹⁵ thinking that if God should drown *the* world againe with water, they would be sure inough on the toppe of their high turrets; yea, they intending¹⁶ to

[¹⁴ leaf 46. B.†][The Tower of
Babel.]

* leaf 45, back. Gods punishments for Pride. B.

³ plague F. ^{4—4} passed it ouer F. ⁵ force or *not in* F.⁶ heading in F:—Pun[i]shments of pride in all ages.⁷ runnagats F. ⁸ lake E, F. ⁹ brimstone B. ¹¹ mutinies F.¹² and rebelling B; and rebellion E; and rebellions F. ¹³ up *not in* E.† leaf 46. Punishments for Pride. B. ^{15—15} reach the heauens 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 an¹ other fpake. And thus were they forced to leaue there building, and difperfed themfelues abroad vpon the face of the earth, wherof² fprang the firft diuerfitie of languages in the world. Wherefore when we heare any language fpoken we³ know not, it may be a *memorandum* to⁴ vs to put vs in minde of our Pride, which was the caufe therof.

A memoran-
dum.

Goliah, the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and fworne enemy to the Children of *Ifraell*, for his pride againft the Lord was flaine by *Dauid*, the fait[h]full Seruant of the Lord.

⁵ *Antiochus*, intending to ouerthrowe and facke *Ierufalem*, to fpoile the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride ouerturned in his chariet, ryding thetherward, his belly bruft,⁶ and filthy wormes crawled⁷ out moſte lothfomly; and, in fine, beganne fo to finke 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.

Antiochus.
[⁵ G 6]

*Nabuchodonofor*⁹ was for his pride caſt out of¹⁰ his Kingdom, and¹¹ forced to eat graſſe with wild beaſts in the wilderneſſe.

Nabuchodo-
noſor. Daniel 4.
[¹⁰ leaf 46, back
B. †]
K. [Saul.]

King *Saule*, for his pride and difobedience, was depoſed of his principallitie and Kingly regimete, and in the end flewe him ſelf on mounte *Gelboe* moſt deſperately.

Sodoma and *Gomorra* were both deſtroyed with fire & brimſtone from heauen for their ſin of pride & contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of *Noah* was drowned with¹² vniuerfall deluge for pride & contumacy of heart.

King *Hexekiahs*¹³ for his pride in ſhewing to the Ambaſſadors of the king of *Babylon* all his treaſure (for he ſent Meſſengers vnto him with gifte¹⁴ & lettres, congratulatorie¹⁵ for the recouerie of his helth) loſt al his iewels, trefures, & riches, with his owne¹⁶ ſonnes alſo, being transported captiues into *Babilon*. *K. Dauid*, for his pride in numbring the people contrary the wil of god,¹⁷ was grenouſlie pun-

² Reg. Cap. 20.

[¹⁷ G 6, back]

¹ an *not in* E, F. ² and hereof F. ³ that we B, E; that me (*sic*) F.

⁴ vnto F. ⁶ burſting B, E, F. ⁷ crawling B, E, F. ⁸ ſmell E, F.

⁹ Nabuchadnezzar F. † leaf 46, back. Proude Kynges punished. B.

¹¹ and and (*sic*) F. ¹² with an B, E, F. ¹³ Ezekiah F.

¹⁴ giftes F. ¹⁵ reioycing *added in* F. ¹⁶ owne *not in* B, E, F.

² Samuel 1, c. 24, Ver. 15.

ished, and threecore and ten thousand of his People slaine with a greuous pestilence for the fame.

The proude Pharisey.

King *Pharao*, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought himselfe a God vpon the Earth, and therefore asked he *Moyfes*, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the read Sea with all his hoaft. The proude *Pharisey*, iustifying himselfe, for his pride was reprovod of the Lord, and reiected.

K. Herode.

[¹ leaf 47. B.*]

King *Herode*, for attiring himselfe in sumptuous aray & not ascribing glory to the ¹Lord, was strucken ² dead by an Angel, and wormes consumed his flesh immediatly. Al these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, haue perished thorow pride; and therefore let not this people think that they shall escape vnpunished, who drinke vp pride as it weare sweet wyne, feede vpon it as vpon delicious meats, and wallowe in it as a ³ filthie swyne 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]

Wherefore I wold wythe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into *the* hands of God, who is a consuming fire & a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of iudgements ⁵ are drawn to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, & ready to be powred vpon 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, so doth iustice also; And, be sure of it, he payeth home at the last. For as in mercie he suffreth no good deed to be vnrewarded, so, in his iust iudgmente, there is no wickednes ⁷ which he leaueth vnpunished. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the Enemies to blasphemie and speake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for, say they, the men of *Ailgna* are wicked & licentious ⁸ in all their wayes, which easily appeareth by their apparell & ⁹ new fangled fashions every day inuented. The beastly Epicures, the Drunkards & swilbowles, vpon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxicat with new wine, ¹⁰ wil

[⁹ leaf 47, back. B.†]

* leaf 47. Gods iudgements for Pride. B. ² stricken F. ³ a *not in* E, F.
⁴ dirtie *not in* F. ⁵ iudgement F. ⁷ without repentance *added in* F.
⁸ dissolute F. † leaf 47, back. Our liues, a slaunder to the Gospell. B.
¹⁰ and strong drinke *added in* F.

not ftick to belch forth and fay, that the inhabitantes of *Ailgna* go brauelye in Apparell, chaunging fashions euerie daye, for no caufe fo much as to delight the eyes of their harlots¹ withall, and to inamour the mindes of their flefhly paramours. Thus be this People a laughing ftock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God & to their profeffion, fcandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themfelues in wafting and confuming their goods and treafures vppon vanyties & trifles.

Our new fangles and toies are occafions why all nations mocke and floute vs.

Our lyeing a flaunder to the truth.

[² *Spud.* I perceiue thefe are nice dames, I pray you what exercifes followe thei, for the moſte parte beyng thus clothed in their robes, and how doe thei ſpende the tyme? For I ftand in doubt thereof?³

Philo. You neede not to doubt. For thei ſpend their time very well, I warrant you, and to their owne contentation.⁴ For ſome of them lye in bed (I will not faie with whom) till nine or tenne of the clocke every mornynge; then, beyng rouzed forthe of their dennes, thei are twoo or three howers in puttyng on their Robes, which beeyng⁵ doen, thei go to dinner, where no delicates either of wines or meates are wanting. Then their bo^dies beeyng fatiffied, and their heades pretely mizzed with wine, thei walke abroad 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 ſome ſpende the daie till ſupper tyme, and then the night, as before. Other ſome ſpende the greateſt parte of the daie, in fittyng at the doore, to fhewe their braueries, to make knowen their beauties, to beholde the paſſengers by, to viewe the coaſt, to ſee fashions, and to acquainte themfelues with the braueſt fellowes: for if not for theſe cauſes, I ſee no other cauſes why thei ſhould fitt at their doores, from Mornynge till Noone (as many doe) from Noone to Night; thus vainly ſpendyng their golden daies in filthie idleneſſe and ſinne. Againe, otherſome being weary of that exerciſe, wil⁷ take occaſion (aboute vrgent affaires you muſt ſuppoſe) to walke into the Towne; & leaſt any thing

[The great paynes that theſe gentlewomen take. E.]

† leaf 48. B.†]

[Exerciſes and practiſes of the gentlewomen of Muidnol. B. E.]

¹ whoriſh mates F.

² 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.

³ they ſcarſe ſpend it wel *inſtead of* thereof F.

⁴ contentments F.

⁵ beeyng *not in* F.

† leaf 48; *no head-line* B. E has Hand baſkets clokes to ſinne.

⁷ wil *not in* E, F.

[*This page is not in A.*]

[Hand baskets clokes to sinne. E.]

[might bee gathered, but that thei goe about fereous matters indeede, thei will¹ take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes; vnder which pretence, pretie conceites are practized, and yet maie no man faie blacke is their eye. But if al other waies faile them, yet haue thei one which be fure 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.]

² *Philo.* Seyng you are so desirous to knowe I will tell you. In the Feeldes and Suburbes³ of the Cities thei haue Gardens, either palled, or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit for the purpose. And leaft thei might bee espied in these open places, they haue their Banquetting houfes with Galleries, Turrettes, and what not els therin sumpteouly erected: wherein thei maie (and doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie perfons. And for that their Gardens are locked, some of them haue three or fower keyes a peece, whereof one they keepe for themselues, the other their Paramours haue to goe in before them, leaft happely they should⁴ be perceined, for then were all their⁵ sporte dasht. Then to these Gardens thei repaire when thei list, with a basket and a boy, where thei, meeting their sweete hartes, receiue their wished desires. These Gardens are exelent places, and for the purpose; for if thei can speake with their dearynges no where els, yet there thei maie be fure to meeete them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines: thei know best⁶ what I meane. But I wishe them to amende, for feare of Gods heaue wrathe in the daie of vengeance.

[Gardens, places of baudry. B, E.]

Spud. Why? doe you condemne the vse of Gardens⁷ and houfes⁷ then altogether?

[² leaf 49. B.†]

[Every thing abused, is not to be remoued, but the abuse to be taken away onely. E.]

Philo. No nothing lesse. For I knowe they bee very healthful, comfortable, and holfome for mans bodie, and fuche thynges, as the vse whereof we can⁸ not lacke. But I condemne these abuses, these corrupsions, and enormities there vsed,⁹ and I pray God thei maie be reformed. There is no thyng so good but it maie be abused: yet I am not so precisé that I would haue the thyng remoued for the abuse, but the abuse to be taken awaie, whereby the thyng it self is made

¹ will not in E, F. ² heading in F:—Gardens in Englande.

* leaf 48, back; no head-line B. E has Gardens places of bandrie.

⁴ might F. ⁵ the F. ⁶ best not in E, F. ⁷—⁷ and garden houses F.

⁸ can we F. † leaf 49; no head-line B. E has Women good and badd.

[worfe. Nor I speake not againft the good and Godly women, for I knowe there bee a greate number,—and the Lorde increafe the number of them that are chaft, wife, sober, continent, and verteous Matrones, and voyde of all thefe corruptions!—But againft thofe light, leaude,¹ and incontinent Harlottes (as it is well knowne there bee too many) that runne to thofe places, as faft as euer did the brothelles to the Stewes. And truely I thinke fome of thefe² places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houfes were in tymes past: I befecche the Lorde to make³ them cleane, either with the Oliue braunch of his mercie, or with the broome⁴ of his iudgement, that this wickedneffe maie be doen⁵ awaie.

[This page to l. 24, is not in A.]

[I denounce the lewd Harlots, not the virtuous Matrons.]

Spud. Are thefe⁶ nice Dames, gentle, sober and difcrite, or otherwife, giuen to chiding, braulyng, and vnquietneffe: For thei shewe themfelues abroade (by reporte) as though butter would not melt in their mouthes.

Philo. There are fome, sober, 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 brawlyng, fcoldyng, or fightyng with⁷ fome⁸ of their houfholde⁹: and fuche deuilles, as a man were better to be hanged then to dwel with them. But becaufe I haue fmall experience hereof¹⁰ my felf; ¹¹but onely by¹¹ reporte of them that haue made triall thereof themfelues, I will faie no more, committying them ouer to the Lorde, to whom thei either ftand if thei doe well, or fall if thei doe euill. B, E, F.]

[Women good and bad, but the greater number naught. E, F.]
[⁸ leaf 49, back. B.*]

Spud. Seeing that by diuynne affiftance you¹² haue now finished your tractation¹³ of the Apparell of *Ailgna*,¹⁴ shew me (I pray you) what other abufes be there vfed; for I am perfwaded that pride, the Mother of all¹⁵ finne, is not without her Daughters of finne¹⁶ femblable to her felfe.

[¹² G 7, back]

¹ lewd F. ² those F. ³ sweeppe E; purge F. ⁴ sharpe rod F.

⁵ put F. ⁶ those 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.*

The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Whordome in
Ailgna too too
rife.

Philo. THE horryble vice of Whordome also¹ is ther too too much frequented, to the great dishonor of God, the prouoking of his iudgements against them, the stain and blemish of their profession, the euill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for euer, except they repente.

Vain and vn-
godly reasons
pretending
that whor-
dome is no
sinne.

[⁵ leaf 50. B.†]

Spud. I haue heard them reason,² that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so³ offensue before God; For do not all Creatures (say they) as wel *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia Cæli*, the⁴ creeping things vpon the earth, as the⁴ flying⁵ Creatures⁶ in the aire, and all other Creatures in generall, both small & great, ingender together? hath not nature and kynd ordained them so? & geuen them members incident⁷ to that vse? & doth not the Lord (say they) (as it were with a stimule or prick, by his mandat, saing *crecite & multiplicamini & replete terram*: increafe, multiplie & fill the earth,) ffire them⁸ vp to the fame? Otherwyfe the World wold become barren, and soone fall to decay: wherefore 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 ensigne of vertue,⁹ rather meritorious than damnable: these, with the like, be¹⁰ the¹¹ exceptions¹⁰ ¹² which I haue hard them many times to obiect¹³ in defence of their carnal pollutions.

Oh wicked
Libertynes!
[⁸ G 8]

Philo. Curfed be those mouths that thus¹⁴ blasphem the mightie God of *Israell* and his sacred word, making the same, clokes to couer their sinne withall: ¹⁵ worse are they¹⁵ 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 discovered, I will reduce you to the

[Those that
make whoredome
lawfull, are
worse then
Deuills. E.]

¹ also *not in F.*

² reason thus B, E, F.

³ so much F.

⁴ the *not in F.*

† leaf 50. Libertines defend whordome. B.

⁶ Creatures *not in F.*

⁷ proper F.

⁹ good will B, E, F.

^{10—10} their ridiculous reasons F.

¹¹ their childishe B, E.

¹² and friuolous obiections *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 worse B, E, F.

first institution ¹ of this Godly ordenance of matrimony. The Lord our God, hauing created all things in Heauen, earth or Hell whatfoeuer, created of eury sex two, male & female ² of both kindes ²; and laft 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 'crefcite, 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, intituting it in the tyme of mans innocency ⁶ in *Paradice*; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure caufes. First, for the auoydaunce of whordom; Secondly, for the mutuall comforte & confolation that the one might haue of the other in all aduerfities & calamities whatfoeuer: Thirdly, for the ⁷ procreation and Godly ⁷ propagation of Children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increafed therby, and the Lord alfo ⁸ in them glorified. ⁸ And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our fpiritual wedlocke betwixt Chrift and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreffion, and mutuall copulation, of thofe 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 hath promifed his blessing 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 fee that wheras the Lord faith 'increase, multiplie, & fill the earth,' he alludeth to thofe that are cheyned ¹⁰ together ¹¹ in the ¹² Godly state of ¹² matrimonie and wedlock, and not otherwyfe: For to thofe that go together after any other forte, he hath denounced his curfe and wrath for euermore, as his alfaung word beareth record. And wheras they fay that all creatures vpon the Earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; But how? *in fuo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no

The first institution of matrimonie.
[† leaf 50, back. B.*]

Gene. 2.
Mat. 19.
Marc.
Luc. 16.
1 Cor. 6.
Ephe. 5.

[5 G 8, back]

1. Marriage instituted for 4 causes.

3. [Procreation.]

4. [As type of Christ and his Church.]

[9 leaf 51. B.†]

All mutuall copulation except marriage is vnlawfull.
[22 H 1]

How all creatures do goe together in their kinde.

* leaf 50, back. Gods curfe for Whordome. B.

²—² not in E, F.

³ a for his E, F.

⁴ vnto him added in E, F.

⁶ innocencie A; innocencie B, E, F.

⁷—⁷ not in B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ be glorified in him E, F. (be not in F.)

† leaf 51. Fidelitie in married couples. B.

¹⁰ linked F.

¹²—¹² state of godly F.

92 The Heathen detest whoredome. The Anatomie

creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationable foecer, that dooth¹ degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the same fate and order wherein they were made at the first; ²and so² if man did, he should not commit³ abhominable whordome and filthie sinne as hee dooth. It is said of those that write *de natura animalium*, that (almost) all vnreasonable beafts and flying fowles, after they haue once linked and vnitid them selues together to any one of the same kinde, and after they haue once espoused them selues the one to the other, wil⁴ neuer after⁵ ioyne them selues *with* any other, til the one be dissolued *from* the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of matrimonie inuio⁶lable to the end. And if any one⁷ chaunce to reuolte, and go together with any other, during *the* life of his first mate, al the rest of the same kind assemble together, as it were in a councel or parliament, and either kil or greeuously punish the adulterer or adulteresse, whether [so]euer⁸ it be; which lawe I⁹ would God were amongst Christians established. By all which it may appeer how horrible a sinne whordome is in nature, that the very vnreasonable creatures doo abhorre it. The Heathen people, who know not God, so much lothe this stinking sinne of whordome, that some burne them quick, some hang them on gibbets, some cut off their heds, some their armes, legs and hands; some put out their eyes, some burne them in the face, some cut of their noses, some one parte of their bodye, some another, and some with one kind of torture, and some with another; but none leaueth them vnpunished: so that we are set to schoole to learn our¹⁰ first rudiments¹⁰ (like yung Nonices or Children scarce crept out of the shel¹¹) how to punish whordome, euen by the vnreasonable creatures, and by the heathen people¹² who are ignorant of the deuine goodnes. ¹³*God be merciful vnto vs!*¹³

Spud. I pray you rehearse some places out of the woord of God, wherein this cursed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better instruction.

Philo. Our Sauour Christe, in the eight of *Iohn*, speaking to the

¹ doeth so B, E, F. ^{2—2} whiche thing B, E, F. ³ commit such E, F.
⁴ they wil B, E, F. ⁵ after *not in* B; *follows* themselves *in* E, F.
† leaf 51, back. The Heathen detest whoredome. B. ⁷ one *not in* B, E, F.
⁸ soeuer B, E, F. ^{10—10} A. B. C. *in* F. . .
¹¹ swadling clothes F. ¹² people themselues B, E, F.
^{13—13} *not in* B, E, F.

The fidelitie of vnreasonable creatures in marriage one towards an other.
[6 leaf 51, back. B. †]

[9 H 1, back]

How much the Heathen haue detested whordome.

Sundry punishments of whordome amongst the Heathen.

woman whom the mali¹icious *Iewes* had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and fin no more. If it had not been a moſte greuous fin, he would neuer haue bid her ²to fin therein² no more.

³In the fiſt of *Mathew* he ſaith, ‘Who ſo luſteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alredy, and therefore is guiltie of death for the ſame.’ To the *Phariſes*, 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 fo hainous a finne, as for the perpetration thereof it ſhalbe lawful for a man to ſequeſter⁴ him ſelf from his owne wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apoſtle *Paul* ſayth, ‘know you not that your bodyes are the members of *Chriſte*? ſhall I then take the members of *Chriſte* (ſaith he), and make them the members of an whore? *God forbid!* knowe yee⁵ not that he who coupleth him ſelf with a⁶ harlot is become one body with her?’ ‘flee⁷ fornication (ſaith he), therefore, for euey finne that a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication, finneth againſt his owne body.’ And in an-other place: ‘knowe you not that your Bodyes are the temples of the holy ghoſt, which dwelleth within you? And who ſo deſtroyeth the Temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.’

In an other place he ſaith: ‘be not deceiued, for neither Whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornica⁸tor, inceſtuous perſon, nor ſuch like, ſhall euer enter into the kingdome of heauen.’ Again, ‘*Coniugium honorabile eſt inter omnes*: ⁹Mariage is honorable amongſt all men, and the bed vndefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers, God ſhall iudge.’ In the Reuelation of Saint *John* it is ſaid, 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 it¹⁰ be¹¹ not once named amongſt vs, as becommeth Saints; with infinit ſuch places, which for breefnes¹² I omit, referring you in the olde Teſtament to theſe and ſuch like¹³ places, namely, the 20 of *Exodus*, 20 of *Leuiticus*, ¹⁴*Deutonomie* 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 liuers. B.

¹⁰ it maie B, E, F. ¹¹ be comes after once in F. ¹² breutie F.

¹³ like not in E, F. ¹⁴—¹⁴ 22. Deuteronomy. † 27. 2. Kinges F. († 22 Deuteronomie for Deutonomie 22, Deutro. in B, E.)

Testimonies out of the woord of god wherin whordome is forbid.

[¹ leaf 52. B.*]

[³ H 2]

Mat. 5.

Mat. 19; Mat. 10; Luc. 16.

1 Cor. 6.

[The Bible againſt whoredom.]

[⁸ leaf 52, back. B. †]

[⁹ H 2, back]

[Bible bits
against whore-
dom.]

Leuit. 18,¹ *Exodus* 22. *Num.* 5, *Eccle.* 9, *Pro.* 23, *Pro.* 7² *verse*, 24.

Spud. As you haue now prooued by inuincible teffimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew mee the greenuofnes thereof by some seuerer & rare examples of Gods iust iudgement, executed³ vppon the same from the begining.

Genesis 7, 8.

Punishmentes
of whordom in
all Ages.

⁴ *Philo.* The whole world was destroyed *with* water, not any liuing thing left vpon the erth (saue in the Ark of *Noath*⁵) for the sin of whordom, incest, & brothelery, vsed in those daies. *Sodoma* and *Gomorra*, two famous Cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heauen for the like sin of whordom, adul⁶terie, and fornication.

[⁶ leaf 53. B. f.]

Genesis 19 ;
Genesis 24.
Genesis 20.
[7 H 3]

The citie of the *Sichemits*, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the ⁷ sword for the rauishing of *Dina*, the daughter of *Iacob*. The Lord also tolde *Abimelech* that if he did not let go vntouched *Sara*, *Abraham* his⁸ wife, bothe he and all his housholde should⁹ dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorauntly. The very same hapned to *Iaac* also. *Iudah*,¹⁰ vnderstanding 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

G. 26.

Ge. 18.

2 Reg. 16.

[Absalon,

Ge. 29.

Reuben,]

not *Abfalon*, king *Dauid* his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his Fathers Concubines? And did not *Achitophel*, who gaue counsel so to do, hang himself? Was not *Ruben*, the first borne sonne of *Iacob*, accursed for going vp to his Fathers bed; and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his¹² primacie, ouer his Bretheren for the same? Were there not aboue threecore and fise thousand men slain for the adulterie doon with one *Leuits* wife? Was not king *Dauid* punished all the daies of his life for his adultery doon with *Bersabe*, *Vrias* his wife? Was not his sonne *Amon*, for lying with¹³ *Thamar*, slain? Was not *Salomon*, beeing peruerted with¹⁴ hethen women, cast out of the fauour of GOD, notwithstanding being other wise the wisest Prince in all the world? ¹⁵ Did not¹⁵ *Achab*, at the perfw-

Iudi. 20.

2 Reg. 13, 12.

[Dauid,

Solomon,]

[1 Reg. 11. B,
E, F.]

¹ Leuiticus 11 B, E, F.

² 2 Prouer. 7 B, E.

³ poured forth E, F.

⁴ heading in F:—Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

⁵ Noah F.

† leaf 53. Punishmentes for Whordom. B.

⁶ Abrahams F.

⁹ shall F.

¹⁰ Iudas A.

¹¹ de-delay (sic) F.

¹² and B, E, F.

¹³ his Sister added in F.

¹⁴ with many F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ not in F.

sions of *Iefabel*, his curfed wife, falling ¹to Idolatrie and woorthipping of Idolles ²and deuils, fuffer³ moſte cruel puniſhment in this life all his dayes; beſides, what he ſuffereth now, God onely knoweth. Were not the *Iſraelite* and *Madianitiſh* woman both ſlain ⁴ by that woorthy man *Phinees*, who ran them both thorow the⁵ priuy members with his Iauelin or ſwoord? Was not *Sampſon* brought to a miſerable end, 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* wonderfully plagued, but for intending euil in his hart towards *Sara*, *Abraham* his wife? Did not the Lord flay (with a moſte greenous mortalitie) foure & twentie thouſand of the *Iſraelites* in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the *Moabites* and *Madianits*?

By theſe, and ſuch like fearful Examples of the iuſtice of God powred vpon theſe whoremongers & aduſtrers, we may learn to know the greenouſnes of the fame, and the puniſhment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the World⁶ to come, or els in both: for if the Lord deferre the puniſhment of whordome in this life, hee reſerueth it for the world to come, ſuffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil vp the meaſure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be iuſt. And if the Lord left not ſin vnpuſhed, no, not in ⁷his moſt deer Saints, ⁸what he wil⁹ doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world¹⁰ iudge.

Spud. Now am I fully perſwaded, by your inuincible reaſons, that there is no ſin greater before the face of God then whordome; wherefore, *God graunt that all his may auoid it.*

Philo. You haue ſaid true, for there is no finne (almoſt¹¹) comparable vnto it; for beſides that it bringeth euerlaſting damnation to all that liue therein to the end without repentance, it alſo bringeth theſe inconueniences, with many mo: *vidilicet*, it dimmeth the ſight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the ſinewes, it weakneth the ioynts, it exhauſteth the marrow, confumeth the¹² moiſture and ſupplement of the body, it riueth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth

3 Reg. 21.

[¹ leaf 53, back. B.*][² H 3, back]

Num. 25.

Iud. 16.

[Sampſon,

Pharaoth,]

Gene. 12.

[24,000 Iſraelites

were all puniſht for whoremongering.]

[7 leaf 54. B.†]

[⁸ H 4]

What euils whordome bringeth to mans body in this life.

* leaf 53, back. Examples for Whoremongers. B.

³ *should be suffer'd in F.*⁴ for Whoredome added in F.⁵ their B, E, F.⁶ life E, F.

† leaf 54. Many euils come by whordome. B

⁹ wil B; shall E, F.¹⁰ godly E, F.¹¹ almost not in F.¹² the radical F.

the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth *the* whole body, it bringeth ¹it into a ¹ consumption, it bringeth ² vlcérations,³ scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles; it maketh hoare haire &⁴ bald pates; it induceth olde age, &, in fine, bringeth death before nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age require⁵ it.

Sp. Seeing *that* whordome bringeth such foure fauce with it, namely,⁶ death euerlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wonder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

Philo. It is so little feared in *Ailgna*, that, vn⁷till ⁸euery one hath ⁸ two or three Bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man⁹ (for that they call a mans deede); infomuch as¹⁰ euery scruie boy of twelue, fixteen, or twenty yeeres of age, wil make no conscience of it to haue two or three, peraduenture half a dosen feuerall women with childe at once; and this exploite beeing doon, he shoves them¹¹ a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro*¹² *velocius*, as ¹³ quick as a Bee¹³ (as they say) into some sfrange place where he is not knowen, where, how he liueth, let the wife¹⁴ iudge, for, *cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine still. Then, hauing estraunged them felues thus for a small sspace, they returne againe, not to their pristine curfed life, I dare say, but vnto¹⁵ 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.

Spud. The state and condition of that Cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that euerye one had his lawful wife, and euery woman her lawfull husband, as the Apoffle commaundeth, then thus to be¹⁶ drowned¹⁷ in the filthie fin of whordome.

Philo. That is the only salue and soueraine remedy which the lord ordained against whordome, that those who haue not the gift of

[7 leaf 54, back. B. f.]

[9 H 4, back]

The small care to auoid whordome in Ailgna.

Whormongers runagates.

Marriage an antidotarie against Whordome.

¹—¹ not in B, E, F.

² causeth B, E, F.

³ vlceration F.

⁴ and not in B, E, F.

⁵ constraine F.

⁶ as namely B, E, F.

† leaf 54, back. Causes of bastardie in Ailgna. B.

⁸—⁸ one hath had F.

¹⁰ that E, F.

¹¹ all added in E, F.

¹² pilo F.

¹³—¹³ round as a hall F.

¹⁴ world F.

¹⁵ to E.

¹⁶ lye B, E.

¹⁷ and immersed added in E; plunged F.

continencie might mary, and fo keep their veffels ¹vndefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* there is ouer great libertye permitted therin; for litle infants in fwadling clowts, are often married by their ambitious Parents and frends, when they know neither good nor euill; and this is the origine of much wickedneffe, & directlie againft the word of God, and examples of the primityue age. And befydcs this, you fhall haue euery fawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvi, or xx yercs of age, to catch vp a woman & marie her, without any feare of God at all, or refpect had, either to her religion, wifdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any refpecte how they maye lyue together with fufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. No, no; it maketh no matter for thefe things: fo he haue his pretie puffie to huggle withall, ²it forceth not, ³for that is the only thing he defireth. Than build they vp a cotage, though but of elder poals, in euery lane end, almoft, wher 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, God forbid!

Sp. I canot fee how this geare shold be holpen.

Philo. What if a restraint were made *that* ⁷none (except vpon fpéciall and vrgente caufes) should marie before they come to xx or xxiiij ⁸yeeres, or, at *the* ⁹leaft, before they be xiiij or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now there are?

Sp. But if this were eftablished, *than* should we haue moe Bastards; and of the two, I had rather we had many ¹⁰legittimats than many illegittimates. ¹⁰

Philo. The occafion of begetting of manye Bastards were foone cut of, if the punishment which either ¹¹God his lawe doth allowe, or

[¹ H 5, A; leaf 55. B.²]

Marine of infants in swadling cloths.

Euery Boy snatcheth vp a Woman to wyfe.

[Cottages in euery lane end. E, F.]

A restraint of marriage. [7 leaf 55, back. B.f]

[⁸ H 5, back]

How whordome may be 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 plainly §, of Beggers as wee call them B, E. § E has plainly. 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 suppress whordome. B. ⁹ the not in E, F.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ children lawfully begot than many Bastards F.

¹¹ either not in F.

98 Due punishment for whordome. The Anat[omie]

els which good pollicy¹ doth constitute,¹ were² aggravated and executed² vpon 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 whordome now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete³ before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an howre or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garments vnderneath, as commonly they haue?⁴ This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishment, which that⁵ vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte, than feare them from it. In so much as I haue heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beaft that for such white lyured punishment would abstaine from suche gallant pastyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it suche sweet meate here, shall find the sawce sowre⁶ and stiptick⁷ 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 disorder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thyng els then to buye and sell the bodies and foules of Christians for monie? Can the Pope himselfe doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenance of the Stewes? Yea, so long as this is vsed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Ailgna. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie (for to them I speake) take heede that thei be not maintainers of Stewes and whoredome, whereof they would so 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 & *poena*,¹¹ in this worlde,¹¹ from the falte¹² it self, ¹³ from the shame,¹³ and punishment due for the fault? What is it els then not onely a maintenaunce, but also a

¹—¹ hath constituted F. ²—² executed and aggravate B; inflicted F.

³ or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishment) added in B, E, F.

⁴ [And truly I can not a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore the * (* that F.) wickednesse of the Ecclesiasticall Magistrates, in not punishing more greuously, 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.

⁷ bitter F.

⁸ From this, to p. 99, l. 16, not in A.

⁹ suspended in E.

¹⁰ not in F.

¹¹—¹¹ not in E, F.

¹² falte B, E; fault F.

¹³—¹³ not in F.

[stirring of them vp to commit whoredome, when for a little monie thei¹ maie be discharged of all gilte? And this beyng certaine, or at least very likely, *that* whosoever 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 that² 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 chaste Virgines, and dishonesteth poore Maides, to their vtter shame and vndoing for euer. I saie nothyng, how the monie receiued for these dispensations is bestowed, how spent, nor wherevpon⁶ employed. The Lord for his mercies sake, giue them grace to punish the vice seuerely, as the worde of God doeth commaunde, and not after their owne sensuall desires,⁷ and licencious lustes, that God maie be glorified, and their consciences disburdened⁸ at the greate daie of the Lorde. *Added in B, E, F.*]

[To L. 16 is not in A.]

[To dispence with whoredome for money, is a playne maintenance of whoredome. E, F.]

[* leaf 56, back. B.*]

Spud. What punishment would you haue inflicted vpon such as commit this horrible kinde of sinne?

Philo. I would wish that the Man or Woman, who are certainly knowen, without all scruple or doubt, to haue committed the horrible fact of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther should⁹ drinke a full¹⁰ draught of *Moyse* cuppe, that is, tast of present death [as Gods word doth¹¹ commaunde, and good policie allowe B, E]; or els, if *that* be thought too seuerer (for¹² in euill, men will be more mercifull than the Author of mercie him selfe, but in goodnesse, fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and seared with a hote yron on¹³ the cheeke, forehead, or some other parte of their bodye that might be seene, to the¹⁴ end the honest and chaste Christians might be discerned from the adulterous Children of Sathan.¹⁴ But (alas!) this vice (with the rest) wanteth such due punishment as God his Word doth commaunde to be executed¹⁵ thervpon.¹⁶

What kind of punishment whordome ought to haue.

[† leaf 57. B.†]

* leaf 56, back. Due punishment for whordome. B. ² thus F.

³ may in E, F. ⁴ assay not in E, F. ⁵ can in E, F.

⁶ whereunto in E, F. ⁷ appetites F. ⁸ discharged F.

⁹ eyther comes after should in F. ¹⁰ full not in F.

† leaf 57. A late example for whordom, in Ailg. B.

¹² as in E, F. ¹³ vpon F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ end that the adulterous children of Sathan, might be discerned from the honest and chaste Christians B, E, F. ¹⁵ inflicted F. ¹⁶ vpon them E, F.

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.

¹ And therefore the Lorde is forced too take the sword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him selfe, because the Magistrates will not.²

[³ H 6, back]

³ For better proof wherof, marke this strange & fearful iudgment of god, shewed vpon two adulterous persons there,⁴ euen *the* last day in effect, *the* remembrance wherof is yet green in their heds.

[A most dreadful example of two notorious whoremongers. E.]

[⁵ W. Brustar.]

There was a man whose name was *W. Ratfur*⁵, being certainly knowen to be a notorious vsurer (and yet pretending alway a singular zeale to religion, so that he wold feldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the iudgements 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 ⁶sinne and naughtynesse withall⁷); who, vpon occasion of busines, visiting *Lewedirb*, a place appointed for the correction of such that⁸ be wicked lyuers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper Woman, whom (as is said) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her deliuey from thence, bayled her, &, hauing put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, vsing her at his pleasure. Whylest these two members of *the* deuill were playing the vile *Sodomits* together in his chamber, & hauing a litle pan of coles before them, wherin was a very litle fire, it pleased God, euen in his wrath, to strike these two persons 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 ⁹cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, & some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeue and dublet not once perished, nor tuted 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 these cuple founde: which God graunt may be a document¹⁰ to all *that*

[⁶ leaf 57, back. E.†]

[Bridewell.]

[Whoremongers members of the Deuill. E.]

[⁹ H 7]

[The punishment of whoredome by the Lord himself from heauen. E.]

¹ From here to p. 101, end of line 3, not in F.

² not do it added in E.

⁴ 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 see the fame punished with more feueritie, to [¹ leaf 58. B.*] the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre² are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practising the fame. For shall you not³ haue some, yea many thousands, that liue vpon nothing els, and yet go clothed Gentlewomenlike, both in their filks,⁴ and otherwyfe, with⁵ their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets & Jewels, and their purses full of gold and siluer. And hereof they make no conscience, so their Husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peafants, and such maycocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not, reprove them for it. But & if the Husband once reprove them for their misde⁶meanour, [⁶ H 7, back] than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe because the punishment therof is⁷ no extremer, as it ought to be⁷; And some, both Gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nussed herein, that hauing put away their owne wyues, do⁸ keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it; and hauing bene conuented before the⁹ magiftery, and there bene⁹ depofed vpon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them forth at one doore, and taken them in at the other. [⁸ Putting away honest wyues, and retaining of¹⁰ whores. E, F.]

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe¹¹ with *rubrum argentum*,¹² wherof they haue store [¹¹ leaf 58, back. B.†] to bestowe vpon such wickednesse, but¹³ haue not a mite¹³ to giue towards any good purpose.

Wherefore, in the name of GOD, let all men that haue put away their honest wyues be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to taste of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the sword of¹⁴ right iudgement¹⁴; For as long as this immunity and impunity is permitted amongst vs, let vs neuer looke to please GOD, but rather prouoke his heuie iudgements against vs. And the reason [¹⁴ Lawe ought to be executed without partialitie. E, F.]

* leaf 58. Knowne whores kept openly. B. ² Yea so farre of F.

³ not omitted in F. ⁴ and Veluets added in F. ⁵ not in F.

⁷⁻⁷ 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:
 Honest wyues put away. ¹² *virgumentum* F.

¹³⁻¹³ not a penny F. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ iustice F.

[² H 8]

is, for that there is no sinne in all the World, but these whores and whoremaisters will ¹willingly attempt and atcheiue for the ¹inoying of their whordome. ²And Hell, destrucion, and death euerlasting, is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot ³be aware³ of it. The Lord ⁴remouue it from all his Children,⁴ and present them blameles before his tribunall feate, without spotte or wrinkle at that⁵ great day of the Lord!

Spud. What ⁶memorable thing⁶ els haue you seen there frequented? for seeing you haue begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

Gluttonie⁷ and drunkenneffe⁸ in Ailg[na].

Philo. I Haue seene that which greeneeth mee to report. The People there are marueilously giuen to daintie fare, gluttonye, bellicheer, & many also to drunkenneffe & gourmandice.

Daintie fare,
gluttony and
gourmandice
vsed in Ailg.

[⁹ leaf 59. B.*]

⁹*Sp.* That is a manifest argument of good hospitality, which both is commended in the word of God, & which I know you will not reprehende.

Godly hospitalitie
to be
commended.

Ph. Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehension, but rather of great commendation; for many haue receiued Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the fame, as *Abraham, Lot, Tobias,* & many others. Yet if hospitality flow ouer into superfluitie & riotous exceffe, it is not tolerable: for¹⁰ now adaies, if the table be not couered¹¹ from the one end to the other, as thicke as one dish can stand by another, ¹²with delicat meats¹³ of fundry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery dish a feuerall sawce appropriat to¹⁴ his kinde, it is thought there vnworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, so many dishes shal you haue pesteruing the table¹⁵ at once, as the infaciabest *Helluo*, the deuouringest glutton, or the greediest cormorant that is¹⁶, can scarce eat of euery one a litle. And these many shall you haue at the first course; as many at the second; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; beydes other sweet condyments,¹⁷ and delicat confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these

[¹² H 8, back]

Varitie of
dishes and
meats, with
their curious
sawces.

Excesse of
meats.

¹—¹ greedily commit for F.

³—³ beware B, E, F.

⁴—⁴ keep all his children from it F.

⁵ the F.

⁵—⁶ notable abuses F.

⁷ The Gluttonie B, E, F.

⁸ excesse B, E, F.

* leaf 59. Great excesse in delicate fare. B. ¹⁰ and B, E. ¹¹ pestered F.

¹³ meat F.

¹⁴ in F.

¹⁵ thereon F.

¹⁶ ever was B, E, F.

¹⁷ iunkets F.

dainties, all kind of wyne are not wanting, you may be fure. Oh, what niftie¹ is this! what vanitie, exceffe,² ryot and superfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! For I haue heard my Father fay *that* in his dayes, one difh or two of good wholfome³ meate was thought fufficient for a man of great worship to dyne withall; and if 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 groffe, for their tender stomacks⁴ are not able⁴ to difgest⁵ fuch crude and harfh meats⁵: For if they fhould, (their stomacks being fo queafie as they be, and not able⁶ to coucoct it) they fhould but⁷ euacuat the fame againe, as other filthie excrements,⁸ their bodies receiuing no noorifh⁹ment therby, or els¹⁰ they fhould¹⁰ lye fincking in their stomacks, as dirte in a filthie finck or pryue. If this be fo, I marueile how oure fore-Fathers lyued, who eat litle els but cold meats, groffe and hard of difgefture. Yea, the¹¹ moft of them fead vppon graine, corne, roots, pulfe, herbes, weeds, and fuch other baggage, and yet liued longer then wee, ¹²helthfuller then we, were¹² of better complection then we, and much ftronger then we in euerie refpect: wherfore I cannot perfwade my felf otherwife, but that our nicenes and curiofnes in dyet hath altered our nature, diftempered our bodies, and made vs more¹³ fubiect to millions of¹⁴ difcrasies and¹⁴ difeafes then euer weare our Forefathers fubiect vnto, and confequently of fhorter life then they.

Spud. They wil afke you again, wherfore god made fuch varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what anfwere giue you to that?

¹⁵*Philo.* The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the vfe of meat¹⁶ and drinks for man to fustain the fraile, caduke,¹⁷ and brittle eftate¹⁸ of his mortall body withall¹⁹ for a time; But he gaue²⁰ it him not²⁰ to²¹ delight and²² wallow therin continually²²; for as the olde Adage faith, *Non*

The austeritie and Godly fimplicity of the former World in meats and drinkes. [³ leaf 59, back. B.*]

Nice, tender stomacks. [*not in F.*]

[⁹ I :]

The faraginic or rough fare of our Forefathers.

Our nice fare hath altered our bodies and changed our nature.

¹ what prodigality added in F.

² what exceffe F.

* leaf 59, back. Hard fare holsomest. B.

⁴⁻⁴ and ⁵⁻⁵ not in, B, E,

F. From fuch to pryue, 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.

Medietie to be
observed in
meats.

[7 I 1, back]

When meats
and drinks are
Instruments of
destruction
vnto vs.

Ge. 24.

1 Reg. 2.²⁴
[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 Glut-
tony.]

*viuendum*¹ vt *edamus*, sed *edendum*² vt *viuamus*: Wee³ must not liue³ to eat, but wee must⁴ eat to liue; wee must not fwill and ingurgitate our⁵ stomacks so ful,⁶ as no more can be crammed⁷ in. The Lord willed⁸ that they should be ordinarie⁹ meanes to preferue¹⁰ the state of¹⁰ our bodies¹¹ a time, whilst we liue and sojourne in this vaste wildernes of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to vs bothe of body and soule. And truly they are no lesse when they are taken immoderaty without the feare of God. And¹² dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks prouoke lust? as *Hiero* saith, *Venter Mero estuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly enflamed with wine bursteth foorth into lust. Doth not lust bring foorth sinne, and sin bring¹³ foorth death? The Children of *Israel*, giuing themfelues to delicat fare & gluttony, fel to Idolatrie, sacriedg & apostasie, worshipping stocks, stones, and deuils, in-sted of the liuing God. The sonnes of *Hely* the Priest, giuing themfelues to daintie fare & belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord slew them all, & their fa¹⁵ther also, for that he chaffied them not for the same. The Children of blessed *Iob*, in midft of all their banquetings & ryot, were slain by the lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifully. *Balthasar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in midft of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing vpon the wall these woords, *mene*¹⁷ *techel upharfin*, signifying that his kingdome should be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the¹⁸ hand of the lord. The rich glutton in the Gospel, for his riotous feastings & proposterous¹⁹ liuing, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our Father *Adam*, with all his of-spring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfie his glotonus desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefest canons wherwith the deuil assailed Christe, thinking therby to batter his kingdome & to win the feeld for euer; yet not withstanding the greeuoufnes heerof, the same is thought to be a coutenance & a great credit to a man in *Ailg[na]*. But true hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in fundry sorts of meats

¹ viuimus F. ² edimus F. ³⁻³ liue not F. ⁴ must not in F.
⁵ so much into our B, E, F. ⁶ so ful not in B, E, F. ⁸ provided them E, F.
⁹ as F. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ not in F. ¹¹ for a B, E, F. ¹² Besides that B, E, F.
¹³ brings F. ¹⁴ 3 Reg. 2. in B, E, F.
^{*} leaf 60, back. Small reliefe for the poore. B. E has Gluttony punished.
¹⁶ verse 5. 25. in B, E, F. ¹⁷ mene added in B, E, F. ¹⁹ inordinate F.

(the substance wherof is chaunged¹ almoſte into accidents thorow their curious cookries, & ² which doo help to ² rot *the*³ bodies & ſhorten their daies) but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent⁴ members of Ieſus Chriſte, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, ⁵ & ſuch other neceſſaries wherof they ſtand in need.

Wherin hoſpitalitie conſiſteth.

[5 leaf 6r. B.*]

But ſuch is their hoſpitality, *that* the poor haue *the* leaſt part of it: you ſhal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C *li.* ſpent in ſome one houſe in banqueting & feſting, yet *the* poor ſhall haue litle or nothing: if they haue any thing, it is but *the* reſuſe⁶ meat, ſcraps & parings,⁷ ſuch as a dog would ſcarſe eat ſometimes; & wel if they can get *that* too: inſted wherof, ⁸ not a few haue whipping cheer to feed them⁹ withall. ¹⁰ it is counted but a ſmal matter for ¹¹ a man that can ſcarſlie diſpend fortie pound¹² by the yeer, to beſtow againſt one time, ten or twentie pound¹² therof in ſpices. And truly, ſo long & ſo greuously hath this exceſſe of gluttonie and daintie fare ſurſteted in *Ailgna*, as I feare mee, it will ſpue out many of his Maſters out of doores before it be long. But as ſome be ouer largeous,¹³ ſo other ſome are ſpare enough; for when any meat is ſtirring, then lock they vp their gates, that no man may come in. An-other forte¹⁴ haue ſo many houſes that they viſit them ¹⁵ once in vii yeer¹⁶; many Chimnies, but little ſmoke; 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 ſpeedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and ſumptuous Apparel; which three *Abufes*¹⁸, ¹⁹ eſpecially, yet not without their cofin germanes, doo florish there. *God remooue them thence, for his Chriſtes ſake.*

The ſmall relief of the poore.

[11 I 2, back]

Locking vp of Gates when meat is ſtirring.

Three deuouring Cankers.

[19 leaf 6r, back.] B.†]

Spud. I had thought that dainty fare & good cheer had both nooriſhed the body perfectly, and alſo prolonged life²⁰, & 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 6r. Small hoſpitalitie in *Ailgna*. B.

⁶ reſuſe A; reſuſe 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 profluos herein *added in* F.

¹⁴ forte A; ſorte B, E, F. ¹⁵ not once B, E, F. ¹⁶ yeares F.

¹⁷ of *Ailgna added in* B, E, F. ¹⁸ three deuouring Cankers B, E, F.

† leaf 6r, back. Diuersitie of meates hurtfull. B.

²⁰ life greatly B, E, F. ²¹ by F; in B, E; *both by and in wanting in* A.

Who more
subject to
infirmities
then they that
fare best?
[¹ sign. I 3. A.]

Eating of di-
uers meats
at one time
hurtful.
[¹⁰ leaf 62. B.†]

The speedy de-
cay of those
that geue
themselues to
daintie fare.
[¹⁴ I 3, back]

gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is sicklier then they that fare deliciously euery day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wurffe, who is weaker ¹and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour,² flegme, and putrifaction (repleat³ with grosse humors) then they? and, to be breek, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of Rye, barlie, peafon, beans, oates, and such other grosse graines) & drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milk, butter, and cheefe; (I say) doo wee not see such a one healthfuller, stronger,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 diuers and sundry kindes of meats, of diuers⁷ operations and qualities (at one meale) engender diftemperance in the⁸ body? And the body diftempered, wil it not fall into sundry diseases? one meat is ⁹of hard digefture, another of light⁹; & whilst the meate of hard digefture is in concocting, the other meat ¹⁰of light digefture dooth putrifie and stink: & this is the very mother of all diseases. 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 & discipancies¹¹ agree together in one body at one & the same time? wil not one contrary impugne his contrary¹²? one enemy resist an other? Then, what wiseman is he that wil receiue all these enemies into ¹³the caffle of¹³ his ¹⁴body at one time? Doo we not see, by experience, that they *that* giue themselues to dainty fare and sweet meats are neuer in helth? dooth not their sight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot & fall out? dooth not their breth stink, their stomack¹⁵ belch fourth filthy humors, and their memory decay? doo not their spirits and fences become heuie & dul by reason of¹⁶ ¹⁷exhalations & impure vapors, which rise vp in¹⁸ ¹⁷their gingered brests & spiced stomacks? &

² chollier E, F. ³ together E, F. ⁴ fairer complexioned *added in* B, E, F.
⁵ liued F. ⁶ fared F. ⁷ contrary B, E, F. ⁸ the *not in* F.

⁹—⁹ hard of digestion, another light F.

† leaf 62. The decay of daintie feeders. B.

¹¹ repugnancies F. ¹² contrary A. ¹³—¹³ *not in* F.

¹⁵ stomackes F. ¹⁶ of the B, E, F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ the filthy vapours and stinking fumes which rise from F.

¹⁸ from B, E.

fumyng vp to the hed, they¹ mortifie the vitall spirits & intellectuall powers. ²dooth not² the whole body become³ purfie & corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therewith,⁴ & ful of all filthy corruption? *The Lord keep his chosen from the tasting therof.*⁵

⁶*Sp.* You spake of drunkennes, what say you of *that*?

⁷*Phi.* I say *that* it is a horrible vice, & too too much vsed in Ail[gna]. Euery cuntrey, citie, towne, village,⁸ & other,⁸ hath⁹ abundance of alehouses, tauerns, & Innes,¹⁰ which are so fraughted¹⁰ with mault-wormes, night & day, that you would wunder to se them. You shal haue them there sitting at the wine and goodale all the day long, yea, all the night too,¹¹ peradventure¹² a whole¹² week together, so long as any money is left; swilling, gulling, & carowfing from one to another, til neuer a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when *with* the spirit of the buttery they are thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures¹³ & demenors,¹⁴ how they stut and stammer, stagger & reele too & fro like madmen: ¹⁵some vomiting, spewing, & disgorging their filthie stomacks; other some ¹⁶(*Honor sit auribus*)¹⁶ pissing vnder the boord as they sit, & which is most horrible, some fall to swering, cursing, & banning, interlacing their speeches *with* curious tearms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly eares¹⁷ present.¹⁸

Sp. But they wil say, *that* god ordained wines & strong drinks to cheer the hart & to sustaine the body¹⁹; therefore it is lawful to vse them to *that* end.

Philo. Meats (moderatly taken²⁰) corroborate²¹ the body, refresh the arteries, & reuiue the spirits, making them apter, euery member, to doo his office as god hath appointed²²; but being immoderatly taken

[7 leaf 62, back. B.*]

The beastly vice of drunkennes frequented in Ailg[na].

[15 sign. I 4. A.]

The spirite of the buttery is druncknes and excesse.

The lothsome qualities of those that be druncke. [21 leaf 63. B.†]

¹ they *not* in B, E, F.

²—² in so much that F.

³ becommeth F.

⁴ withall F.

⁵ *A new chapter-heading in B and E here:—Drunkenesse in Ailgna.*

⁶ *heading in F:—Drunkenesse in England.*

* leaf 62, back. The beastly vice of drunkenesse. 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 towards an other, and towards every one els, *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁵—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 druncknes. B.

²² them *added in* E, F.

(as commonly they be), they are instruments of damnation to the abusers¹ of the same,¹ & noorish not the body, but corrupt it rather, & casteth² it into a world³ of deseases. And⁴ a man once drunk with wine or strong drink, rather resembleth a brute beaste then a christian man; for doo not his eies begin to stare & to be red, fiery & bled, blubbering forth seas of teares? dooth he not frothe & fome at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faulte and stammer in his mouth? dooth not his hed seeme as heuie as a milstone, he⁵ not being able⁶ 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 body⁷, quiuer⁸ & shake, as it were, with a quotidian feuer? ⁹Besides these,⁹ it casteth him¹⁰ into a dropsie or plu¹¹resie, nothing so soon; it infeebleth the sinewes, it weakneth the natural strength, it corrupteth the blood, it dissolueth the whole man at the length, and finally maketh him forgetful of him-self altogither, so that what he dooth being drunk, he remembreth not, being sober. The Drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, reuileth his loue, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either¹² expelleth all feare¹³ of god out of his minde, all looue of his freends &¹⁴ kinffolkes, all remembrance of honestie, ciuilitie, & humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkerds beasts, and no men; and much wurffe then beasts, for beasts neuer exceed in¹⁵ such kind of exceffe or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitui*,¹⁶ they measure their appetites by the rule of necessitie; 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 word of God, I doubt not, reprocueth the fame.

Philo. It seemeth you haue not read the holy scripture very much, for if you had, you should haue found it not only spoke against, but also thrown down euen 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 being 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.

The transfiguration of those that be drunke.

[¹¹ I 4, back]

The discommodities of drunkennes

[¹³ leaf 63, back. B. †]

Drunkerds worse then Beasts.

wil recite a few. The Prophet *Eſaias* thundereth out againſt it, ſaying, *ve qui conſurgitis mane ad ebrietatem ſectandam*: '1Wo be to them that ryſe earlie to followe drunkenneſſe, wallowing therein from morning to night, vntill they be ſet on fire with wyne & ſtrong drinke. Therefore gapeth hell, & openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin, may go downe into it,' ſaith the Prophet. The prophet *Hofeas* ſaith, *fornicatio, vinum et muſtum auferunt² animum*. Whordome, wyne, ³& ſtrong drinke, inſatnat *the heart of man*.

Esais 5.
[¹ ſign. I 5. A.]

Testimonies
againſt drunk-
enneſſe out of
the word of
God.
Hoseas c. 4.
[³ leaf 64. B.*]

The Prophet *Ioel* biddeth all Drunkards awake,⁴ ſaying, 'weepe and howle, you winebibbers, for the wickedneſſe of deſtruction that ſhall fall vpon you.'

Ioel 1.5

The Prophet *Habacuck* ſoundeth a moſt dreadfull alarme not only to all Drunkards, but alſo to all that make them drunken, ſaying, 'wo be to him that geueth his Neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayſt ſee his priuities.' *Salomon* ſaith, 'wyne maketh a Man to be ſcornfull, and ſtrong drinke⁶ maketh a Man vnquiet: who ſo taketh pleaſure in it, ſhall not be wiſe.' In an other place, 'keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous Perſons, for ſuch as be Drunkards ſhal come to beggerie.' In the xxiiij⁷ of his Prouerbes he ſaith: 'To whome is woo? To whome is ſorow? to whome is ſtriſe? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cauſe? and to whome are red eyes? Euen to them that ⁸tarie longe at the wyne, to them that go and ſeek mixt wyne.' And, againe: 'Looke not thou vpon the wyne when it is red, and when it ſheweth his colour in the⁹ cup, or gooth downe pleaſantlie, for in the end it will bite like a ſerpent, and hurt like a Cockatrice, or Baſilicock, which ſlay¹⁰ or kill men with the poiſon of their fighte.' Again, 'it is not for Kings to drinke wyne, nor for Princes to drinke ſtrong drinke.' Our Sauour Chriſt, ¹¹in the goſpell of *S. Luke*, biddeth vs take heed that we 'be not ouercome with ſurfetting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, leaſt the day of the Lorde come vpon vs vnawares.'

Habacuck 2.

Prouerb c. 20.
[Solomon againſt
drunkenneſſe.]

Prouerb 23.

[⁸ I 5, back]

[Solomon againſt
drunkenneſſe.]

Prouerb 31.
[¹¹ leaf 64, back.
B.†]

Luc. 21.

*Paule*¹³ to the *Epheſians*, biddeth beware that we 'be not drunke'¹⁴ *Ephe. 5.*¹⁵

² auferent F. * leaf 64. Testimonies against Drunkards. B.
⁴ wayle E, F. ⁵ Joel 2 E. ⁶ wine F. ⁷ twenty and three F.
⁹ any B. ¹⁰ slea F. † leaf 64, back. Drunkenneſſe forbidden. B.
¹³ S. Paule B, E, F. ¹⁴ drunken F. ¹⁵ not in E, F.

[St Paul against
drunkenness.]

with wine, wherein is excessse, but to be filled with *the* spirit.' The same apofle, 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 see the inormitie¹ of this vice, which is so much² euery where² frequented.

Spud. Let me intreate you to shew me some examples withall, wherby I may see³ what euill it hath done in all ages.³

Gene. 19.

[7 sign. 1 6. A.]

⁴ *Philo.* Drunknes⁵ caused *Lot* to commit⁶ most shamefull⁶ incest with his owne two Daughters, who got them both with Child, ⁷ he not perceuing it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rose vp. See how drunkenneffe affotteth a man, depriuing him of all sence, reason, and vnderstanding.

Examples
against drunk-
ennesse.

Drunkenneffe caused *Noah* to lye with his priuities bare in his Tabernacle, in such beaflie sorte as his wicked Sonne *Cham* iested and scoffed at the same.

[⁸ leaf 65. B. 1]

[Luc. 16. F.]

Luc. 16.

Thorow drunkenneffe, *Holophernes*, that⁸ great and inuincible Monarche of the *Affyrians*, was overcome by a Woman, hauing his head cut from his shoulders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenneffe, King *Herode* was brought to such 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 whom⁹ *Luke* maketh mention, was for his drunkenneffe and ryotous excessse, condemned to the fire of Hel for euer; with many moe examples, which for shortnes I omit. Now, seeing than that drunkenneffe is both offensue to God, and bringeth such euills in this lyfe present, let vs, in the name of God, auoyde it as a most wicked thing and prencious euill. For euery Drunkard is so farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie of mind,¹⁰ or rather in a playne Phrensie, he maye not be said to be *sui animi compos*, or¹¹ a man of sounde wit, but rather a¹² very Bedlem, or muche worse, no Christian, but an Antichristian; no

Luc. 16.

[¹² I 6, back]
How farre
Drunkards are
estranged from
themselves.

¹ vnlawfulnes F.

^{2—2} not in F.

^{3—3} the effectes thereof, and what punishment hath been shewed vpon the offenders herein in all ages. B, E, F; (*but F has therein.*)

⁴ heading in F:—Punishment of Drunkardes.

⁵ Drunkennesse B, E, F.

^{6—6} not in F.

† leaf 65. Examples against Drunkennesse. B.

⁹ Saint added in B, E, F.

¹⁰ of mind not in F.

¹¹ or not in B, E, F.

member of Chriſt Ieſus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the Deuill. Wherefore, in the name of God, let vs auoyd al exceſſe, imbrace temperancie and ſobrietie, & receiue ſo much ¹meats and drinks¹ as may ſatiſſie nature, not the infaciat appetits of our fleſhly² defires; Knowing that, except the Lord bleſſe our meats and drinks within our bo³dyes, and giue them power & ſtrength to nourish and feede the ſame, and our bodies their naturall powers, euery member to doo his office and dutie, our meates ſhall lye in our ſtomacks, ſtincking, ſmelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a⁴ lothſom ſinck.⁵ So farre of ought we to be from abuſing the good creaturs of God by ryot, drunkneſſe, or exceſſe, that we ought neuer to take⁶ morſell of bread, nor ſope of drinke, without humble thankes⁷ to the Lord for the ſame.⁸ For we neuer read that our Sauour Chriſt euer eat or dranke, but he gaue thankes (or, as we call it, ſaid grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed⁹ he not to haue done in reſpect of himſelfe, but for our erudition¹⁰ & learning, according to this ſaying, *omnis Chriſti actio noſtra eſt inſtructio*: Euery action of our Sauour Chriſte is our example and inſtruction, to follow as neere as¹¹ we are able.¹² And thus much of drunkenneſſe, which god graunt may euery wher be auoided.¹²

[¹³Or if all that hath been ſaid hetherto,¹⁴ bee not ſufficient to withdrawe vs from this beaſtly vice of dronkenneſſe: yet lette vs fette before our eyes this moſte fearfull iudgement of God, executed vpon a ſorte 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, ſonnes, very riotouſly and prodigally inclined,¹⁵ the names of whom, for the better credite of the ſtorie, ¹⁶I haue ſett doune, viz. Adam Giebens, George Kepell, John Keifell, Peter Herſdorſe, Jhon Waganaer, Simon Henrickes, Herman Fron, Jacob Hermans,¹⁸ all whiche would needes goe to the Tauerne, vpon the Sabboth daie in the mornyng verie earely, in contempt of

What if God bleſſe not our meats. [meat F
[³ leaf 65, back. B.*]

Geuing of thanks befor meat & after.

[A terrible example of Swabian drunkards.]

[A moſt dreadful example of Gods iudgements ſhewed vpon certaine Dronkardes abuſing the good creatures of God. E, F.]
[¹⁶ leaf 66. B.†]

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 giuing F.

⁸ before added in F.

⁹ need B, E, F.

¹⁰ example F.

¹¹ are (sic) F.

¹²—¹² not in B, E, F.

¹³ From here to l. 23, p. 114, added in B, E, F. ¹⁴ heretofore F. ¹⁵ giuen F.

† leaf 66; no head-line B. E, F have The propertie of a good hoſte.

¹⁸ Harmans F.

[This page not
in A.]

[The proprietie
of a good
Hoste. E, F.]

[A caueat for
cursers and
banners. E, F.]

[4 leaf 66, back.
B.†]

[The desperate
scurritie of
Dronkerdes. E,
F.]

[The deuilles
rewarde to his
darlinges the
Dronkardes. E,
F.]

[the Lorde and his Sabboth. And commyng to the houfe of one Anthonie Hage, an honest, godlie man, who kepte¹ a Tauerne in the same Toune, called for burnt Wine, Sacke, Malmetie,² Hipocras, and what not. The hoste tolde them, that thei should haue none of all these, before the diuine seruice and the³ sermon tyme were paste, and councelled them to goe heare the sacred woorde of God preached. But thei (saue Adam Giebins, who aduised them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods wrathe) denied, sayyng: That thei lothed that kind of exercise. The good hoste, neither giuyng them any Wine hymself, nor sufferyng any other, went to the Sermon, as duetie did binde hym, who beyng gone, thei fell to curfying, bannyng, and swearyng, withyng that he might breake his necke, or euer he came againe from the Sermon; and bruffyng forthe into these intemperate speeches, "the Deuill breake our neckes, if wee departe hence this daie, either quicke or dedde, till wee haue had some 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, why⁴ thei caroused not, he dranke vnto them, sayyng: "Good fellowes, bee merie, for ye shall haue wine inough, for you seeme lustie laddes, and I hope you will paie me well," who inconsiderately 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 swillyng, gullyng, and caroufyng so long, as till one could not⁵ see 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, saied: "Bee of good cheare, for now muste you drinke boilyng Lead, Pitche, and Brimstone with me in the pit of helle for euermore": Herevpon⁶ 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, and⁷ brake their neckes a sonder, and threwe moste horrible flames of fire, flashyng⁸ out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seuen dronkardes, their miserable daies, whose Iudgement I leaue to the Lorde. The other Adam Gibiens, who

¹ keep F.

² Malsie F.

³ the not in F.

† leaf 66, back. No head-line. B.

⁵ scarcely in E, F.

⁶ Heecupon (*sic*) F.

⁷ and not in E, F.

⁸ flashyng not in F.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A. D. 1583.

PART II.

The Display of Corruptions.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN
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A.D. 1583.

PART II.

The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation.

EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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To the Christian Reader, a preface
premonitorie.



Nede not (good Christian Reader) to stand vpon either the commendation of the Author of this booke, or the worke it selfe, for *Vino vendibili hœdera suspensa nihil est opus*, both the one and the other (such is the excellencie of them both) may sufficiently commend themselves. Onely this I am to request at thy hands (good Reader) that what faultes or escapes soeuer thou shalt meete withall in this booke, (as there be some) I beseech thee impute them not to the negligence of the Author, who is greatly agreedd at them, but to the ouersight of the printer, through whom they were committed. Wherefore gentle Reader I beseech thee reade this booke (being I assure thee a learned worke) *cum iudicio*, not *præiudicio*, with the spirite of modestie, not of contumacie, knowing that (as the Apostle saith) charitie couereth the multitude of faultes, enuieth no man, speaketh ill of no man, but receiueth all things in good part. And whersoever anie fault shall be committed, frendly to amend it with thy pen, and especially for the pointing thereof. And for the marginal notes, and quotations also, the like ouersights as before are committed, wherefore good reader blame not the author without cause, either for the one, or for the other. A greater volume thou maiest haue, but a learned treatise for the substance therof, I perswade my selfe, is hard to find. Thus putting thee in mind of the old adage *μυμησε ταιτιο φασσον ημμησεραι* it is easier to find fault, and to carpe than to imitate or amend, I commit thee to God who bleiseth thee with the knowledge of his truth.

Thine in the Lord Phillippe Stubbes.



From :—

A | Godlie and fruitfull Treatise of | Faith and workes. | Wherein
is confuted a certaine opinion of me- | rit by workes, which an
aduersary to the Gospell | 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.

Dedication “To his very good Lord, Ambrose Earle of Warwicke
. . . . H. D. wisheth all prosperitie &c.”

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.*]

TO

MY FRIEND AND HELPER

Teena (Mary Lillian) Rochfort-Smith.

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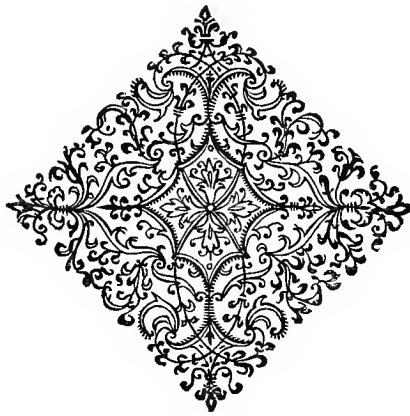
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This Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's *Restituta*, i, 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House 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 *Motiue 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 *Shakspeare's England* Series.

Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, a^o 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 Shakspeare Society* give express notice that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible for the opinions exprest in it.

FORE TALK.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>§ 1. <i>Stubbes still earnest, and finding fault only with real Evils</i>, p. xi†</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Proofs of the Abuses he complains of in Education and Trade, from Elizabeth's and James I's Statutes, &c.</i>—<i>Colleges and Benefices</i>, 1588-9, p. xiii†
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<i>Corrections and Notes for Part I.</i> p. xxxiii†</p> |
|--|--|

§ 1. IN the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* for the New Shakspeare 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 Temporality. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spirituality, 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 I¹. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-1 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 earnest themselvs now, will find Stubbes in like earnest 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

¹ The pages against Ruffs, those Cartwheels of the Devil, is as fierce as any-thing in Part I. See too the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 35-6, p. 50.

xii† § I. *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,¹ and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spirituality 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 together, and iump in one truth
“ having al one God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauour,
“ 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 together in these ex-
“ ternall 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

¹ 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 abolished, 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 *Anatomic* 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, 1. 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 performance 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, Hospitalles 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 thinsufficiencys growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Invençions and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceptæ in Weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceptæ 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 tainter- ing 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 Subjectæ doe chiefflye impute to the great number of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Counties for the stretchinge and strayingne 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 strayingne, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtyll sleightes and untruethes,¹ soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrinke rewey, purse, squallie, cocklinge, bawdy, lighte, and notablie faultie, to the great dislike of forraigne 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 broad 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 strayed 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 their 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, therie 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.

¹ Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte againste deceitfull 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."

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (1 Jac. 1, c. 22,¹ 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 their said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried 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 tanninge of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtil Practises, sometimes layinge their Leather in their Fattes set in their 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 their 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.”

¹ Compare its clauses with those of 5 Eliz. ch. 8, from which some are, more or less, taken.

² 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 rosened, and the stiches harde drawn 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 Pawn-brokers 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). "An Act 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 their Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . . to use and demean themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant Englishe and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contriving, 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 knownen, 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 hath [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 manuall 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 their former manuall Labours and Trades did or could 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 *Inconveniencies*, 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 *Interests* in their *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 away 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 purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen : Any *Lawe*, *Usage* of *Custom*e 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

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 appeared before in our *Stafford*, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the supposed 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 obseruation 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 hauing charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.

THE Queenes Maiestie hauing had of late time consideration of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme,¹ iudging 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 hauing 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

¹ 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.

In 1598 (May *Ao.* 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

§ 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 excessiue prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the obseruation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they haue any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countrey men, being in need, to cause all and euery 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 leaue their said hospitalities, and to come to the Citie of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the reliefe of their poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie priuately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company; for withstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall haue any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their houtholds, nor to come to the said Citie, or other townes corporate: and all others that haue of late time broken vp their houtholds, 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 giuen her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme. . .

The obseruation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heauie 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 reasonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's *History of the English Poor Law* (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reasonable demands I should 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 should 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 repealed 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 should be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who woudn't work, should 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 developd 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, buyld, and sett upp in fit and convenyent Places of Habitacion . . . at the

§ 3. *Stubbes's Poor-Law Requirements fulfilled.* xxiii†

generall Chardges of the Parishe . . . convenyent Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore ; and also 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 Working-houses 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 uttered 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 *Motiue 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.¹

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 :—

¹ 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, 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 "message 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 together" 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 Benefield 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 Benefield, 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 Benefield.'

'CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

1 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 Strangushe of the same town, Fuller.'

As to Phillip Stubbes's family, Prof. Stubbs felt sure that Phillip

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 Capesthorpe 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 Admoñ of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester
- 1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1603 Admoñ of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester
- 1617 Admoñ 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.* xxviii†

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 ouer 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 Shakspeare? 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. xxviii† 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. Admōn 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 att. 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^d. Shorte, the exōr Jn. Hockett having died.

31 Oct. 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*ℓ*; and if she die or she be maryed, then 16*ℓ* to go to his 4 children, and 4*ℓ* 'to my thre bretherne, *Henry Stubbes*, *John 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* shalhave 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 vppē of my children duryng her lif, and after her death I will that John *Stubbes* and

xxx† Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbes.*

Justynyan Stubbes, with their partes and portions shalbe in the Rule, ordre, and kepinge of Mr. John Hutchynson, and Henrye Stubbes . . of Thomas . Dawson my brother-in-lawe' (Elizth. not given to any one). Residue to 4 children Exōrs. 4 children, and "Margarete Smythe my mother in lawe."

p. xxviii† *Henry Stubbes.* See Ant. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, 1817; 1255 :—

HENRY STUBBEE, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Gloucestershire,¹ 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 beginning 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 farewell 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 *Reliquia Baxteriana*, 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,

¹ 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 . . .

II. 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 turned Doctor. He was drowned 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' : | Inscib'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.

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 Sherwine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Orton, Robert Iohnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the high bar at Westminster, where they were seuerally, & al 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 diuers other places, where (*the Pope hauing with other princes practised the death and deprivation of our most gracious princessse, and viter subuersion of her state and kingdome*, to aduance his most abhominable religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in all causes whatsoever, 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 subiects, & to conspire and practise her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed, when the generall haucke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie they were approued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled & quartered.

The first of December, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine and Alexander Brian, seminarie priests, were drawne from the Tower of London 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, which he preached before the Kynge's maiestic, wythin his graces Palayce at Westminster y^e. xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xlix.’ *Sign. E. 1.* “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 auneynt Knyght of the cuntrye.

“I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desiryng me that I will 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 hath 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 worse 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, crying: ‘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 worse 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 thyng 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 *Babes Book*, or *Meals and Manners* : Early English Text Society.

p. 24, *stretching and thicking Cloth.* “I here saye, there is a certayne connyng come vp in myxyng of wares.

Cloth makers are become Poticaryes, yea and amonge the Gospellers. “Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers should become poticaries.

“Yea, and as I heare saye, in such a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busie the Deuell is to sclander 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 haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a prety feate [*sign.* E. iiiii.] to thicke him againe. He

Flocke powder. makes me a powder for it, an playes the poticary : thei cal it floke

xxxiv† Notes on pp. 24—33. *Commons. Tailors.*

powder : they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider : truly a goodly inuention."

p. 24, *Dark Shops.* p. 49, *False Weights.* p. 22, *Merchants.* p. 47, *Farmers.* p. 29, *Gripping Landlords.* These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue 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 therefore 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 giue 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 seueral.* Compare Shakspeare's phrase, in *Loues Labor's Lost*, II. i. 223, Qo. 1 :—

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. Greenc 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 cleared 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 *Foolles*, 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 attyes, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish

“The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the *Idole-maker*, then to the *Idole* it selfe ; now (vnder the correction of *Diuinitie*) I would but demaund, what are these *Puppet-making Taylers*, that are euery day inuentioning of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call *Attyre-makers*, the first inuenter of these monstrous Periwys, and the finders out of many other like immodest Attys : what are these, and all the rest of these *Fashion Mongers*, the inuenter of vanities, that are euery day whetting their wits to finde out those *Gaudes*, that are not onely offensiuue vnto God, but many wayes preiudiciall to the whole Common wealth : if you will not acknowledge these to be *Idolemakers*, yet you cannot deny them to be the *Deuils enginers*, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornise such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but *Idolles*, for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they haue eares, but they cannot heare the Indgements 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 cometh 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, ‘Attyre-makers,’ Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainfull 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 Coniunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583,” 18 mo. *black letter*. *H. Bynnenan*, 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 fite 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 (whez it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of mine came vnto hym, and brought hym xxx. Apples in a dysh, and gaue *them* hys man to carrye them to hys mayster. It is like he gaue one to his man for his labour to make vp the game, and so ther was .xxxii.

"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 [*L10 = 30 Angels*]. 'Mary,' quod he, 'thys is a good apple. The pryest standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, 'they are all one apples, I warrante you, Syr, they grēwe all on one tree and haue all one taste.' 'Well, he is a good fellowe [*sign.* R. iii.], let hym haue it,' quod the patrone, &c. Get you a grafte of thys tre, and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede, for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe through the theyr defaute.'" See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge floyd 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 upon 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 *Anatomic of Abuses* was entered 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, Geoffrey Mynshul's *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.*

p. 296. *Sunday Sports, &c.* See Humphrey Roberts's, 'An earnest Complaint of diners 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.

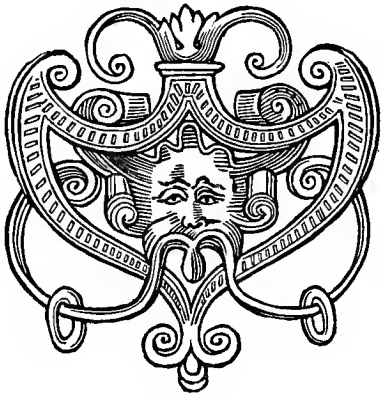
p. 352, col. 2. Insert *Breasts*: see Bare, and Naked.

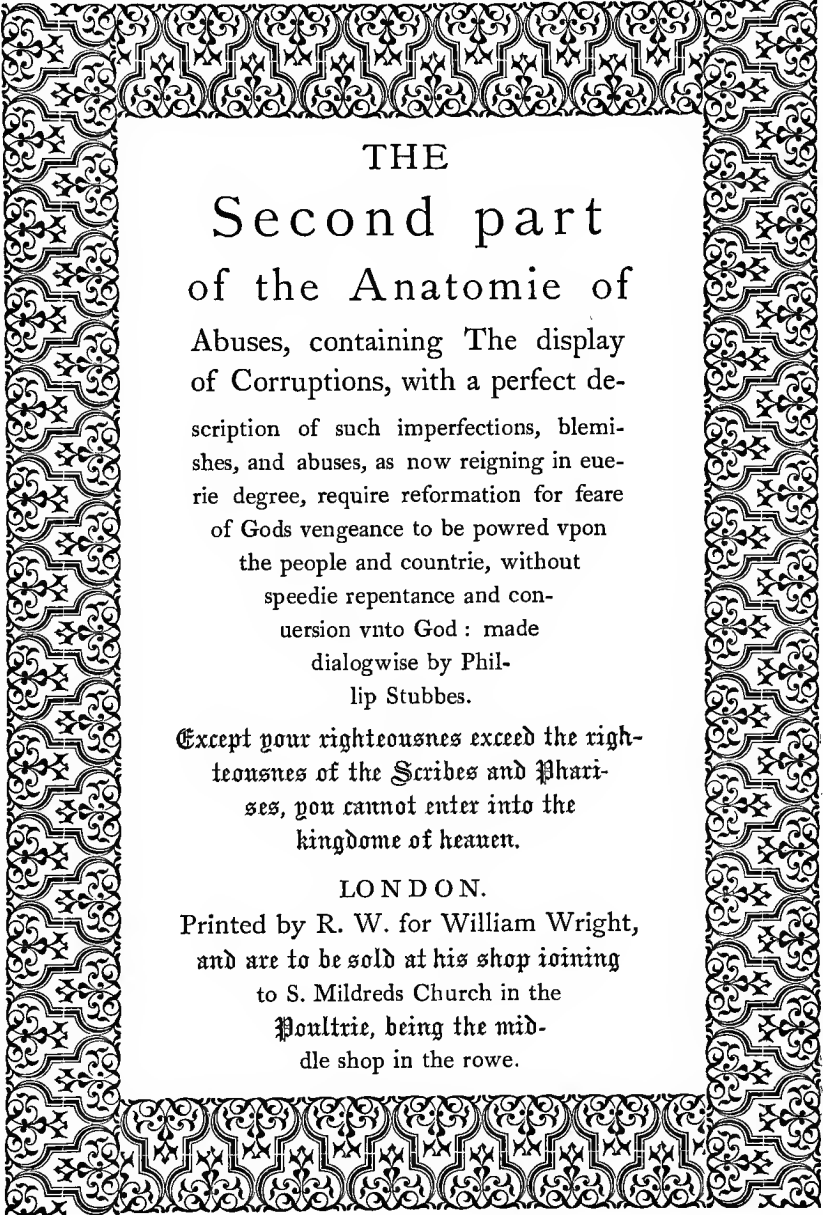
p. 356, col. 2. *Disgesture*, digestion. "Glut with gazing, surfet with seeing and rellish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preseruatiues, not poyson, though harsh in *disgesture.* 1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. A. iij.

p. 362, col. 1. Insert *Honeymoon*, p. 376, ii. 1.

p. 371, col. 2, to 'Spanish &c.' add 'boots, 242.'

p. 375, col. 1. Insert *Venetians* 250. 'Grecques; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.' 1611. Cotgrave; and *Venetian hose*, 56.





THE
Second part
of the Anatomie of
Abuses, containing 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 the righ-
teousnes of the Scribes and Phari-
ses, you cannot enter into the
kingdome of heauen.*

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 mid-
dle shop in the rowe.

THE DISPLAY OF

corruptions, requiring reformation for feare of Gods iudgements to be powred vpon the people

and country without spee-

die amendement.

The speakers, THEODORVS and AMPHILOGVS.¹



OD blesse you my friend, and well ouertaken.

Amphilogus. You are hartlie 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 fcituate?

Amphil. It is a famous citie and the chiefest place in *Dnalgne* : haue you not heard of it ?

Theod. No truely. For I am a stranger, and newly come into these countries, onely to see fashions, and to learne the state and condition of those things whereof I am ignorant.

Amphil. What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be so bold as to aske ?

Theod. I am of the country and nation of the *Idumeans*, a cruell, fierce, and seruile kind of people.

Amphil. I haue beene in those countries my selfe ere now, and 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 haue (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.

² B I, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.'

2 II. I. *England the wichedest Country under the Sun.*

rerum edax, A deuourer of al things) forgot the fame. But notwithstanding that you haue forgot me, yet I remember you very well: is not your name Maister *Theodorus*?

Theod. Yes truly, my name is *Theodorus*; I neither can, nor yet will, euer denie the fame.

Amphil. What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence?

Theod. Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation, to learne the toong, and to see (as I told you) the state generally of all things.

Stubbes will describe the state of England.
[¹ Sig. B 2]

¹ *Amphil.* You are most hartily welcome, and I, hauing beene a traueler, borne in these countries, and knowing the state thereof in euerie respect, to congratulate your comming, will impart vnto you the substance and effect therof in as few words as I can.

Theod. I praie you then giue me leaue (vnder correction) to aske you such necessary questions, as are incident to my purpose, and which may serue for my better instruction in all the forefaide premisses?

Amphil. Go to then, aske on in the name of God, and I will addressse myself to satisfie your reasonable requests in anything I can.

Theod. What be the inhabiters of this countrie? Be they a vertuous, godlie, and religious kinde of people, or otherwise cleane contrarie?

Amphil. Surely they are, as all other countries and nations be for the most part, inclined to finne, and wickednes, drinking vp iniquitie as it were water; but yet I am persuaded that, albeit all flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of GOD, yet is there not any nation or countrie vnder the sunne, that for pride, whoredome, droonkennes, gluttonie, and all kinde of oppreffion, iniurie and mischief, may compare with this one country ²of *Dnalgne*, God be mercifull vnto it, and hasten his kingdome, that all wickednes may be done away.

No nation is so proud, drunken, and so full of mischief, as England is.

[² Sig. B 2, back]

Theod. Then, as in all other countries where euer I haue trauelled, so in this also is verified the old adage, namely, that the first age of the world was called *Aurea ætas*, the golden age, for that men liued godlie and in the feare of God; the second age was called *Argentæa ætas*, the silver age, for that men began somewhat to decline, and fall from their former holinesse, and integritie of life, to finne and wicked-

1. The Golden Age.

2. The Silver.

nes: the thirde and laſt age, which is this that we are fallen into, is and may juſtly be called *Ferrea* or *Plumbea ætas*, the yron or leaden age, in as much as now men are fallen from all godlineſſe whatſoever, and are as it were wedded to iniquitie, committing ſinne without any remorse, and running into all kinde of abomination and impietie, without refraint. All which things dulié in the good hart of a faithful chriſtian conſidered & weied, may eaſily perſuade a wiſe man to think their deſtruction to be at hand, except they repent.

Amphil. You ſay verie well. Therefore I would wiſh them to take heed to themſelues, and to leaue their wickednes before the Lords wrath be gon out againſt them; for let them be ſure, that when the meaſure of their wickedneſſe is full, then will the Lord cut them off from the face of the earth, if they repent not, and truly turne to the Lord. The wiſe man ſaith, that a little before deſtruction come, the hart of man ſhall ſwell into pride, and wickednes. Our ſauour Chriſt ſaith, when men flatter themſelues, and ſaie “peace, peace, al things are well, we neede not to feare anything,” then, euen then, ſhall ſudden deſtruction fall vpon them, as ſorrow commeth vpon a woman traueiling with childe, and they ſhall not eſcape, becauſe they would not knowe the Lord, nor the day of his viſitation.’ Which thing we ſee to be true through all the hiſtories of the ſacred Bible; for when the Sodomits and Gomorreans had filled vp the meaſures of their iniquitie, and ſaciate themſelues in ſinne, then came there fire and brimſtone raining from heauen vpon them and their citie, and conſumed them all, from the vpper face of the earth. When all the worlde in the daies of Noah, was giuen ouer to ſinne, and wickednes, immediatelie came the floud of Gods vengeance, and deſtroied them all, eight perſons—to wit, Noah, his wife, his three ſonnes and their wiues,—who ſerued the Lord in true ſimplicity of hart, onelie excepted. The Hieroſoltitanes ²when their ſinne was ripe, were they not confounded, and put to the edge of the ſworde? When Pharaoh the king of Egypt his ſinne was ripe, did not the Lord harden his hart to purſue the Iſraelits, and ſo drowned him and all his retinue in the read ſea? Herod and Nabuchadnezer ſwelling in ſinne, and riſing vp againſt the maieſtie of God in the malice of their harts, was not the one ſtroken dead in a moment, and eaten vp with worms, the other depoſed from his kingdome, and conſtrained to eate

3. The Iron or
Leaden Age, our
ſinful one.

[¹ Sig. B 3]

But God 'll cut
the ſinners off.

Destruction'll
follow Pride,

as it did with
Sodom and Go-
morrah,

in Noah's days,

[² Sig. B 3, back]

with Pharaoh,

Herod and
Nebuchad-
nezzar.

4 II. 1. *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 neereit, then are the people the securest, and the most indurate and frozen in the dregs of their sinne; and being so, the sequele is either confusion in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I beseech 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 saluation.

Theod. Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie?

England is a plentiful land,

¹ Sig. B 4]

Amphil. There is no nation or country in the world, that for store, and abundance of all things, may compare with the same; for ¹of all things there is such plenty (God haue the praise thereof) as they may seeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In so much as if they were wise people (as they be wise inough, if they would vse their wisdom well) to keepe their owne substance within themselves, and not to transport it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne priuate gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whilest other countries should languish and want. But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

but covetous wretches export its goods.

Theod. I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries?

Amphil. It lieth inuironed with the ocean sea rounde about; vpon the one side eastwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of France: vpon the other side westward, vpon Irelande; towards the septentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland; and vpon the south side it respecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three sundrie sortes 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 speech, so are they subiect (and that *Patrio iure*, By iustice and law) ²to one Priuce, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegiance.

It has Englishmen, Welshmen, Cornishmen, whose speech differs from one another.

[² Sig. B 4, back]

Theod. Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it selfe, or otherwise troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill dissentions?

Amphil. The whole lande (God be praised therefore, and preferue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained!) is,

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it selfe, but also abroad, for this foure or fiue and twenty yeeres. During all which time there hath beene neither wars, inuasions, insurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a sort of arch-traitours, who haue receiued but the same reward they deserued, and the same that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receiue hereafter, if they practise the same which they haue done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioied since hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preserve hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

England has been at peacc for 25 yeeres.

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 midft of ¹others) their friends, and well-willers, or their enimies? [Sig. B 5]

Amphil. It is an old saieng and true: *Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis est*: Of things vncerteine, a christian man ought to iudge and hope the best. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too true) that they are so far from being their friends (*Nisi verbo tenus*, From mouth outward onely) that they haue vowed and sworne their destruction, if they could as easly atchiue it, as they secretly intend it. Which thing to be true, some of their late practises haue (yet to their owne confusion, Gods name be praised) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of sinne, that sonne of the diuell, that *Italian Antichrist of Rome*, interdicted, excommunicated, suspended, and accursed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he sent forth his roring buls against hir Maiestie, excommunicating (as I have said) hir Grace, and discharging hir Highnesse liege people and naturall subiects, from their allegeance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conspired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of hir Maiestie and Nobilitie, by con²jururation, necromancy, exorcismes, art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie besides, 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, nobles, people and country: sometime by secret irruption, sometime

But it has lip-friends who hate it.

That son of the Devil, the Pope,

has conspired the Queen's death, [2 Sig. B 5, back]

and tried to overthrow the land.

6 II. I. *Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.*

The Pope has sent here blood-thirsty Papists

to stir up rebellions.

[¹ Sig. B 6]
These Devil's agents are call'd 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 inuasion, infurrection, and rebellion, sometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimes by one meanes, sometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and subuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by sending into the realme a sort 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 subiects from their allegiance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take sword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselfe (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuoulye behaue themselues. And forsooth these goodlie fellowes, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the ¹diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preests, and catholikes, vsurping to themselves a name neuer heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriued from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it preuaile them to be like vnto Iesus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themselues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, together with their corrupt liues and conuersations 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 Christ Iesus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promise to themselues such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, such as doth merite *Ex opere operato*, Eternall felicitie in the heauens. And thus they deceiue themselues, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them enough.

Theod. Surely that country had neede to take heed to it selfe, to feare, and stand in awe, ²hauing so manie enimies on euerie side. And about all things next vnto the seruing of God, to keepe themselues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soeuer the make them. The sweeter the *Syren* singeth, the dangeroufer is it to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice neuer meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

II. I. *Jesuits denounst, Queen Elizabeth praised.* 7

meaneth to sucke thy bloud. The stiller the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true faeng: *Sub melle iacet venenum*, Vnder honey lieth hid poison. *Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber*, vnder the pleasantest grasse, lurketh the venemouft adder. Take heed of those fellowes that haue *Mel in ore, verba lactis*, sweet words and plausible speeches: for they haue *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, where they intend destruction, then will they couer it with the cloke or garment of amity & friendship; therefore are they not to be trusted.

These Jesuits are ambidexters, hollow-hearted friends,

Amphil. You say the truth. For I am thus persuaded, that he who is false to God (as all ¹Papists with their complices and adherents are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

[¹ Sig. B 7] never true to prince or country

Theod. Considering that this country of *Dnalgne* is enuied abroad with so many enimies, and infested within by so many feditious Papists, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can stand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wise politike prince, and good gouernors, either else it were vnpossible to preferue the same in such peace and tranquillitie, and that so long together. 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 gouerned by a noble Queene, a chaste Maide, and pure Virgin, who for all respects may compare with any vnder the funne. In so much as I doubt not to call hir sacred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or storehouse of all true virtue and godlines. For if you speake of wisedome, knowledge and vnderstanding, hir Grace is singular, yea, able at the first blush to discearne truth from falsehood, and falsehood from truth; in any matter, how ambiguous or obscure foeuer: so as it may iustly be called into question whether ²*Salomon* himselfe had greater light of wisedome instilled into his sacred breast, than hir Maieftie hath into hir highnes roiall minde. If you speake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vsuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath hir peere, or not. If you speake

England is gouerned by a noble Queen,

virtuous and godly, wise and understanding,

[¹ Sig. B 7, back]

learned in the tongues.

modest, gentle,
affable,

merciful,

religious, just,

more divine than
earthly,

The Lord pre-
serve her !
[¹ Sig. B 8]

The Queen's
Council are wise
and experiencst
men,

who make the
laws, which are
carried out by
Magistrates.

[² Sig. B 8, back]

of sobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentleness, it is woonderfull in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace, as she will not disdain 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 iustice, 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 seemeth rather a diuine creature, than an earthly creature, a vessel of grace, mercie and compassion, whereinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of his superabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increaseth the same in hir ¹Highnes roiall breast, and preferue hir Grace, to the end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiesties subjects, and confusion of all hir enemies whatsoever.

Theod. What is hir Maiesties Councell? It should seeme that they must needs be excellent men, hauing such a vertuous Ladie and Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

Amphil. The Councell are Honorable and noble personages indeed, of great grauitie, wisdome, and pollicie, of singular experience, modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in giuing counsell renowned, 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 consisteth in the execution of good lawes, sanctions, statutes, and constitutions enacted and fet forth by hir royall Maiestie and hir most honorable Councell, and committed by the same to inferior officers, and maistrates 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 ²common tranquillitie of the Realme in euery condition.

Theod. Is the lande diuided into shires, counties, precincts, and ieuerrall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be maintained? And hath euery county, shire, and precinct, good lawes in the same for the deciding and appeasing of controuersies 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 diuided (as you say,) into shires, 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 controuersie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, so that uone needs (except vpon some speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuersie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dylie, so are there corruptions and abufes not a few crept into them. For sometimes you shall haue a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeere, yea, a twelue month, two or three yeeres together, yea, seauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can ¹be made. This deferring of iustice is as damnable before God, as the sentence of false iudgement is, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister *Latimer*, hath said in a sermon made before King *Edward* the sixt. Besides 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 seas are worthie of commendations; for there the Iudges sit in the open gates, streets, and high waies, that euery man that will, may speake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting of ²poore mens causes be they, as they will not suffer any matter, how weighty soeuer, to hang in sute aboute one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie seldome. But if the lawes within euery particular countie or shire were dylie administred without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not so lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to seeke iustice, when they might haue it neerer home: through the want whereof, besides that their sutes are like to hang in ballance peradventure seuen yeeres, ³they, hauing spent al, in the end fall to extreme beggerie; which inconuenience might easilie be remoued, if all matters and causes whatsoeuer were heard at home in their owne shire or countie with expedition. And to say 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 false judgment, as *Latimer* said.

[¹ Sig. C 1]

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

[³ Sig. C 1, back] and perhaps wait for 7 years.

² off.

They spend their all, too, on greedy lawyers.

are they (yea, woorthie to be inauoured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might haue iustice 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 haue to enrich a sort of greedie lawiers, when at the last a sort 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 himselfe, he would neither go to lawe himself, nor yet giue 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 desirous of revenge, nor yet prosecute the lawe so seuerely for euery trifle.

Englishmen are very contentious, and fond of going to law.

[1 Sig. C 2]

Amphil. They are very contentious indeed. Inasmuch as, if one giue neuer so small occasion to another, sute must straight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till ¹either both, or at least the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

Theod. But on the other side, if they should not go to lawe, then should they sustaine great wrong, and be iniured on euery side.

The Law was made to do right and to still strife, but it's now perverted to contrary ends.

Amphil. Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iustice, for the appeasing of controuerfies & debates, and for to giue to every man (*Quod suum 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 suffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who saith: *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 sauiour 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 any man will iniurie vs, and doe vs wrong, we should not resist nor trouble our selues, but suffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

Christ teaches us to suffer wrong patiently, and let God revenge it.

[2 Sig. C 2, back]

Amphil. Why? Is it not lawfull then for one Christian ² man, to go to lawe with another?

Amphil. The Apofte saith 'many things are lawfull which are not

II. I. *Going to law is right in certain cases.* I I

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 some 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 lawe one with another.

Amphil. The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen iudges, which tended to the great discredit 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 singularitie, interest, and proprietie in euery thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the same proprietie, but also to restore it againe,¹ being violatè, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this 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 schismaticikes (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 easilie conuince them, the examples and practises of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, together with the example of our fauour Christ himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it selfe, is the square, the leuell, and rule of equitie and iustice, and therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, 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 sustaine all kind of wrong whatfoeuer.

Theod. Then it seemeth 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.

² *Amphil.* They are most necessarie. And in my iudgement a man

St. Paul rebukes the Corinthians, who were Christians, for going to law before Heathens.

But as it's Law's business to keep things straight, Christians may go to law.

[¹ Sig. C 3]

Law is the square and leuell of Equitie.

[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 topsyturvy.

Their fee is an Angel, 10s.

[¹ Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are rightfull.

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 serue God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good conscience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have such chauerell consciences, that they can serue the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice parcially, & they receiue bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniuried therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsie turuie, and therefore happy is he that hath leaft 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 speake two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counsellors 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.

¹ *Theod.* How be iudgments executed there vpon offenders, transgressours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

Amphil. It greeneeth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are so inormous. For if a felone, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greeuous offender foener, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is fraightway 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 else 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 hauing 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 shronke so low, as they either looke like ghosts, or else are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, sometimes halfe a yeere, a

² off.

II. 1. *Reprieves & Pardons are bought in England.* 13

tweluemonth, yea, sometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance ¹all their life, though they have deserued death, by their flagitious facts committed. Who seeth not that it were much better for them to die at once, than to suffer this extreme miserie? Yea, the sufferance of this extremitie is better vnto them, than the tast of present death it selfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond seas, there is notable order for this: for as soone [as] any fellow or malefactor whatsoever that hath deserued death is taken, he is brought before the magistrate, witnessse comes in, and giues euidence against him, and being found guilty, and conuict by iustice, is presently, without any further imprisonment, reparation or delay, condemned, and being condemned, is led presently to the place of execution, and so committed to the sword.

[¹ Sig. C 4, back]

The oversea Reformed Cities try culprits at once, 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 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 passe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue ²committed neuer so heinous, or flagicious a deed, whether robbed, stollen, slaine, killed or murthered, or whatsoever it be, then letters walke, freends bestir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iustice conuicteth him, and good conscience executeth him, yet must he needes be retriued, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion forsooth, must be purchafed, either for friendship or mony.

Will-do-all or money.
In England the delay's due to *Will-Do-All*, money.

[² Sig. C 5]

If a felon or murderer has freends and money, he's safe to get retriued or pardond.

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 saue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be saued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murtherer, the adulterer, the exorcist, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or strength of man to pardon him his life?

Amphil. Although it be wilfull and purposed murtber, yet is the

14 II. I. *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 casual, and fortunate, and therefore¹ may easily be dispensed withall. Indeede, the wisdome of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he should flie to certeine cities of refuge, and so be saued, 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 same fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be so that both haue committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience proueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shal be fure of his *Sursum collum*? But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, seeing a sort 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 see great theeues lead little theeues to hanging. And to say 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 liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessitties sake onely, hauing not otherwise to releuee his neede? And is not he a great theefe that taketh great summes 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.

Theod. Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

Amphil. Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogatiue, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either diuine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to saue 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 appeere likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be fure of this, to answer at the day of

If a Gentleman and a Poor Man commit the same offence, the Gentleman gets pardond, and the Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping landlord or lawyer, a bigger thief than the poor man who steals from hunger?

[² Sig. C 6]

No prince should pardon him whom God's law condemns.

iudgement before the tribunall seate 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 ¹lawe had passed on him, that euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I have heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his subiectes that had committed murder, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the second 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 iester standing by replied, saing: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou hast killed the other two: for if thou hadst hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not beene killed, therefore thou hast killed them, and shalt answere for their blood." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp straightway, as he very well deserued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogatiue imperial may pardon offenders, but not such as Gods lawes and good conscience doe condemne, as I said before. The power of a prince is comprehended *In Rebus 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 ¹whatsoever may dispense with the lawe of God, but what it setteth downe must stand inuiolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, constitution, statute, or sanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

Theod. How is iustice ministered there, sincerely and truly, so as the poore haue no cause iustly 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 praised, 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 duly executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to speake my conscience there is great parcialitie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich

[¹ Sig. C 6, back]

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had killd 2 men.

[¹ Sig. C 7]

A prince can only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

There's great partiality in English magistrates and officers.

16 II. 1. *Lawyers suck marrow out of poor folks' bones.*

The rich man is favoured 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 sucked 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 side, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But ¹if two poore men of equall estate go to lawe together, then their fute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peradventure 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 iudges and officers to respect the cause, not the persons, the matter, not the gaine? and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be sent them to peruert true iudgement. And iustice being miniftred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembring what the wise man saith: 'Gifts blinde the eyes of the wise, and peruert iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take lesse fees 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 so much of a great sort at once, and yet to speake 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 diuers fees of sundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant fourth the warrants, the *Subpoenas*, the *Scire facias*, and diuers other writs, and those who keepe the seales of the same, I would wish to take lesse fees also. For is not ²this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing six or feuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the seale, for a little waxe, he must haue as much as the other. And thus they sucke 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 haue either sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else, looking through their fingers, see him, & will not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peradventure his whole right of that which he sueth for. Thus let every officer by what kind of name or title soeuer he be called, or in what kind of calling soeuer he be placed, doe all things with single eye, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iustice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

II. I. *No Subject may take Arms against his Prince.* 17

charged againſt the great daye of the Lorde, when all fleſh ſhall be contented before the tribunall ſeate of G O D all naked as euer they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they bee good or badde, and to receiue a rewarde according to their deeds. ¹By 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 inſaciabie cormorants, who, for deſire of gaine, make hauocke of all things, yea, make ſhipwracke of bodies and foules to the deuill for euer, vnleſſe they repent.

[¹ Sig. C. 8, back!]

Theod. How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things indifferently without exception?

Princes are to be obeyd in all things not contrary to God's law.

Amphil. In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good 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 ſet fourth 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 ſubiects lawfully take armes, and riſe againſt their prince?

Amphil. No, at no hand, vnleſt they will purchaſe to themſelues eternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not lawfull for the ſubiects to riſe up in armes againſt their liege prince for any occaſion what²ſoeuer. For prooſe whereof we read that our ſauour 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 ſame doctrine. And therefore the apoſtle faith, *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſuperioribus ſubdita ſit*: Let euery ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that reſiſteth this power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth to himſelfe eternall damnation. Peter alſo giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be giuen to the ſuperior 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.

But their ſubiects muſt'n't in any caſe take arms againſt them.

[² Sig. D. 1]

Theod. Why? How than? If we ſhall not reſiſt them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

If ſubiects do, they reſiſt God's ordinance.

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 fourth ourselues, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our ¹ conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serue our God) euen all that we haue of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selues, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, choosung rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apofles ment when they saide : It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlineffe 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 same order as I haue 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 ²bee beloued, and praied for of their subiects.

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 countrey : yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himselfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himselfe. For that an infinite number doe rest and depend vpon his Maieftie, which doe not fo vpon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peradventure) of manye thousandes.

Theod. This being so, 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 haue great cause indeede not onely to loue hir Maieftie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whofoeuer will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them away quicklve from the face of the earth. For by hir Highnesse wise gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flourisheth, and abundance ¹of al things floweth in the 'fame, [Sig. D. 2, back] the Lord God be praised 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 otherwife ?

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 haue 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 so 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 prouee 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 sure." As herein they say ²true, for I cannot but lament the small preferment now adaias that learning getteth in the world amongst men, & the smal 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 hauing spent all his substance vpon learning, yea, his bodie, strength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himselfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is both so chargeable, and painfull to be come by ?

Theod. Be there not Vniuersities, colledges, and free schooles, The free Colleges and Schools are abused and perverted where youth may bee brought vp in learning *Gratis* without any charges to their parents ?

Amphil. There are such 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 & possessions giuen to them, it was to this onely end and purpose, that those poore children whose parents were not able otherwise to main-

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 themselves. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were giuen to maintaine none but the poore only, now ¹ they maintaine none but the rich onely. For except one be able to giue 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 neuer so toward a youth, nor haue neuer so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot preuaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to infue. So that the places in the vniuersities and free schooles, seeme rather to be solde for mony and friendship, than giuen *gratis* to them that haue 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 so, almost in euery 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 altogether disuadeth them from their bookes, and is occasion why many a one snorteth in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

Theod. Would you haue any man without exception, to take vppon him the office of a ² schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

Amphil. No, at no hand. First I would wish that euery one that is a schoolmaister, how learned or vnlearned soeuer, 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 allowed & admitted to teach. For if euerie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconuenience follow. For papists and other schismatices, apostataes, 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 peruert his audiorie also. Therefore in my iudgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted *gratis*,

from 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 examined for character and knowledge,

and then pay no fees to teach.

II. I. *Schoolmasters, Artisans, & rich Merchants.* 21

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found sufficient in all respects, yet must he be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & yet will this serue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & comming into another he must pay as much there for y^e like license also, whereas peradventure he shall scarcely get ¹so much cleere in three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they haue such fat pasture. But if they would needes haue them to haue licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might haue them *gratis*, without mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull 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 so accepted.

Now he must pay 26s. or 30s. for a license for every diocese he teaches in.

[¹ Sig. D. 4, back]

Licenses should be given to fit men gratis.

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 every parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, hauing a reasonable stipend allowed 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 artes, as there be in other countries.

Asto Tradesmen,

Amphil. Yea, truely: there are men of all sciences, trades, mysteries, faculties, occupa²tions, and artes whatsoever, and that as cunning as any be vnder the sunne. Yea, so expert they be, as if they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they seeke to excell and surpass all other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiosity, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

English Artisans are as clever as any under the sun.

[² Sig. D. 5]

Theod. How liue 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 sell? And which is more, sometimes they gaine double and triple; if I said quadruple, I lied not.

The Merchants are rich, making from 100 to 400 per cent.

22 II. I. *Merchants export goods wanted at home.*

Theod. I pray you how can that be so?

Amphil. I will tell you. They haue mony to lay fourth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingrosse, and to store themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandize till they waxe verie scarce, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and so consequently deere. And then will they sell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this ¹meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they haue a hundred flights 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.

[¹ Sig. D. 5, back]

Theod. I pray you, what be those?

Amphil. They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheefe, bacon, or else what marchandize foer they knowe will be vendible, and these they transport ouer seas, whereby they gaine infinit summes of mony.

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

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?

Amphil. There are good lawes, and great refraints to the contrary, in so much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the foresaid things ouer without special licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or vn-knowne, they wil conueigh them ouer, though their owne country want the same. But to auoide all dangers, they purchase a licence & a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne ²private gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their desires, they demand license for the carriage ouer but of so much and so much, when in truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times, twenty times, yea, a hundred times, fise hundred times, yea, a thousande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince, impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enemies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to passe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if refraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke curfe haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

[² Sig. D. 6]

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to. They thus make things dear; and

many a blacke curfe do they get from the poor for it!

Theod. Would you not haue licenses granted for the transporting ouer of such things for no cause?

Amphil. Yes. But first I would haue our owne people serued, that they wante not in any case. For it is very vnnecete to feede forren nations, and our owne country famish at home. But if it were so, that *Dnalgne* flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatsoeuer are necessarrie for the vse and sustentation of man in this 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 our superfluitie might be erogate to them, to the supplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

We ought to feed our own folk first.

Then we may export our surplus to friendly lands.

[¹ Sig. D. 6, back]

Theod. These are marueilous sleights to get mony withall. But I pray you, haue they no more?

Amphil. They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to faile, they haue their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures, and what not, to deceiue the poore people withall, and to rake in mony. But the Wise 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 deceiue their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the sale of their wares, to sweare, to teare, and protest, that 'before God, before Iesus Christ, as God shall saue my soule, as 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 Iesus Christ,' and infinite the like othes, that such a thing cost them so much, & so much, and it is woorth ² this much and that much, when in truth they sweare as false, 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 for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske 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.

Merchants use false weights and measures too.

And they swear by all that's holy that their wares cost so much, and are worth so much, lying loudly.

[² Sig. D. 7]

They'll not blush to ask 20s. for what cost 'em 10s. ! having no fear of God.

Theod. What say you of the Drapers and cloth fellers? liue they in the same 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.

[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.

The Clothmakers
are a bad lot
too.

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 say, fauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they haue bought their cloth, they caufe it to be tentered, racked, and fo drawne out, as it fhall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almoft by halfe in halfe, or at left by a good large fife. Now the cloth being thus fretched forth in euery vaine, how is it poffible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and shrinketh in, that it is fhame to fee it. Then haue they their shops and places where they ¹fell their cloth commonly very darke and obfcure, of purpofe to deceiue the buiers. But *Caueat 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 fure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it coft them. And will not ficke to fweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it coft them fo much, and that they doe you no wrong. God giue them grace to haue an eie to their confciences, and to content themfelues with reafonable gaines.

Theod. I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the firft makers of the cloth, for the naughtineffe thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

Amphil. No doubt of that. For fome put in naughty wool, and caufe it to be fpun & drawne into a very fmall thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very much, and with the Clothier alfo to sheare it very lowe, and with fome liquide matter to lay downe the wooll fo clofe, as you can hardly fee any wale, and then felleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other fome mixe good ²wooll and naughty wooll together, and vfiing 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 joint, and euery thred muft be fo 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 hands, I pray you how fhould this cloth be ought, or endure long?

Theod. Be there Goldsmithes there any ftore alfo, as in fome 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 fairest side outwards, as many doe in *Dnalgne*. They haue their shops and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, siluer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any mouster or antike whatfoeuer, of golde, siluer, or what you will. They haue store of all kinde of plate whatfoener. But what? Is there no deceit in all these goodlye shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, besides that you shall paye almost halfe iu halfe more than it is woorth (for they will persuade¹ ² you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashiou to so much, and I cannot tell what :) you shall also perhaps haue that golde which is naught, or else at least mixt with other droffie rubbish, and refuse mettall, which in comparision is good for nothing. And sometimes, or for the most part, you shal haue tinue, lead, and the like, mixt with siluer. And againe, in some things some will not sticke to sell you siluer gilt for gold, and well if no worfe too now and then. But this happeneth very seldome, by reason of good orders, and constitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of deceit, and therefore they seldome dare offend therein, though now and then they chance to stumble in the darke.

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 seas: which when the vintners have once got into their clouches, and placed in their fellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshead almost two, or at left, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with another, & infusing other liquor into them. So that it is almost vnpossible, to get a cup of pure wine of it selfe at the tauerne. But harsh, rough, stipticke, and hard³ wine, neither pleafant to the mouth, nor wholsome 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 woonderful to see. And if a poore simple man go to drinke a pint of wine for the strengthening of his bodie, and for necessities fake onely, he shall be sure to haue that wine brought him, that is too bad, though his monie (I am sure) is as good as the rich mans. But

are very rich, and 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 for gold.

Vintners mix bad wine with good;

[³ Sig. E 1]

give short measure, and palm off bad wine on poor men.

26 *Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits.*

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & nicenesse, he shall haue of the best wine in the feller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abuses, which I omit.

Theod. Haue you anything to say of Butchers, and those that kill and sel meate to eate ?

Butchers are impudent enough to try and make 100 per cent profit !

Amphil. Nothing but this : that they are not behind in their 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 least. And to the end their meate may be more saleable to the eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beasts, and suffer the

Butchers let the blood soak into their meat.

[¹ Sig. E 1, back]

blood to remaine within them still, for this cause that ¹it may incorporate it selfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in some places they buy all by weight) but also may seeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vse to blowe and puffe it vp with winde, to the end it may seeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie. Or if the meate it selfe 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 so 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 some 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 so fourth. So that hereby infinite diseases are caught, and manie times present death insfueth to the eaters thereof.

They puff lean meat up with air, and pin fat on it.

Some 'll also sell meat that has died in a ditch.

[² for for, orig.]

Theod. Is meate deere or good cheape there for ² the most part ?

[³ Sig. E 2]

Amphil. It is commonly deere, feldom good ³cheape, and the reason is, bicause a sort of infaciable cormorants, greedie grafiers I meane, who, hauing raked together infinite pasture, feed all themselves, and will not sell for anie reasonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needes sell deere, when as they buie deere.

Meat is dear. Greedy grasiers keep up the price of beasts.

11. 1. *Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks.* 27

Theod. Why? would you haue no grafiers? then how coulede there bee anie meate fatted?

Amphil. Yes I would haue grafiers. But I would not haue a few rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, so as the poore can haue no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely exceffiue deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to passe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, so greatly are the poore hereby intralred, that they can hardly get a peece of ground to keepe so much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore families. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as beasts eate vp graffe.

A few rich cobs get whole counties into their hands,

and stop poor folk keeping a cow.

Rich men eat up poor ones as beasts do grass.

Theod. Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclosures (as your words seeme to implie) for their better feeding?

¹ *Amphil.* Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was 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 will neuer haue enough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were wont 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 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 enriched, & 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 might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the same, both winter & sommer, freely without cofing them ought; whereas now they are inclosed, made feuerall, and imploied to the priuate commoditie of a few ambitious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe so much as a pig or a goose vpon ² the same.

[¹ Sig. E 2, back]

The gentry enclose the poor folk's commons,

and make em starve.

A good time it was when a poor man could keep a cow on the common!

Now he can't keep a goose.
[² Sig. E 3]

Theod. It is great pittie that such oppression of the poore should be borne withall or suffered in any of what degree fouer.

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.

[¹ Sig. E 3, back]

[² read Too]

Commons are
inclosed; 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 so. But what than? You shall haue some that, not for the benefit of grafsing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and inclosures, but also some that for vaine glorie, worldly pompe, promotion & foolish pleasure, will not sticke to pull downe whole townes, subuert whole parishes, and turning fourth all a begging, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chafes, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the same. And when they haue thus done, their bucks, their does, their stags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not feed *intra gyrum suum*, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, grasse and all. So that it is hard if any poore mans corne scape their fangs within a dozen myles compass, which is a pitifull and a lamentable case.

Theod. Would you not haue parkes, and chafes for game?

Amphil. I disallow them not. But I would not haue them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to stand to the preiudice of the whole country adjoining. Therefore if they ¹ will haue parkes and chafes, 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 grasiers of sheep there also?

Amphil. Two ² manie, if it pleased God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer so little) title to any common, heath, moore or pasture, he will haue it, *quo iure, quauē 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 sheepeheard and a dogge lolling vnder a bush. Thus are whole parishes and townes made praies to rich grasiers. Yea, you shall haue some grasiers to keepe five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, ten thousand, twentie thousand sheepe of his owne at one time: now iudge you what infinite commodities arifeth hereof. Besides that, when they sell their wool (as though they gayned not inough otherwife), it is a worlde to see what subtilties, (I will not saie what falsities), they vse in the sale thereof. As first to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wool ³ together, to winde it vppē cloofelie that it shall not be seene within. And which is more, because they sell all by waight, they will not sticke to vse finister meanes to make it pease well in waight. Some lay it, after it

is clipped from the sheepes backe, in a moyft feller, vnderneath the gronde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the feller may in-fill into it, and fo may peafe the more. Otherfome will caft wette falt into it, which in time will liquifie, and caufe it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked sleights and leger-dimeanes, whereof, for that I would rather giue them a tafte in hope of amendment, then a plaine defcription for feare of displeafing them, at this time I will omit to fpeake any more till further occafion be offered.

wetting it, putting salt into it, &c.

Theod. Is the lande there poffeffed in common, or elfe is their proprietie in all things, and fo confequently landlords ?

Amphil. There is not onelie a proprietie in lands there, but alfo 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 ?

¹*Amphil.* Oh no. Nothing leffe. But rather the contrarie is moft true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a leafe to let : firft he caufeth a furueior to make ftrict inquirie what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere ; which being found out, and fignified to the owner, he racketh it, ftraineth it, and as it were fo fetteth it on the tenter hookes, fretching 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 fhame) that cannot be. For though he pay neuer fo great an annuall rent, yet muft he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threefcore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchafe thereof is hardly woorth fo much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue fcraped any little thing together, is forced to difburfe it at the firft dafh, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceffiue fine, and the vnreafonable rent, he is fcarfe able to buy his dog alofe, liuing like a begger, or 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 houfe, with paf-ture ²lieng to it, yea good farmes, leafes and 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

[¹ Sig. E 4, back]

get their farms valued, and not only rack the rent higher,

but make the tenant pay a fine as an Incoming,

so that he's hardly enough left to buy his dog a loaf.

[² Sig. E 5]

30 II. I. *Landlords should not grind their Tenants.*

Rents have risen
twentyfold of
late years.

lease, which one might haue 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 sure of that, they loue nothing worfe. They cannot at any hand brooke or digest them that would counsell 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 say : 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 Psalmograph saith : *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 proprietie, it is theirs but in vse onely. And yet not so. But that they¹ ought to lay it foorth to the support of the poore, that all may liue iointly together, & maintaine y^e state of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wise, if a few rich cobs shuld haue 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 conscience, to let forth the same so as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they posses them wrongfully, then ought they to surrender their tytle, and giue it to the right heire :

No man ought
to plunder his
fellow-man,

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 comou to al *Adams* children ; & though fortune haue given more abundance to some than to other some, yet dame nature hath brought foorth al alike, & will receiue them againe into hir wombe alike also. And therefore ought euerie christian to doe to others, as they would wish to

but do to him as
he'd be done by.

II. I. *How Landlords pillage their poor tenants.* 31

be done to : which ¹lawe, if it were obserued well, would cut of all [? Sig. E 6] oppreffion whatfoeuer.

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 & waft places inhabitable, either toke to themfelues as much land as they would, or elfe wan it by y^e ſword, bought it by purchafe, had it by gift, or elfe receiued it from their forefathers, by lineal difcent, or hereditary poffeffion. Which ſaieng of his muſt needs be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs alfo. Then feeing this is fo, ought not euery good chriſtian to fet forth his lande, fo as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himfelfe : whofoeuer doth not this, efchewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling & ſhauing 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 rents.

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 ſue y^e goofe, for houſe gets he none, y^e deuill ſhal haue it before him, if he will giue him mony inough : no, if y^e fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer ſo gret) he ſhall haue a fig, affone as a houſe. If y^e a poore man haue got neuer ſo litle a ſtock to liue vpon and to ²maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet ſhall he be conſtrained to ſell the ſame, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, ſo that during y^e 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 not able to pay as great a fine or greater than before. Thus are many a one, with their wiues, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miſerie.

[? Sig. E 6, back] Poor men have to ſell all their ſtock to pay Fines to Landlords ;

and at the end of their leaſe, out they go.

Theod. I thought one might haue had a farme or a leaſe for a reaſonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paieng.

Amphil. One would thinke ſo. For, paieng as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it ſelfe : I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receiue ſuch fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himfelfe, I thinke, will not be ſo ſtraite laced, nor yet ſo nigard to his ſeruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas they will not let out a farme or a leaſe for one and twentie yeeres

The Devil himſelf is not ſo niggardly as 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.

[² Sig. E 7, back]

Leases and Conveyances are also terribly long, and contain so many provisions that a poor man can hardly keep em all.

without a great fine, the deuill will giue them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paieng nothing for the same. And yet notwithstanding all this. There are some landlords, (nay lewdlords) that hauing 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 haue their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promising them (before they haue 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 receiue any reſtitution for the other. And at euerie change forſooth they muſt take newe leaſes, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leaſes before are inſufficient, and of no effect. And ſometimes foure or ſiue yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former leaſe be expired, ſhall they be conſtrained to renew their leaſes, and diſburſe 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 obſerued), they will finde ſuch meanes (or elſe it ſhal go verie hard) that the poore man ſhall forfeit his leaſe, before his leaſe be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, ² come on it what will.

Theod. Are the inſtruments, the writings, & conueiances in that land ſo intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for ſo I gather by your words?

Amphil. Yea, truly. For whereas in times paſt when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, ſixe or ſeuē lines was ſufficient for the affurance of any peece of land whatſoever, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole ſkin of parchment, and ſometimes 2. or 3. ſkins will hardly ſerue. Wherin ſhalbe ſo many prouiſoes, particles, & claufes, & ſo many obſeruances, 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 ſufficient, now no inſtrument, band, nor obligation can be ſure inough. Fy vpon vs! what ſhal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet ſpeaketh, ſaieng: There is no faith, there is no truth nor righteouſnes 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 fo ?

Amphil. Yea truly it cannot be chofen. And yet it is frange, that in abundance of althings there fhuld 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 : for whenas they inhance the rents, & fet their fines on tenter as they do, how fhould the poore man do ? Muft he not fel al his things a great deale the deerer ? Else how fhuld he either faue himfelfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie : fo that thefe greedy landlords are the very caufers of al the derth in *Dnalgne* ; for truly they are worfe than the caterpillers & locufts of Egypt, for they yet left fome thing vndeoured, thefe nothing ; they fpoiled but for a time, thefe for euer : thofe by commandement from God, thefe by commiffion from the diuel.

[¹ Sig. E 8]

Landlords are the only caufe of high prices.

Landlords are worse than the Locufts of Egypt.

Theod. How, I pray you, doe thefe iollie fellowes fpend thefe wicked gotten goods ?

Amphil. I fhame to thinke, & I blufh to tell you how. For, for the moft part, they fpend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennife plaieng, in rioting, feafting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercifes. And not onlie vpon thefe things do they fpend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but alfo 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 fpend their ill-gotten gains in rioting, prophanities, and women.

Theod. Do they exceed in pride of apparell, or are they very temperate, & fober minded people ?

As to Apparell,

²*Amphil.* They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the world in the exceffe of apparell, but are farre woofser, if woofser can be. For the taylers doe nothing else but inuent new fashions, difguifed fhapes, and monftrous formes of apparell euery day. Yea furely I thinke they studie more in one day for the inuention of new toies, and frange deuifes in apparell, than they doe in feauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

[² Sig. E 8, back]

Tailors inuent new fashions euery day,

Theod. Me thinke then by your reasons it feemeth, that Tailors

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.

Amphil. You say 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 guiltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would with them to beware, and not *Communicare alienis peccatis*, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be sure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp sinne vpon sinne.

[¹ Sig. F 1]
Tailors ask
one fourth too
much cloth, and
more lace, for
a coat.

For if a man ask 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 so much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themselves. So play they with the lace also: for if tenne yards would serue, they must haue twentie; if twentie would serue, they must haue fortie; if fortie would serue, they must haue fixtie; if fixtie would serue, 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. Besides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to desire them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will straightway conduct them to their feer, and whatsoever price hee setteth of the cloth, they persuade the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing so, nor so. And thus they betwixt them diuide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receiues his wages for his faithfull seruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue

And they charge
too high for
making it.

They're in
league with the
Drauer, to cheat
their customers.

[² Sig. F 1, back]

it very faire to the eie (therefore it is true: *Omne quod gliscit non est aurum*, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or else stretched & drawne out vpon the tenter, so as if they once come to wetting, they shrink 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 ipfi coquus*, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare lest he be serued of the same fauce, as manie haue bene to their great hinderance.

II. I. *Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs.* 35

Theod. I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffles in *Dnalgne*: do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not ?

As to *Ruffs*,

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euey day woorfer and woorfer, for they not only continue their great ruffles still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffles to please the diuels eies withall.

men wear bigger ones than ever, such as the Devil himself 'ud be ashamed to put on.

They have Starching Houses for Ruffs,

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 in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffles ?

[¹ Sig. F 2]

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus, archdiuels of great ruffles.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffles in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in ?

and Trimming Houses too

Amphil. Yea, marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or else they haue their other chambers and secreet closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheelles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

for these Cartwheelles of the Devil's chariot.

Amphil. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffles withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles ?

Amphil. Very true : and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world ? In faith sir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

² *Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe ?

[² Sig. F 2, back]

Amphil. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse kept as bright as siluer, yea, and some of siluer it selfe ; and it is well,

They've metal Tools too,

like a Squirt or Squib,

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 uſed 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, forfooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or elſe a putting ſticke, as I heare ſay. They haue alſo another inſtrument called a ſetting ſticke, either of wood or bone, and ſometimes of gold and filuer, made forked wiſe at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they ſet their ruffes. But bicauſe this curſed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripeneſſe, I will therefore at this time ſay no more of it, vntil I here more.

calld *Putters* or *Putting-Sticks*. *Setting-Sticks* they haue too, for their curſed Ruffs.

Theod. What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and wel tanned, or but indifferently? I haue heard ſome complaine of it.

[¹ Sig. F 3]

¹*Amphil.* There is of both ſorts, as of all things elſe; but as there is ſome naught (I can not denie) ſo is there otherſome as good as any is vnder the ſunne. And yet I muſt needes confeſſe, there is great abuſe in the tanners, makers, curriers, and dreſſers of the ſame: for you ſhall haue ſome leather ſcarcely halfe tanned, ſo that within two or three daies or a week wearing (eſpecially if it come in any weat) wil ſtraight-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 ſaieng is (*Erubefco dicere*, I ſhame to ſpeake it) that to the ende they may faue lyme and barke, and make the ſpeedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make ſale of them. And as herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, ſo in the ſurpriſing of their hides, they are worthie of reprehention. 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 unreaſonable deere.

Some *Leather* is only half tand,

and won't keep out water.

Theod. Then the fault is not in the ſhoomakers onely, that ſhooes be ſo deere?

[² Sig. F 3, back]

²*Amphil.* There is fault inough in them alſo. For whereas the

others inhanse the price of their hides exceffiuey, these felowes racke it very vnconcionably. And yet if the shooes were good, though deere, it were somwhat tollerable ; but when they shall be both naught, and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you aske the shoemakers in whom the fault doth confist, they will answere you strait, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault in the tanner, so there is more, or as much in the shoemaker. For first of all the shoemaker liquoreth his leather, with waterish liquor, kithen stuffe, and all kinde of baggage mingled together. And as though that were not ill inough, they saie they vse to put falt in the liquor, wherewithall they greafe the leather of purpose, to the ende that the leather shal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie likelie they doe so, or some such like thing, for surelie almost none of their leather will holde out water, nor scarselie durt neither. Besides this, it is a worlde to see how lowfely they shall be sowed, with hotte alles, and burning threedes, euerie stitch an inch or two from another, so as with-in two or three daies you shall haue them seamerent and all too betorne. And yet as though this were not ¹ill inoughe, they adde more. Sometimes they will sell you calues leather for cow leather, horse hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten sheepe skins for good substantial & dureable stuffe. And yet shall a man pay for these as well as for better stuffe. And to the ende they may seeme gaudie to the eie, they must be stitche finelie, pincked, cutte, karued, rafed, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reason, for else would they neuer be sold. The inwarde soole of the shooe commonlie shall be no better than a cattles skinne, the heeles of the shooes shall be little better. And if the sooles be naught (as they be indeede yet must they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make them seeme thicke and excellent stuffe, whereas indeede they are nothing lesse. And to make the sooles stiffe, and harde, they must be parched before the fire, and then they are most excellent sooles, And such 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 haue hearde my Father saie, and I thinke it most certeinly true, that a paire of shooes in those daies would haue kept a man as drie as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe, ²yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very laft day, and would haue

Shoemakers

Liquor their leather,

and salt it, so that it won't keep out water.

They sow with hot awls and rotten thread

[¹ Sig. F 4]

They sell you horse-hide for ox-hide,

and use cat-skin for inside soles.

They parch the soles too.

Why, in my Father's days, a pair of shoes 'ud keep the wet out, and last a year.

[² Sig. F 4, back]

38 II. I. *Of Brokery. Rascally Brokers of clothes, etc.*

Now, they'll hardly last a month.

ferued a man almost a whole yeere together, with a little repairing. But now fīue or sixe paire, halfe a score, yea, twentie paire of shooes will scarcely ferue some a yeere, such excellent stufte 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 such 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 peradventure 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 some of their dealings ?

jolly fellows

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 substance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellowes forsooth, and such as in the beginning of their occupation, haue either iust nothing, or else very little ¹at all, who, when they haue attempted, and assaid by all kind of meanes and waies to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thriue, or which is lesse, not so much as maintaine their poore estate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and stealing, and of these they buy for little or nothing, whatsoever they shal haue filched from any. And thus by this meanes in proceffe of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great substance and wealth.

[¹ Sig. F 5]
who, not being able to live by anything else,

make friends with thieves, and buy everything these steal,

Theod. Will they buy any thing whatsoever 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, whatsoever it be, nor whom-soeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspitious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath beene purloined by sinister meanes from some one or other. And can you

for half its value : blame them For why ? They haue it for halfe it is worth.

II. I. *Dunghill Brokers bring men to the Gallows.* 39.

Amphil. What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and sell?

Amphil. I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they buy remuants of filks, veluets, fatins, damasks, grograins, taffeties. lafe, either of filke, gold, filuer, or any thing else that is worth ought Otherfome buy cloakes, hosen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, stockings, & the like. And these goodly marchandize, as they haue them good cheape, so they will sell them againe to their no small gaines.

[Sig. F 5, back]
drapers' and
haberdashers'
goods chiefly.

Theod. If this be true, that they will receive all, and buy all that comes to hand, than it must needs be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steal whatsoeuer they can lay their hands vpon, seeing they may haue such good vent for y^e fame. Is it not?

Amphil. You say very true. And therefore I am persuaded that this dunghill trade of brokerie newly sprong vp, & coined in the deuils minting house, the shoppe of all mischief, 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 haue heard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they haue gone to execution, declaim & crie out against brokers. For, said they, 'if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not haue received our stolen goods, we would neuer haue stolen them; and if we had not stolen them, we had not bin hanged.'

This dunghill
Brokery's made
many thieves,
and brought
many a man to
the Gallows.

[² Sig. F 6]

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reasons, that brokers are in effect necessary to the goods feloniously stolen, & are worthy of the same punishment that the others that steal them are worthy of?

Brokers ought
to be hung with
Thieves.

Amphil. They are so, if before they buy them they know precisely that they are stolen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to perseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buying of their wares doth argue that they doe. This maketh many a tailor to aske more cloth, more silk, veluet, & lace, than he needeth, & all to the ende the broker may haue his share; for, be they neuer so little scraps or shreds or short ends of lace, or small peces of veluet, satin, silk or y^e like, the broker will giue money for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many seruants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters,

Brokers' willing-
ness to buy

makes Tailors
cheat, and

servants pilfer.

Brokers are seed-
beds of villainy.

some a yard or two of veluet, fatin, taffety, lace, filk, & what not, some hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & some one thing, some another: this hindereth the merchant man, is difcomodious to y^e tailer, & benefoial vnto none, but to themfelues: & therefore, as they be the feminaries of wickednes, fo I besech God, they may be sup- planted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[¹ Sig. F 6, back]

¹ *Theod.* What woulde you haue them to do, that they may exercise their trade, with good conscience, both before God, and the world?

To deal honestly,
Brokers should
buy only goods
honestly come-
by,

Amphil. I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would doe, they might vse their trade in the feare of G O D, 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 iustly come by of the sellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceiued, Let them examine the matter strictly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion not to buy it, vntill they haue gone themselues to the right owners of the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good conscience 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 such lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

and should
find out the
owners them-
selves.

Theod. You saide before (except I be deceiued) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the same is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so ²feloniously 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*.

[² Sig. F 7]

Amphil. Accessaries 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 practifed. For when as a theefe, or a fellow stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiuer, who, though he knowe it to be stolen, yet with alacritie admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himselfe accessorie, and guiltie of the felonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peraduenture) hanged vp, the other that

Brokers get out
of the claws of
Justice.

is the accessorie is not once spoken of, nor none can saie 'blacke is his eie.' But howsoever it be, I cannot be otherwise persuaded, but that the receivers and accessories are a great deale more woorthie of death (by the penall lawes) than he who stealeth the thing it selfe, whatsoever it be. Bicause if they had [not] any to receiue their stolen goods, they would not steale at all. And therefore are the receivers (in my simple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if they know before they receiue it, that it is stolen) then they that commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill committed, 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 vpon the one as vpon the other, we see greuous crimes, and flagitious facts without all remorse, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes there are, both for the repressing of these, and al other enormities whatsoever, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the cause why all wickednes and mischief dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleasure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Theod. What hospitalitie is there kept, or reliefe for the poore?

Amphil. Very smal. For as for the poore tenants and commons, they are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to giue any thing to the poore, their rents are so raised, & their fines so inhanfed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am persuaded) more releefe to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their doores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe sumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the poore hath the left part thereof, or rather iust nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut against them, where they, standing³ frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatsoever, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea sometimes halfe a day, and then shal they haue but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they haue anything too; in steed whereof they are sometimes sent to prison, clapt in irons, maniced, flocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

³ =suffering, putting up with; or is 'in' left out?

But Receivers deserve hanging more than the Thieves they tempt.

[¹ Sig. F 7, back]

Against these, and like evils, we have good Lawes, but they're not put in force.

As to Hospitality, the poore can't afford it,

tho in fact they help other poore more than the rich do.

[² Sig. F 8]

Gentlemen keep grand houses, but make poore folk stand for hours in the cold for a few scraps.

Theod. Then it seemeth that the poore are simplie provided for ?

Of Beggers

Amphil. They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would haue 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 sorts of them ?

we have two kinds, the Strong, (who won't work ;

[¹ Sig. F 8, back]

Amphil. Yea, there are two sorts. One sort is of stout, strong, lustie, 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*, ¹saith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to lye vpon other mens labours. For he that releueeth these, maintaineth them in their idleness, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that lye vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweat of their faces. If such fellows as these will not worke, but lye vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other sort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, fore, or diseased : these I would wish should be looked vnto : and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releuee.

Drones, who ought to be put in prison till they *do* work ;)

and the old, sick, and diseased.

Theod. What order would you haue obserued in these respects ?

The Sturdy Beggars who can work, and won't,

I'd just hang.

[² Sig. G 1]

Amphil. The former sort of sturdy valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to haue any releefe giuen them. And if they would not worke, to punish them ; if that will not serue, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a prouiso, that being content to worke, they might haue 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 sort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepite, blind, sicke, fore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I would wish that they should be maintained, euerie 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

The aged and sick ones I'd have kept in their own parish, and rate richer parishes for em.

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and constitation, there are infinite of the foresaid persons that die, some in ditches, some in holes, some in caues and dens, some in fields, some in one place, some in another, rather like dogs than christian people. For notwithstanding that they be neuer so impotent, blind, lame, sick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to seeke their releefe at euery mans doore, except they will sterue or famish at home, such unmercifulnes is in *Dnalgne*. Yea, in such troupes doe they flocke, and in such swarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you shall see numbers of them at euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity inough ¹they driue them from citie to citie, from parish to parish, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, from shire to shire, and from country to country, like flocks of sheepe. Here they dare not tarrie for this Iustice, nor there for that Iustice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a passport, whereas a man would thinke their old age, their hoare haire, their blindnesse, lamenessse, and other infirmitie, shoulde bee passports good inough for them to go abroad withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that euery parish should maintaine their poore, were taken, then should they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwise want their daily releefe.

Theod. Are there no hospitals, spittles, lazar houses, almes houses, nor the like, for the releefe of these poore people?

Amphil. Yes there are some such in cities, townes, and some other places, wherein manie poore are releued, but not the hundred part of those that want. For the supplie wherof would God there might be in euerie parish an almes house erected, that the poore (such as are poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieued. For vntill the true poore indeed be better provided for, let them neuer thinke to please God. Is it not great pity when a man can passe ²no waie almost neither citie nor country, but shall haue both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, sicke, fore, & diseased, hanging vpon his sleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were established, then should none at al need to go abroad, but al shuld haue sufficient at home. The reformed churches beyond seas, and euen the French, Duch, & Italian churches in *Dnalgne* are worthie of great com-

Now, many die in the fields like dogs.

They get no relief except by wandering about and begging.

You see poor aged and sick Beggars at every door; and they're driven from town to town like flocks of sheep.

[¹ Sig. G 1, back]

Not a hundredth part can be relievd in our Hospitals.

We want an Almshouse in every Parish,

[² Sig. G 2]

and then the poor 'ud get enough at home.

44 II. I. *Our Husbandmen are skilful, 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, folowing 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 dwelling 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 glorified, and the poore members of Christ Iesus releued and maintained.

Our Husbandmen, or Farmers, are as skilld as any in the world.

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?

[¹ Sig. G 2, back]

¹ *Amphil.* There are of such indeed good store, and as excellent men in that kinde of exercise, as any be vpon the earth. They know exactly, I warrant you, the times and seasons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be sowed, and what ground is best for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant also, howe to culture & dresse the same; and if it be barren, what kind of dung is best to fatten the same againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie soile, and what corne it will bring. They know also when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring forth good corne, how long not, when it ought to rest, when not, with all things else incident to the same.

Theod. I thinke they haue good farmes and tenements, that are able to furnish their ground in this sort, for otherwise they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horses, their seruants, and other necessaries, belonging thereto: haue they not so?

But many haue very poor farms,

Amphil. No truely haue they not. For some haue such fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring forth 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 wherevpon there poore tenants shoulde liue, into their owne hands, and suffer not the poore husband-

and others only houses with no land,
[² Sig. G 3]

men to haue so much ground as will fiude them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to keepe one cow, horse, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they haue any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndooing for euer. But if landlords would consider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, but onely in title, interest and propertie (hauing their souereigntie, 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 such tirannie, such exactions, such pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compaffion.

or hardly enough to keep a cow on.

Landlords are so grasping.

Theod. There being such store of husbandmen, and the same so 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 same verie good cheape : is it not so ?

We've lots of Corn,

¹*Amphil.* There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no nation vnder the funne like vnto it ; but as I told you before, thorowe the insatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne priuate commoditie, transport ouer seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometmes very scarce. Other-wise there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you say it is good cheape, it is nothing lesse², as euerie daies succeffe prouoeth true.

[¹ Sig. G 3, back]

but the export of it often makes it scarce.

Theod. How can that be, that there being such store of corne, yet should be deare also.

Its dearness 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 aduance their fines so vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to sell 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 sell good cheape. The second cause is (as I haue said), for that the same is carried and conueighed ouer Seas. The third cause is, throw a forte of ingraters, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and hauing 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 scarce, and so consequentlie deere.

1. Rack-rents,

2. Export over seas,

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.

And when there is want of it, then they sell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it dearer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you see, by this meanes, these hellifhe ingrators, and forestallers make corne and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe iudge 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 sell it againe, dearer then they bought it, thereby to enrich himselfe with the impouering of many a thousande.

These hellish
Ingraters make
everything dear.

Theod. Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconueniences doe followe it ?

We have laws
against Fore-
stallers, but
they invent put-
offs to dodge
the Law.
[¹ Sig. G 4, back]

Amphil. There be great penalties, and forfeitures ordained, as well for the repressing of this, as of any other outrageous 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 say that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to sell againe. And then when they doe sell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not serue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and so to sell it againe when hee seeth tyme ; but who hath the commoditie, iudge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and sell it againe as couertly ; and thus they buy and sell their owne soules for corruptible monie, which in the last day shall beare witness against them, and consume them : yea, as Saint Iames faith : The monie which they have vniustlie got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rise vp in iudgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and denoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as subtil and as politike as they would seeme to be) take heed vnto themselues, and beware : for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceiue their iudgements, yet let them be sure that they can not deceiue the iudgement of the Lord, but he ² that made the eies shall surely see, and he who knoweth the secrets of all harts, shall one day declare the same to their perpetuall confusion, except they repent.

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 ex-
pose em.
[² Sig. G 5]

Husbandmen,

Theod. What be these husbandmen ? honest, plaine dealing and

II. I. *Our Husbandmen can teach the Fox to cheat.* 47

simple persons, and such as in whom there is no abuse ; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie persons ?

Amphil. They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men in outward appeerance, yea, such as if you sawe 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, practises, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtill in their 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 sure to make it so as he himselfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer so wise, circumspect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cofoned at their hands), such subtiltie, such policie, and such craftie conueiance, they practise vnder the garment of simplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, insomuch as they count him a wise man, a worldly ¹felow, and such a one as will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their² *Columbina simplicitas*, (Nay rather, *Vulpina, et serpentina astutia*) which Christ would haue al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But so farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, than a continuall practise of fraud, and deceit, as for example: You shall haue some that, sending corne to the market to be sould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to seeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the sacke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good still,) but in the middest shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, sprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I haue knowne otherfome, that hauing a barren cow, and being desirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe from another melch cowe, and so solde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas shee was nothing lesse.³ With infinite the lyke sleights, which for breuities sake I omit.

Theod. I perceiue then it is good for a man to be warie, that deales with these simple ⁴fooles ?

tho they look so simple,

are as crafty as the Devil himself.

It's almost their business to cheat.

[¹ Sig. G 5, back]

Nearly their whole life is a fraud.

They'll put musty corn in the middle of a sack.

They'll sell a barren cow with another cow's calf as if it were hers.

[⁴ Sig. G 6]

² *Orig.* there.

³ Anything but that. See p. 45 ; p. 54, l. 2.

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.

[¹ Sig. G 6, back]

We should do to
others as we
wish they'd do
to us.

But we can't live
without husband-
men ;

[² Sig. G 7]

Amphil. It were good so indeede, else he may chauce to cough himselfe a dawe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his craft, 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 fet 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 woort of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the same, which is a playne, and a mainfest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrant.

Theod. Would you haue euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those thinges they sell? then should he sell 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 the cords of charity, & commiteth ¹most horrible cofonage, and wilful presumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymestone for euer. And seing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let *the* deceiuer aske of himselfe when he goeth about to deceine, these queestions: Would I be cofoned? Would I be vndone and spoiled? 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 selfe. Besides this, consider that the apostle saith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceiue their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like consideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, diffimulation, cofonage, and gnille, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

Theod. Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could liue without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

Amphil. No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, esquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principallitie vpon the earth (how great a mo²narch soeuer)

II. 1. *Chandlers' tricks, and their bad Candles.* 49

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husbandmen. 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 liue long vpon the face of the earth. For this cause we read the vse of husbandry to be commended vnto vs in fundry places of holy scripture; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and assimiled to the husbandman for diuers purposes and respects. And when Adam our first parent was expulsed paradise, he was by God himselfe iniointed to manure, to dresse and till the ground; whereby we may see 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.

their labour is
needful for our
life.

Adam was bid-
den by God to
till the ground.

Theod. Be there any Chandlers there as in other places?

Chandlers

Amphil. Yea, that there are inow, I warrant you, and more than deale iustly in euerie respect.

Theod. What do they sell for the most part?

Amphil. Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheefe, fagots, pots, pannes, candles, and a thousand other trinkets besides.

sell cheese, pots,
pans, and other
trinkets.
[¹ Sig. G 7, back

Theod. What be the abuses which they commit, I pray you?

Amphil. Abuses, quoth you? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But seeing you would to faine knowe, I will giue you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheefe, and other things, which is naught, because they may haue it for a little monie, and then sell it for verie good: this, manie a poore prentise and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either sell 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 & cheefe till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it smell that no man can eat it, they haue also their false waights & counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And notwithstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not sel one, be it neuer so litle, vnder a penie, gaining about the one halfe in the other. And as for the stufte whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should make them of good liquor and sweet, they make them of all kind of kitchen stufte, & other stinking baggage, so that they shal waffe &

They buy bad
goods cheap, and
sell em dear.

They haue
false waights and
measures.

They make their
candles of stink-
ing baggage,

50 II. I. *Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.*

[¹ Sig. G 8]

and their wicks of rope-ends.

Barbers :

There are no finer fellows under the sun !

Our Barbers have all kinds of cuts of beards.

[² Sig. G 8, back]

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]

consume ¹away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall neuer burne cleere, nor giue good light, but run ouer, and about the candlesticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are of hurds, rope ends, & such other good stuffe. Besides all this, they haue sleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft, to the end it may waste & consume the faster, with legions of the like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs !

Theod. What say you of the barbers and trimmers of men ? are they so neate, and so fine fellows as they are said to be ?

Amphil. There are no finer fellows vnder the sunne, 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 curiositie) they haue inuented such strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, shauings and washings, that you would wonder to see. They haue 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 cut, one ²cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They haue also other kinds of cuts innumerable ; and therefore when you come to be trimd, they will aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant & demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lie.) Then, when they haue done al their feats, it is a world to confider, how their mowchatowes must be preferred and laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to another, and turned vp like two hornes towards the forehead. Besides that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping & snapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to tawe out mony, you may be sure. And when they come to washing, oh how gingerly they behaue themselues therein. For then shall your mouth be bofled with the lather, or fome that riseth of the balles (for they haue their sweete balles wherewith-all they vse 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 pick'd, and clos'd together againe artificially forfooth. The haire of the nostrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold. The last action in this tragedie is the paiment of monie. And leaft these cunning barbers might seeme vnconscionable in asking much for their paines, they are of such a shamefast modestie, as they will aske nothing at all, but standing to the curtesie and liberalitie of the 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, nigriſque ſimilimi cygnis*, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geafon as blacke ſwans. You shall haue also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall bee all to besprinkled: your musicke againe, and pleafant harmonie, 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 Gentleman!'

warm cloths are brought, your nostril-hairs cut,

and then you're to pay 'What you please, Sir.'

You haue fragrant waters, and music;

your cloak brusht, and good-bye!

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 else, which they bring either to the bodie or health of man?

[[†] Sig. H 1, back]

Amphil. True it is that you say, and therefore you must needs think they are maisters of their science that can inuent all these knacks to get money withall. But yet I must needs say (these nifties set apart), barbers are verie necessarie, for otherwise men should grow verie ougglifom and deformed, and their haire would in proceſſe of time ouergrowe their faces, rather like monsters, than comlie sober 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 exercis'd therein can doe, and besides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be obserued. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beaſtlineſſe of some ruffians (for they are no sober christians) that will haue their haire to growe ouer their faces like monſters, and ſauage people, nay rather like mad men than otherwise, hanging downe ouer their ſhoulders, as womens haire doth: which indeed is an ornament to them, being giuen them as a ſigne of ſubiection, but in man it is a ſhame and reproch, as

Barbers are necessary.

Without em men ud look like monsters.

I wonder at the beaſtlineſſe of some ruffians letting their hair grow so long.

52 II. I. *Surgeons and Physicians look only to money.*

the Apofte proueth. And thus much of barbers and their Science.

[¹ Sig. H 2]

Theod. Haue you furgeans, and phyficians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their myfterie; and not onelie skilfull, but alfo confcionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

Surgeons and Physicians

Amphil. There are both furgeans and phyficians, good flore. And as they be manie, fo are they verie vnconfcionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, fo farre from godlineffe 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 ſuftaine 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 ſalues, bearing their patient in hand, that he ſhall recouer without ²all doubt, with what diſeaſe, maladie, or fore ſoouer he be infeſted, wheras in truth they can do nothing leſſe. But *Deficiente pecunia*, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corroſiues, and pinching plaiftures to greene their patient withal, therby to fraine 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.

'll only work for money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a poor man without money.

[² Sig. H 2, back]

As soon as that fails, they give you the nastiest stuff they can.

Theod. Are furgeans and phifitions then neceſſarie in a common wealth, as you ſeeme to inferre?

Amphil. *Salomon* faith the Phifition (by the which worde he vnderſtandeth both the phifition and the furgeon, becauſe 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 phifitions 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 ill-taught doctors.

II. I. *Every Ignoramus is allowd to practise Physic.* 53

Theod. You say truth. But are all indifferently suffered to practise the same noble misteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any choyse or exception at all? [1 Sig. H 3]

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie soeuer, is suffered 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 some that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, presuming vpon experience forsooth (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 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 founded fourth 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, maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly discrediteth it amon[g]ft men. For when as any sick, infirmed, or diseased, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgean, or else when the medicine or salue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogether, whereas in truth the whole blame consisteth in the ignorance of the practitioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euerie one that lust, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For euerie man, though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y^e 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, y^e name, and profession, of a phisition or surgean. This we see verified in a sort of vagarants, who run stragling (I wil not saie roging) over the countries,

Any man, tag and rag, can practise both phisic and surgery.

If any person makes a cure, he puffs it everywhere.

[2 Sig. H 3, back]

If any doctor loses a patient, then the Science is at us'd.

Any Ignorant

can set up as a Surgeon or Physician. Vagrant Quacks make a lot of money.

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing lesse in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coosoning shift is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they haue got, they leaue their ¹cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heeles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciencies of phisicke and furgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

Theod. If phisicke be good, would you not haue euery man to practise it that will, without restraint ?

Amphil. Phisicke is good, and yet would I not haue euerie ignorant doul't that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the same. For that maketh it to take so little effect, and so smally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies ; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant doul't, & especially women, that haue as much knowledg in phisick or surgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but smatterers in the same noble sciencies (nor yet al that), should be restrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from priuate exercise thereof either for their owne singuler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it *gratis*) not making an occupation of it, but rather for desire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than would I wyfhe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisicke and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in ²either of the vniuersities ; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, discretion, and sufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compassion, and loue to their brethren ; and being found sufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licenst, vnder hand and seale authentike, by those that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be *Qfficiperda*, 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 murder and kil them without reprehension. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and such as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, so I would wish, that either they might be allowed annual stipends, for their better succouring of the poore diseased, or else

[¹ Sig. H 4]

I'd let no stupid
Dolt or Woman
practise medicine
or surgery except
gratis.

I'd have all doc-
tors Graduates,
[² Sig. H 4, back]
examin'd for
character as well
as learning,

and then licenst
to practise ;
and if they did
wrong, out with
em!

I'd pay em

II. I. *Doctors' and Apothecaries' tricks. Astrologers.* 55

might be constrained to take lesse of their poor patients than they doe. For now they ruffle it out in silckes and veluets, with their men attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) smartheth for it. Yea, so vnreasonable, and so vnconscionable are they, as some of them will not set one foot out of his owne doores, without ¹twentie shillings, fortie shillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, and some more, some lesse. And hauing this importable fee, If they minister anything to the partie diseafed, than besides, must they haue twenty shillings, for that that stands them not in twentie pins; fortie shillings, twentie nobles, for that that cost them not twentie pence, & so foreward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and such as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his iudgements by speedy repentance. Besides these abuses, there are other some, that if they owe euill will to any, man or woman being sicke, or if they hope for any preferment by their deaths, will not make any conscience of it, to giue them such medicines, such potions, and drinckes, as will soone make a hand of them; and this shall be done inuisible 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 spareth none. And to such corruption are they grown, that for mony I am perswaded they can make away with any whom they haue acesse vnto. Therefore I aduise euery man to be careful to whom ²he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewise in league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuses also, as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & simples together, as also in felling chalke for cheese, one thing for another, & the like, so as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and good of it selfe, but druggie baggage, and such counterfait stufte as is starke naught. But of them inough.

Let vs speake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaine glorious, called astronomers, and astrologers, the corruptions and abuses of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of speaking any further concerning the abuses, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporalitie, till occasion of more matter hereafter shall be offered.

good stipends to attend the poor.

[¹ Sig. H 5]

Now, their charges are tremendously high.

Doctors sometimes make away with patients.

[² Sig. H 5, back]

Apothecaries

sell druggie baggage.

Astronomers, Astrologers,

56 II. I. *Absurdity of Astronomy and Astrology.*

Theod. These names of afronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are so vnquoth and strange 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 profeffors thereof be ?

and *Prognosticators* are fantastical fellows.
[† Sig. H 6]

Amphil. The afronomers, astrologers, prognosticators (and all others of the same societie, and brotherhoode, by what name or title foe¹uer they be called) are a certeine kinde of curious phantafticall and vaine glorious fellows, who *secreta dei temere remantes*, Searching the secrets of God rashlie, which he would haue kept close from vs, and onely knowne to himselfe, take vpon them, & that vpon these grounds (forsooth), namely, the obseruation of times & seasons, the aspects & coniunctions of the signes and planets, with their occurrens, to presage, to diuine, and prognosticate, what shall come or happen afterwards, as though they fate in Gods lap, knew his secrets, & had the world and the disposement thereof in their own hands. It is an olde saieng, 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 & secrets of the Lord—(for as the wise man saith, *Qui scrutatur abscondita dei, obruetur gloria eius*, hee that seacheth out the hidden things of GOD, shall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorye of the same,—but to content our selues with so much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his sacred worde, committing the euent, the succeffe, and disposement of all things else to his sacrede Maiestie, the GOD of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour so busely by speculations, by afronomie, ²astrologie, and the like curious arts to iudge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the same (but *Dum par-turiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*, whilst the mountains doe trauell, a seely mouse will be brought forth) Christ our sauiour saith, *non est vestrum nosse tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipse pater in sua ipsius constituit potestate*, It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the Lord God hath reserued to himselfe. And how much our sauiour Christ disliketh this vaine curiositie, of afronomicall & astrologicall speculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehension or commination in the 16. of Matthew, thundred out against the people of the Iewes, who were, as it seemeth, too much addicted

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and go poking about into God's secrets

[* Sig. H 6, back]

Christ

to the fame. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them dissembling hypocrites, in that they obserued and marked with such serious attention and diligence, the elemental signes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the signes and tokens of the sonne of G O D Christ Iesus, the true Messias, and sauour of the world.

rebukes em,
and calls em
hypocrites.

Theod. Vpon what grounds, certainties, rules, and principles doth this curious science consist?

¹*Amphil.* It standeth vpon nothing else, but meere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, ghessees, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects, 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 vncertentie 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 approue the same to be most fantastically, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous strange coniunction (as they said) of two superiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped together in one truth, nor yet agreed together, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it should be: but in all things shewed 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 presumptuous audacitie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexitie and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and kingdoms (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not so, yet the strangest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Whereas, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as some of them set downe) these woonders and portents should haue 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 pleasant, and euerie thing as silent, and in as perfect order and forme, as euer they were since the beginning of the world.

[¹ Sig. H 7]

Their science is
founded only
on gesses and
star-gazing.

On April 28, 1583
(see *Holinshed*,
1587, iii. 1356), or
some other day
that they couldn't
agree on,

[² Sig. H 7, back]

the foolish star-
tooters foretold
fearful events,

and yet every-
thing passed off
quietly as usual.

58 II. 1. *Infinite fooleries, these Astrologers pretend to.*

By all which appeereth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious science. I woonder where these fellowes fate, whether vppon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they saw these coniunctions. Or with what eies they could see that, that no man else could see. But peraduenture they haue *Argus* eies, and can see all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they haue dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituation, the houses, aspects, and local places of the signes and planets, of the funne, moone, and starres, 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 moisi 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 diseases in, or to fall sicke, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they haue learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of GOD, they neuer fetched them, the same being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious searching of Gods secrets, and the successe of things by such fallible and vncerteine accidents.

Theod. Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from GOD the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

²*Amphil.* It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures, as the sun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe giue 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, gouerne, and dispose all 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 giue 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 wholly to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for euer.

[¹ Sig. H 8]

Where did these astrologing fellows learn all their fooleries? Not in the booke of God, I know.

[² Sig. H 8, back]

For if the Planets give good and evil, and rule men,

men 'll turn from God, and worship the stars.

II. I. *God, and not the Stars, rules Men & their Fates.* 59

But, say they, though we giue authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we giue vnto God the cheefest froke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the instrumentall, or secundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, substitutes, or instrumentes whereby he ruleth and worketh all things. Is this any thing else, than to saie with certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule¹ and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what 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 gouernement of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauour Christ, *Pater et ego operamur*, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, so he worketh still in ruling them by his power, gouerneing them by his wisdom, and preferuing them by hys prouidence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they haue proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will saye as they say. In the meane time I say & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to saye or affirme that creatures haue the gouernement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, must not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be lesfer, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but blessed be our God, who, as he knoweth our² frailtie (hauing therefore compassion of our infirmities) so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or else wherfoener, according to the good pleasure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genesis, besides infinit the like places in holie scriptures, we read that the sun, the moone, the stars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being made subiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet notwithstanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their subiect, vassal bondslauie? This is preposterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topsie turuie, vpside downe. It is time these phantastickall

To pretend that Planets are God's deputies, is blasphemous nonsense too.

[¹ Sig. I. r.]

God works and rules still, as he did at the Creation.

[² Sig. I. r. back]

God made the stars for the use of man. Who made them his lords?

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 maieftie and glorie, makin gan *Officiperda* of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) *E cælis*, Out of the heauens, downe to the earth, giuing him no power nor authoritie at all.

Theod. Haue the signes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth ?

[² Sig. I. a.]

Amphil. Yes, they haue their power, their operation, force, strength and effect in those things whereto GOD hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of ¹all natural things, And also they haue their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of blood, receiuing of purgations & the like. But to say they worke these effects of their own proper force & strength, 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 signe & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that signe, or planet. And therefore to Aries they haue assigned the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[in]i the shoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the brest, stomake and lungs. To Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. To Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighes. To Capr[icornus] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pisc[es] the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both *Interne* & *externe*, within & without, is ruled and gouerned by the xii. signes, by starres, 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. signes in the element, and the seuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the seuen planets ²also. Besides this, they haue their particular houres, times and seasons, 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 constel-

The busy-headed astronomers assign every kind of man to a particular Sign,

and every month too.

The 7 Days they put to the 7 Planets.

[² Sig. I. a. back]

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 passe, but what they will, and intend.

Theod. Are the signes and planets, liuing creatures and reasonable, or insensible creatures, and things without life ?

But these Signs
and Planets

Amphil. They are no liuing or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuersie, but meerey insensible, and without life. And being without life and reason, how is it possible that they should bring life or death (as these fellowes hold) sicknesse or health, prosperitie or aduersitie, 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 giue these things, how much lesse able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and dispose all thinge[s] in heauen, earth, the aire, or else wherfoeuer, to ouerthrowe monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althings after their owne desire and will? Will they
1 haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If

are without life
and reason.

How then can
they rule the
World and Men?

[¹ Sig. I. 3.]

that were true, why should God be praised either for his mercie, or feared for his iustice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, signes, and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If blessing come by the influence of starres and planets, then let men praise them, and not God, for the same. And if curses proceed from the starres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things else, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celestiall bodies, then let them be honoured with diuine worship. If these effects issued from creatures, then why should the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked person be punished, whereas he might say, it was not I, it was *Planetarum iniuria*, The force of the planets that compelled me to sinne*? Or why should the godlie man be praised for dooing well, whereas he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? *In Summa*, why should not planets and starres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they could worke these effects? They that attribute thus much to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but also strenhthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perseuere in their cursed ido²latrie still. Nay, do they not rather shake hands with them, that as they worship the

If blessings and
curses come from
the Stars,

they should be
worshipt as Gods,

But this robs
God of his
honour.

[² Sig. I. 3. back]

* Cp. Edmond 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.

I confess that Stars have effect; but yet they're not Efficient Causes.

Indeede, I confesse they haue 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 sort.

Theod. I haue heard of some of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forfooth, is it possible, suppose you?

Let these star-gazers show me, if they can,

[*Sig. I. 4.*]

Amphil. No, at no hand. For if it were so, that all things were, and man himselfe, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forsaken of God to beleue it?) And that they knew the minds, the purposes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and destiny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horse. I would faine learne of these starre 'gaisers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the constellations, and influence of stars, whether all the people that were euer borne since the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the same, were al borne vnder one planet or star? 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 consumed with fire & brimstone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one destiny, 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 destiny, being ouerwhelmed with an vniuersall deluge. Whether the whole host of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, were borne all vnder one star or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destiny, and one kind of death. Whether all the host of *Pharao* were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all sustained one kinde of death, and had all one destiny. Whether *Esau*, and *Iacob* were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

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 since the ¹first beginning of the worlde, nor any that shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the same houre, and vnder the same planet & constellation, that Christ Iesus was borne in. If they say there haue not beene any borne in the same houre that Christ Iesus was borne in, common 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 say that there are that haue beene borne in the same houre, and vnder the same 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 & stars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the same howre, and vnder the same planet or star that Iesus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iesus himselte; and so should we haue had manie christs before this time. But God blesse all his children from once thinking of any such impietie, and blasphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned or destined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the liuing God, who doeth ²whatfoeuer pleaseth him in heauen & in earth. This being so, twise vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, infortunate for their children to be borne in, or that some be more fortunate and happie than other-some. And thrise cursed 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 sinne. But it is the malice of the deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickednes of our owne harts, that draweth vs to euill, and so to shamefull destinies, and infamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were truly perswaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any shamefull end, to saie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destonie," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no such ends. But rather to glorifie our heauenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conuersation, whilst we liue vpon the face of the earth. Certain

[¹ Sig. I. 4. back]

why the children born when Christ was, were not like him.

Man is not swayed by Stars, but by the living God.

[² Sig. I. 5]

It's the Devil and our own wickedness, and not planets, that make us sin. (Cf. Edmund in *Lear* I. ii.)

64 II. I. *Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men.*

The God sees that some men will come to a bad end, he doesn't fore-ordain them to it.
[¹ Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and He'll preserve you.

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 be a bond-slave!

it is, that God by his prouidence, & p[re]fciencie, 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, ¹but rather dehortheth him from comitting that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is finne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither fate, defftonie, birth-star, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoeuer, let euerie one endeavour himselfe to serue his G O D truelie, in singleness and pureness 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*, *Misaaac*, and *Abednago*, from the rage of the fire, *Sufanna* from the flake, *Daniel* from y^e chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

Theod. I haue hea[r]d some that woulde take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a seruant or a lord, a theefe or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he should haue prosperous succeffe in: how shoulde they doe this?

Amphil. I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they saye) certeine signes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them so, when they were there, and fawe them, or how they knew the shape ²and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pisces, with their planets, and aspects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now say they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a signe in the *Nusquam* region, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie so? Marke their droonken reason. Forfooth because the rame is a fruitfull beaft vpon earth, and yeldeth to his maffer two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a signe (say these liers) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondslave all his daies. And why so? Mary, say they, bicause 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 signe quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shall 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 strong & 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 fo? Forfooth bicause the Scorpion is a serpent full of poyson & malice vpon earth. ¹He that is borne vnder Gemini shal be rich, and haue manie children, bicause Gemini is a signe of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shal be beloued of women, shal be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, bicause maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shal be crabbed and angrie, bicause the crab fish is fo inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shal be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and meafures, 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 Capricornus shal be a slouely, ill faouered, and vnclane fellowe, bicause the gote is a beaft filthie, stinking and vnclane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pifces shal be fortunate by water, bicause watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupstantial reasons and well leasoned arguments, and as strong to prouue their purpose, as a castell of paper to resist the enimie. Thus you may see they haue no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heauens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of ²earthly creatures. Iesu God, what cunning felowes are these, that can knowe the nature of heavenly bodies, and celestrial 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 so perfect in euery thing there, and can iudge of future accidents with such singular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to say no more of them; till further occasion be offered, beseeching the Lorde God to giue them grace to search for the truth of the worde of God, letting all such curious searchings of Gods secrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all secrets whatsoever.

Theod. If you condemne astronomie, and astrologie altogether, as you seeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognosticators, and such as make almanacks for enerie yeere: doe you so?

[¹ Sig. I 6, back]

He that's borne under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, because the goat's a stinking beast!

[² Sig. I 7]

These Astrologer fellows must haue livd long in the clouds to know so much about heavenly bodies.

Prognosticators and Almanac-makers I condemne too,

Amphil. I neither condemne astronomie nor astrologie, nor yet the makers of prognostications, 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 and purposes which they were ordeined for. ¹The sunne, the moone, the starres, and the celestiall bodies whatsoeuer, 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 diuide the light from darknesse, the day from the night, winter from sommer, and to distinguish one season and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, so much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vsed. But when we go about to enter into Gods secrets, and to diuine of things to come, by coniectures, and gesses, then make we the same wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that they take vpon them to foresheew what things shall be plentie, and what scarce, 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 seasons of the yere, festiuals, vigils, to distinguish winter from sommer, spring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the eclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden num²ber, circle of the sunne, 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 spoken briefly hereof.

Here ende the abuses of the
Temporalitie.

[¹ Sig. I 7, back]

when they pretend to pry into God's secrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentiful and what scarce.

Let Almanac-makers keep to their proper business,

[² Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be useful folk.



THE CORRPTIONS

AND ABUSES OF THE

SPIRITUALITIE.

Theodorus.

Having now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be so bold, I would request you somewhat to say concerning the corruptions and abuses of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. For I am fully persuaded, that the one being so corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

As to the corruptions of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie,

¹*Amphil.* I am verie loth to enter into that field, the view whereof offereth such store of matter to intreat of, as if I shoulde enter the same, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to begin. Besides, you knowe the olde proverbe, *Non bonum est ludere cum sanctis*, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare of thunderbolts, to insue. 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 desire of life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely the author of any euill or mischief is gilty 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 proverbe saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, he that concealeth the truth, seemeth to consent to errors, for these and the like causes, I will laye downe vnto you some such corruptions and abuses, as seeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting in the meane time to speake perticularly of all (for that they be innumerable) vntill I see how these fewe will be brooked of them.

[² Sig. I 8, back]

let the meddler with them look out for thunderbolts.

But I'll tell you some of our worst Abuses in the Church.

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 see how the former
¹meate receiued into the stomacke, will be digested, and concocted,
before we receiue any more into the same.

Theod. You say very well. Giue me leaue then (by your
patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke conuenient for
my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the
truth, may praise God in you, and also haue iust occasion to giue
you thanks for the same.

Amphil. Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe
the best I can, to resolute you in anything that you shall demand.

All our churches
and congrega-
tions

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 disperfed
here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of
place at all?

are diuided into
parishes,

Amphil. Euerie particular church, congregation, assemblie, or con-
uenticle, is diuided one from another, and distincted into parishes and
precincts, which feuerall precincts and parishes are so circumscribed
and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne
of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liueth. So that
euerie shepheard knoweth ²his flocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And
again, euerie flocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his
pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple iudgement.

[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?

In early days,,

Amphil. Yea trulie. It is not amisse, but a verie good order, for
thereby euerie pastor doth knowe his owne flock, euerie 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 feuerall flocks, 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.

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

II. 2. *Of Churches, The Church, and their Rulers.* 69

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 infinite particular churches, congregations, and assemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and place, is notwithstanding one church before God, being members of the myffical body of Christ Iesus, & fellow members one of another, so as they can neuer be diuided, neither from themselues, nor from their head, Christ.

[¹ Sig. K. 2.]
But these separate churches all make up One true Church,

Theod. Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuersall 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 vniuersall 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 sin (euen Antichrist himselfe) that must be destroyed 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 governed & ruled?

Amphil. By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

and under them Bishops, Pastors, &c.,

Theod. Do you shut out the prince then from governing the church?

²*Amphil.* No, God forbid. For take away *Brachium seculare*, The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogether. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and braineficke papists haue most deuilishly denied the same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogether. The papists feing themselues conuincd by the manifest worde of G O D, denye not their authority absolutely; but that their authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forsooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themselues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

[² Sig. K. 2. back]
and temporal Magistrates.

The Anabaptists deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny its extending to Church Government.

70 II. 2. *A Sovereign's Rights and Duties in his Church.*

magistrates¹, contrarie to the expresse word of our sauiour Christ, and his apostles, who saith *Omnis anima subdita sit potestatibus supereminentibus!* Let euery soule be subiect 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 whatfoeuer.

But every King is supreme head over the Church in his realm.
[² Sig. K. 3.]

Theod. Well than I gather thus much, that euery king, prince, or potentate, is supream head next vnder God, over the church of G O D dispersed through his kingdomes, and dominions: is not this true?

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore that antichrist of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and vsurping to be supream head ouer all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greasie priest, & smered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled shauelings haue, nor so much neither, and yet that authoritie is but ouer the malignant church of antichrist, and not of Christ Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that stumbling blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monstrous hidra, so as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe.

The Pope is a mere greasy priest, like other oild shauelings are.

Theod. Seeing you say that euerie prince is supream head ouer the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therefore assign 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 see elected, sent forth, & called, good, able, & sufficient pastours, for the instruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, constitutions & rites be established, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the sacraments truely ministred, excommunication, discipline and ecclesiasticall censures orderly³ executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be said that these thinges are to bee executed of the ecclesiasticall persons onely, I answere, true it is; but if the ecclesiasticall magistrate be negligent, secure, slouthfull, and carelesse about the execution hereof (as who seeth not some be) than ought the prince to shew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Besides this, it is the office of the prince to see all kind of sinne, as well in the church men themselues, as in all others of the church, seuerely punished.

[³ Sig. K. 3. back]

The King should see sin punished

¹ *Orig.* migistrates.

II. 2. *Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops.* 71

And though I grant the prince to haue the foueraigutie 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 sacramentes, or to execute the sentence of excommunication, and other ecclesiasticall discipline and censures of the church, but (as before) to see them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For saith the apostle, *nemo sumat sibi honorem, nisi qui legitime vocatus fuerit, vt fuit Aaron.* And againe, *vnusquisque in ea uocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum?* But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatsoeuer coulde, nor ought not, to meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they vassals of most christian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not bene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble soeuer, his lackeis, his pages, his horsekeepers, and compelled them to hold his stirups, to leade his horse, and to prostrate themselves before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praised, this great antichrist is discovered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as euerie childe inflie laugheth him to scorne.

and the Church's orders carried out.

[* Sig. K. 4.]

The Antichrist of Rome formerly had kings as lackeys,

but his shame is laid open now.

Theod. You said before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

Amphil. The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of great grautie, 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 hauing 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 euerie bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the whole realme. So that no church, how small soener, but it hath the truth of Gods word, and of his sacraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

The Bishops are graue and learned men, set over Dioceses.

[* Sig. K. 4, back]

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, and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praised therefore.

All our ministers don't preach, some read only.

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 supplie a place in the church of God to read onlie : how say you ?

But Readers

Amphil. It is no good reason to say, because 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 explaine the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduersarie, nor to deliuer the true sence and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof. For God commandeth that the pastors be learned, saieing : *Labia sacerdotum custodiant veritatem, and edificant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum,* Let the lips of the priests preferue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore those that haue not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not sent of God, neither are they Christs vicegerents or pastors to instruct his flocke. To such, the Lord saith : They rule, but not by me ; they run, but I sent them not ; they crie, thus saith the Lord, whereas hee neuer spake it. These are those idoll shepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom speaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke against sinne. And therefore I beseech the Lord to remooue them, and place able and sufficient pastors ouer his church, that GOD may be glorified, and the church edified in the truth.

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.

Theod. Bare reading, I must needs say, is bare feeding : but what then ? Better it is to haue bare feeding than none at all.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore are not they more scrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wise, that because they cannot haue preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessarie ? This is as though a man should despise meane fare, because he cannot come by better, whereas I thinke it is ²better to haue meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, because he cannot come by the carnell at the first, will therefore cast awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as saith the apostle) that all could prophesie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truth, but because that al haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught ? And therefore a sort of nouatians lately sprong 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

[² Sig. K 5, back]

If you can't get at a kernel at first, don't throw away the whole nut.

(as I say) because a man can not haue daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a dumbe reading ministerie only, so I will not condemne it for necessitie sake, when otherwise euery place cannot be sufficiently furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Keep your Reading Ministers till you can get Preaching ones.

Theod. But it is thought that there are inow able men in the vniuersities and elsewhere to furnish euery particular church with a preaching minister?

Amphil. Truly I thinke there are so, if they were sought for & preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not sought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, somtimes by friendship, somtime by mony¹ (for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and somtimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their bookes. Whereby learning greatlie decaieeth, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if speedie remedie be not had herein.

We've enough learned men, but, alas they don't get Preferment.

^{*} Sig. K 6]

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 giue place to the same?

Amphil. Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to seeke for the learned fort, and as it were to sue and make instance to 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 sende them forth into the Lords harueft. And where the foresaide dumbe ministerie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes² the word of God should flourish, ignorance (mauger the head of satan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one incouraged to go to their bookes, whereas now they practisē nothing lesse, and all by reason that by their learning they haue no promotion nor preferment at all.

Bishops ought to seek out learned Ministers.

[² Sig. K 6, back]

Preaching
Ministers
preach mainly
in their own
parishes,

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.

[² Sig. K 7, back]

Theod. Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flockes and charges, or else indifferently abroad else where?

Amphil. They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghost hath made them ouerfeers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of iudgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they sometimes 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 giue warning when the enimie commeth, seeing an other citie or towne to be in danger, giueth sufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuereth them both, I say, that in so doing, hee doth well, and according to charitie. And yet ¹ notwithstanding, diuers new phangled felows sprong 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 accursed before god. Than the which, what can be more absurdlie, or vntruely spoken? 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 altogether 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 haue two or three cures to serue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles distant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible expediti²on, though none vnderstand 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 provided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therefore they haue, som of them ten pound a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some fixe pound, some fiue pound, some foure pound, some 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 maisterlesse men, to seeke their maintenance. Whereby some fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great slander of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and scandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading misters be too well provided for, for some of them haue two or three, yea foure or fiue benefices apeece, being resident but at one of them at once, and peradventure at neuer a one, but roist it out elsewhere, purchasing a dispenfation for their discontinuance, and then may no man say: *Domine, cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you so? For hee hath ¹plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading Ministers pay runs from £10 to £2 a year, and keep themselves.

Some have 3 or 4 benefices apiece,

[¹ Sig. K 8]

Theod. That is an horrible abuse, that one man should haue two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apeece as some haue: may anie man haue so manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good conscience?

Amphil. As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, so is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent soener, to haue mo benefices, mo flockes, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perswaded that it is more tollerable (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wiues or mo, than for a man to haue two benefices at once, or mo. For by possibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wiues (yet to haue mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apostles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able sufficientlie to discharge his dutie in the instruction of one church, or congregation, much lesse of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as some haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor ²manie pastours, nor one man diuerse men, so one sheepeheard or pastour cannot, nor ought not, to haue diuers charges, and flocks at once. Is it possible for any shepheard though he were neuer so cunning a man, to keepe two or

which is worse than having 2 or 3 wives.

[² Sig. K 8, back]

One Pastor cannot take charge of

three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due feafon, dooing the dutie of a good fhepheard in euerie refpect, they being diftant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, fixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much leffe is there any man able to difcharge the dutie of a good pafstor ouer fo manie flocks, churches, and congregations fo farre diftant in place, wheras the fimpleft flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therefore I aduife al benefice mongers, *that* haue mo charges then one, to take heede to themfelues, and to leaue them in time, for the blood of al thofe within their cures, or charges, that die ghofthlie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, fhall be powred vpon their¹ heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

more flocks
and churches
than one.

If he tries to,
he must be
non-resident
in one parish.

[² Sig. L. r.]

Theod. If they haue fo many benefices a peece, and fome fo farre diftant from another, then it is not poffible that they can be refident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in difpute, whether they may not as well be ab²ſent, or preſent: what is your iudgment of that?

Amphil. To doubt whether the pafstor ought to be refident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the foule fhould be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully perfuaded of, that as the foule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the fame, fo the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the foule of man. And as neceffarie as the one is to the bodie, fo (and much more) neceffarie is the other both to foule and bodie. Now certein it is, theſe things cannot be applied without the preſence of the preacher or pafstor; and therefore is his abſence from his flocke 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.

This takes
away the
Word preachd,
which is the
Life.

Theod. But they ſay, though they be not preſent by themfelues, yet be they preſent by their ſubſtitutes and deputies: is not that a ſufficient diſcharge for them before God?

Amphil. I grant they are preſent by their deputies and ſubſtitutes, but if a man ſhoulde looke into a great ſort 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.

II. 2. *Ministers' ignorant tippling hired Deputies.* 77

some of them, are they ¹not such as can scarcely read true english? [¹ Sig. L. 2. back]

And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not such as can scarce tell what it meaneth? The truth of Gods word they cannot easly preach nor expound. The aduerfarie they cannot refell: barke against sinne they dare not, bicause their liues are licentious. They will read you their seruice faire and cleanly (as the doting papists did their blasphemous masses out of their portesses), and when they haue done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon sabboth day, festiual day, or other; no day is amisse to them. And all the weeke after, yea all the yeere (if I said all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) they will not sticke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and swilling till the signe be in Capricornus. In-
fomuch as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt wormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpose. 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 residence of these their deputies is no discharge for them ²before the tribunall seate of God: for notwithstanding the same, let them be sure to answer for the blond of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of iudgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, leaft afterward it be too late.

Tho they can read the Service, yet after it,

and on week-days, they'll swill all day at the Alehouse.

[² Sig. L. 2.]

Theod. But I heare say, that what is wanting either in their deputies, or in themselues for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter sermons themselues, or else (if they be not able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well?

Pluralists may preach once a quarter, but that's no more good

Amphil. It is as though a man euerie quarter of a yeere once, should take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwithstanding should looke for increase of the same: were not he a foolish husbandman that would do thus? And euen so he is no lesse vnwise, that plowing but one furrow, that is, preaching but one poore sermon 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

than if a man plowd one furrow every quarter.

[¹ Sig. L. 2. back]
Our churches
don't bring forth
fruit because
they're not tilled
with preaching.

is not plowed, furowed, & tilled al together as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit ¹is, for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and because the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, *that* it, sinking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal life. If the strongest 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, every day, and at every quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perswaded that his bodie notwithstanding would soone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen so falleth out in this case. For although our soules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearing the word read as it were with aqua vite, or sweet nectar, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & sumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the same. And therefore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in season and out of season, and that without ceasing, or intermission. And if that saieng of the prophet be ²true (as without all controuersie it is most true) that he is accursed, *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 soules, and doe seldome, or neuer preach, are within the compasse of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule said 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 preach not? Haue they a greater priuiledge than the blessed apostle faint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therefore, as they tender the saluation of their owne soules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to shew themselues painefull laborers in the Lords haruest.

God's Word
should be
preacht night
and day with-
out ceasing.

[² Sig. L. 3.]

Woe to Minis-
ters who won't
preach it!

[ho there's a
law against
Pluralism,

Theod. As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a restraint, that none shall haue no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

II. 2. *Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities.* 79

Amphil. They make the lawes (as it were) shipmens hoofen, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie thing they lust. But bicause they will auoide the lawes, they purchase a dispensation, a licence, a commiffion, a pluralitie, a qualification, and I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots fo manie, how manie foeuer, and that with as good a conscience as *Iudas* receiued the mony for the which he sold Christ Iesus the Sauour of the world. Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble perfonages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that these licenses shall go for good payment at the daie of iudgement. I thinke not. For sure 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 therefore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring them to account for it in his good time: GOD grant they may looke to it!

it's avoided by buying a dispensation, [² Sig. L. 3.back]

getting a chaplaincy to a Nobleman, &c.

But God 'll be down on these folk.

Theod. In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of these ecclesiastical promotions and benefices consist? in the churches themselves, or in whom else?

Amphil. Indeede you saie well. For who shoulde haue the patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the churches themselves, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, *Proprio iure*, They doe apperteine? For doe not the benefices consist 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 haue 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 priuate man whatsoever.

The Patronage of Benefices ought to be in the Churches' hands. [² Sig. L. 4.]

Theod. Why? Then I perceine you would not haue anie priuate or singuler man of what degree foeuer, to haue the patronage, the right, or gifture of anie ecclesiastical living, but the churches themselves: is not that your meaning?

Every parish Church ought to haue the patronage of its own Living.

Amphil. Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

Theod. Why so, I beseech you?

80 II. 2. *Every Congregation should own its Patronage.*

It wouldn't
abuse it as pri-
vate Patrons do.

[¹ Sig. L. 4. back]

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. Bicaufe one man may easly be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vppon such as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not so. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing else but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the Gentelman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, ¹giueth not the whole liuing himselfe, *ergo* hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the same. Thirdly, the whole church will not giue the same for simonie; one priuate 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 singularitie of one man may easlie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fattest morfels to themselues, and giue scarcely the crums to their pastors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will scarcely giue their pastor foure score. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue fortie pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they giue ten pound, imploieing the better halfe to their owne priuate gaine. Now if this be not sacrilege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their substance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what sacrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are some, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, against the time that their sheepe, kine, and other cattell should bring fourth increase, will driue 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 ²where he dwelleth. And against the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, shall demand his tithes thereof, they will haue fetched home their cattell, so that by these sinister kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence sute 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 stop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore pastors are detained 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?

II. 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 Antichrist the pope exercis'd his vsurped authoritie, and challenged the title of supreme head ouer the vniuersall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomsoever would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was giuen to blinde superstition, as to instaurate abbeies, prieries, nunries, with other sumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, crosses, images, and the like fooleries) or else giue ground for the same to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretended right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the same. Other some thinke (to whome I willingly subscribe) that the Churches (consisting of simple and ignorant men for the most part) abusing the same benefices, and bestowing them vpon vnmeete persons, the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and giuen 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 some causes, so ought they to be remooued and giuen againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and tolde for simonie, euen as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for mony.

Theod. Are there no lawes for the restrainte of simonie, being for horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

Amphil. Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loofe the patronage of the same, and the ecclesiasticall person, that giueth it, to loofe the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclesiasticall promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? Yes, I warrant you. For though they giue two hundred, or three hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloofely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admissiion, they are sworne whether they came by it by simonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for it or no, therefore, to auoide the gulte of periurie, they, the pastors themselues, will not giue anie monie, but their friendes shall doe it for them; and than may they sweare (with as good a conscience as euer Iudas betraied Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

Laymen get their Church Patronage by the Pope having

given it to all men who'd build churches or give ground for em;

[² Sig. L 5, back]

and by the King having taken the patronage from congregations, and given it to individuals.

We have laws against *Simony*,

[² Sig. L 6]

but they're easily evaded.

Simony is avoided by pastors getting friends to pay money for them.

82 II. 2. *Abuses of Private Patronage of Livings.*

Or they buy a
worthless thing
for £100.

[¹ Sig. I. 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 pounce, or two hundred pounds vpon some bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they sweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vppon such and such a bargaine, ¹ without some of these practises, or without such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, thogh he be neuer so learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with such golden apples, it will serue him better then all Saint Pauls learning. For these and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enjoy 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 pastours are so handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookes withall, nor, which is lesse, not to maintaine themselues vppon, though but meanelye, but are manye times constrained either to wander abroad to seeke their liuings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great discredite 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 messengers, and ambassadors. He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiueth ² me, and maketh much of me, saith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priests, 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 priests, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all necessarie maintenance whatsoever. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatsoever 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 receiue wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

Theod. By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, belonging to him, by y^e law of God, or of man? Ministers can claim Tithes

Amphil. God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciall commandement that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be giuen to the priests, to the end that they might attend vpon the diuine seruice of God and not ¹busie themselues in worldly affaires, which ordinance or sanction being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadoves, types & figures ceased, & toke their end) And therefore cannot a preacher of the Gospell claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positive lawes of Christian princes which are to be obeyed in all things (not directly against true godlineffe) vpon paine of damnation. [¹ Sig. L 7, back]

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 constitution is now no lesse to be obeyed vnder the Gospell (being commanded by a christian prince) than the diuine institution was to be obeyed vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the positive lawes of man, yet are the same grounded vpon the word of God, 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 constitution of his liege prince to his damnation, except he repent. grounded on the word of God.

Theod. Must euerie one pay his tithes truely to euerie pastor, whether he be ought or ²naught, learned or vnlearned, without any exception; or may he deteine it with good conscience from him that is an vnfit and vnable minister? [² Sig. L 8]

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 haue al tithes paid him whatsoever with the better; and if any should withhold the left mite from him, he sinneth against the maiestie of God most greuously. And although he be a wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in small measure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might seeme to withstande authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing

84 II. 2. *Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.*

themselves to prayer, and suing to them that have the authority for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the duty of a faithful pastor. Notwithstanding I know some are of opinion that if any man give either tithes, or any duty else, to their pastor being an unfit and an unable person, he is partaker with him of his sinne, he communicateth with other mens offences, and he maintaineth him in his idleness, sloth, ignorance,¹ and security, and therefore offendeth grievously. But I am of opinion that every man ought to pay their duty (for else he might seeme, as I said, to resist the power) & if he be not able to discharge his duty, to pray for his removing, and to make instance to them that are in authority appointed for the redresse of such inormities, for his displacing, and so not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authority grounded vpon the word for the same.

[¹ Sig. L 8, back]

but his parishioners should try to get him removed.

Theod. May a pastor that hath a charge and a flocke assigned him to watch over (having a maintainable living allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

An endowd Minister may not

Amphil. Hee may sometimes, obtaining licence for some 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 living 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 supplee of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receive the same, but he may not compell, nor constraine them to give it him whether they will or not, against their wills, 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 lawfull for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a stipend appointed him, to receive monie vpon 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 sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do. What say 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 some one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and sometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the same. 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, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the left. And therefore the papists and aduersaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'roiall sermons, angell sermons, and noble sermons.' You call, say they, our blessed masse 'a polling masse;' but, say they, your preachings are more polling. For we say they would haue sold a masse for a grote; you will not sell a sermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus these fellowes are a slander to the Gospel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I should hire a¹ man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or lesse, to teach 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 receiue my monie, haue not I good lawe against him? If he should say vnto me, I will not doe it except you giue me more, were not this a very vnreasonable man? For, hauing his monie that was couenant, 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 theefe and robber? Is this true in a priuate man, & not in an ecclesiasticall person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the same? Shall he now denie to preach the same word except he haue more monie? 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 deceiuer, a theefe, & a robber? The pastor therefore, hauing taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and hauing his stipend appointed for the same, is bound to preach the worde of² God to all his flocke indifferently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then especially) or at any other time whensoever, 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 sure of it.

Theod. You condemne not funerall sermons then, so that they be good, doe you?

Amphil. No, God forbid. Why should not godlie sermons be as

at Burials,
Weddings, &c.

Those that do
are a slander to
the Gospel.

[¹ Sig. M. x, back]

They get their
salary, and yet
won't preach
without more
pay.

[² Sig. M. 2.]

I think godly Sermons at Funerals are very needfull, and do great good.

wholsome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue such liuely 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 sermons 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 soule, of the generall resurrection 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 himselfe. And although of late some phantastically spirites haue taught that the vse of them is naught, in that they stand in place of popish diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be easilie drawne to assent vnto them, for that I see them in that respect a great deale more curious than godlie wise.

[² Sig. M. 2. back]

Ministers ought to have Stipends, so as to be free from worldly business, and keep their families.

Theod. Is it lawfull, thinke you, for ministers, and preachers of the Gospell, to receiue 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 household; or how should they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore? all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good conscience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogether, the ordinarie meane to saluation in Christ. This caused the apostle to enter disputation of this point, where he proueth by inuincible arguments, that a preacher or minister of the Gospell of Christ Iesus, may (*Salua conscientia*, With a good conscience) receiue wages and stipends for his paines susteined in the affaires of the Gospell, and that for the causes abouesaid. Therefore saith this apostle: *Boui² trituranti non ligabis os*, Thou shalt not muffle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth forth 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 saith: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And still insisting in the same argument, hee saith: *Qui euangelium prædicant, ex euangelio viuunt*, They that preach the Gospell, let them liue vpon the Gospell. And yet further profecuting the same more at

[² Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says that Ministers who preach the Gospell should live by it.

II. 2. *Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks.* 87

large, he saith: *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 reafons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospel ought to liue of the Gospell. But as euerie pastor that hath a peculiar flocke assigned him, may, with the teftimonie of a good conscience, receiue wages and maintenance of his flocke, for his paines taken amongft them: so may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or salarie of any other flocke adjoining, if so be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amongft them. To them that are thus provided for, Christ our ¹sauiour saith: *Gratis accepistis, gratis date*, Freely you haue receiued, freely giue againe. But if any haue not a speciall flocke or charge assigned him, then may he with good conscience receiue 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.

But benefist Ministers may not take extra pay.

[² Sig. M. 3. back]

Theod. What say you of preachers, and lecturers, that haue no peculiar flockes, nor charges appointed them; are they necessarie, and may they receiue 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 haue no peculiar flocks nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, be necessarie. Whereto I answere. That considering the state & condition of the church at this day, they are most necessarie. But if it were so, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euerie one ought to preach, else is he not sent by the Lord) then were they not so necessarie; but considering that most churches are planted and fraught with single reading ministers, they are vcrie behouefull to helpe to supplie the defect of the others, that ²through the good industrie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of GOD may be instructed and nourished with the worde of GOD to eternall life. Then you aske mee whether these lecturers and preachers may receiue wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good conscience, whereto I answere, that they may. But yet I am perswaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flocks of their owne, to the end that they, receiuing sufficient maintenance of them, might

Unbenefist preachers are now necessary,

as most Churches have only Readers.

[² Sig. M. 4.]

Unbenefist clergy may take pay for Preaching.

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 Iesus Chriff.

Theod. But what if the paffors liuing be not maintaineable nor sufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

But benefitt
ones may not,
even if their
Livings are
very poor.

Amphil. I am persuaded no. For if his liuing 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 liuing, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath sent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth the children of GOD ¹ to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they haue meate, drinke, and cloth, it is inough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (saith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into diuers temptations, and snares of the diuell, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. Therefore if it be sufficient 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 giue vnto him temporall things. And therefore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peradventure, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promised.

[² Sig. M. 4. back]

They must be
content with em,

and wait till
the Lord opens
men's hearts to
giue them more.

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?

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, five hundred, a thousand, five 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

[² leaf M 5]
The present
Vagrant
Ministers,

charge? And what do they then? Runne fragling and rousing ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to shire, and from one place to another, till they haue spent al that euer they haue, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great dishonour of God, and slander of the word.

roaming all
ouer the country,
I condemne.

Theod. Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not hauing 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 gineth no sustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no shepheards, nor no watchmen sent from the Lord, that haue neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For ¹he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular flocke readie to receiue him, is so 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 pastors, and teachers in the church of G O D, to be verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they haue had sufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the slander of the Gospell.

[leaf M 5, back]

Bishops
should stop

these men
running about
like masterless
dogs.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would haue 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 prouoe your assumption out of the word of God, or else I will giue but smal credit to you in such matters of controuersie as this is?

Amphil. I haue not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to ² prouoe by the worde of G O D. And yet I grant *Errare possum* (for *Hominis est labi, & decipi*, Man may bee deceiued and fall) but

Bible examples
prove this.
[leaf M 6]

90 II. 2. *No one to be ordaind till he has a Cure.*

Hereticus esse nolo, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, so soone as I shall be conuincd by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or assertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being perswaded as I am, giue me leaue, I beseech 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 sixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles wee reade also of seuen deacons, which were chosen for the daillie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (desitute of their seruice) had need of them, nor before there¹ were places readie to receiue 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 receiue 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 receiue him. Besides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be pastors and preachers of the word, before such time as there were places void for them. Common reason, me thinke, and daily experience, should teach us this truth sufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is desitute 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 stragling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old saieing is: Hungrie dogs eate sluttish puddings.

Theod. What order would you have obserued in this?

² *Amphil.* Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being desitute of a pastor, should present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth appertene, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or lesse, as they conueniently can,

Matthias
wasn't elected

till Judas's place
was empty.

The Apostles
wouldn't choose
Deacons until
[¹ 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 congrega-
tion wanting
a Pastor, should
propose 2 or 3
tried men to
the Bishop,

II. 2. *How Ministers should be appointed to Churches.* 91

whose liues and conuersations they haue 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 appertaine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their sufficiencie 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 vpon them, and to send them forth (the chiefe of them) to that congregation or church so destitute. Which order, if it were strictly obserued and kept (as it ought to be) then should not so manie run abroad in the countries to seeke liuings, then should not churches bee pestered with insufficient ministers. Then should not the bishops be so deceiued in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how should the bishop choose but be deceiued in him, whom he neuer sawe before, whose conuersation he knoweth not, whose disposition hee is ignorant of, and ¹whose qualities and properties in generall, he suspecteth not? Whereas if this order were established, that euerie church destitute of a pastor should present certeine able men, whose conuersation and integritie of life in euerie respect they perfectly knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in iudging of their conuersations, who haue been either altogether, or for the most part conuersant among them) then (as I say,) should not the bishop be deceiued in any, nor yet any church scandalized with the wicked liues of their pastors (or rather depastors) as they be. For now it is though sufficient for the certaintie of his conuersation, if he either haue letters dimissorie from one bishop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the conuersation 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 scarce well, in my iudgement. For you knowe one priuate 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 surer way.

²*Theod.* How prooue you that the churches that are destitute of a pastor, ought to present him whom they would haue admitted, to the bishop, and not the bishop to intrude vpon the church whom he will?

and he should ordain the best for that Church.

[¹ leaf M 7, back]

Now, a Bishop gets but small proof of a candidate's fitness.

[² leaf M 8]
Bishops ought not to intrude their nominees on churches,

92 II. 2. *Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.*

Amphil. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Iudas the traitour, the apostle *Peter* knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to giue testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascension 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, saith the text, they chose two, to wit, *Matthias*, and *Ioseph*, furnamed *Bersabas*. And the church hauing presented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the forefaide sixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to see the same bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text saith, that the apostles desired the church to choofe fourth seuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghost, which they might appoint to that businesse. ¹By all which reasons appereth, that the church ought to present 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.

for the Apostles

bade the Church present successors to Judas Iscariot.

They also bade the Church choose Deacons.

[leaf M 8, back]
So now each Church should choose its Pastor.

Theod. Why would you not haue pastors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not ?

If it doesn't, it won't like him.

Amphil. Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receiue, nor yet so louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them against their wils, as they will doe him that they like of, choofe, and allow of themselues. And if the churches beare not a singular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their pastor, it is vnpossible that they should heare him, or learne of him with profit to their soules. And if they heare him not *Auide & fitienter* (as we say) 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 receiue, any thing to their soules ²health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

[* Sig. N. 1.]

Theod. I pray you what is your iudgement in this? What if a

II. 2. *When a Minister may turn Layman again.* 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon anie occasion whatsoeuer, leaue off the same function, and applie himselfe to secular affaires?

As to a Minister giving up his office,

Amphil. There is a twofold calling. The one a diuine calling immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from and by man. Now he that hath the first diuine calling (his conscience suggesting the same vnto him, and the spirit of God certifieng his spirit 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 prescript of Gods word, hauing a flocke appointed him wherevpon to attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to giue ouer his 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 perfection, when Gods truth is persecuted, and his glorie defa^lced, if he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwise, he may for the time giue himselfe to manuell 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 fishing, making of nets, tents, pauillions, and the like. But vpon the other side, if a man haue not this diuine calling, his conscience bearing him witnesse thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whosoener hath not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not sent him, for those that hee fendeth, hee furnisfeth with all kinde of graces and giftes necessarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by humane calling neuer so precisely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of God, representing (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not. Besides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect else, to take that high function vpon him, without the testimonie of a good conscience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for such a calling (which argueth di^rectly that God hath not called him)

if he's calld by God's Spirit,

and then by man, and is given a flock, he must continue a Minister to the end.

[* Sig. N. r. back]

But if he's not calld by God, and hasn't fit gifts for his work, he

should at once give up his office.

Men forst by friendes or poverty into the Ministry, and being unⁿt,

[* Sig. N. 2.]

ought to leave
their callings.

hee, I say, is so farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in the same, though he bee called by man a thousande times. Therefore he that is a minister, and hath charge of soules committed vnto him, let him if hee bee not furnished with such gifts as his high calling requireth, in the name of G O D make no doubt of it to giue ouer his function vnto others that are able for their giftes to discharge the same, in the meane time giuing himselfe to godlie exercises of life, as God may be glorified, his conscience disburthened, and the commonwealth profited.

Theod. But I haue heard of some that, considering the naughtinesse of their calling, and their owne insufficiencie to discharge the same, haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular exercises, and in the ende haue bene enforced to resume their former function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not. How thinke you of this?

Amphil. I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and ¹therefore left it, haue greuously offended therein. This is as if I, knowing a simple ignorant foole presumptuously to haue taken vpon him a great and waightie charge, yea, such a charge as all the wisedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne insufficiencie, shuld be mooued to leaue his charge to others better able to execute the same than hee, I shoud notwithstanding not onely counsell, but also compell him to resigne 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 inabilitytie, shall not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be sure of it. In conclusion, he that is sufficiently furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to discharge in some sort his duty, ought not to leaue his function (for to such a on that so doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vpon 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, ²when

[¹ Sig. N. 2. back]

Those who
would drive
them back into
Orders, offend
griuously.

No unfit Pastors
should be
re-appointed.

[² Sig. N. 3.]

11. 2. *No unfit Pastor should be re-appointed.* 95

he hath (for his inabilitye) leaft the fame, to be constra[n]ed to refume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to difcharge. But hereof inough.

Theod. Then I perceiue that any minifter or eccleſiaſticall perſon that hath not gifts ſufficient to difcharge his duty, may with good confidence leaue their functions, and giue themſelues to liue by their labors, as other temporall men doe: may they not?

They'd better work for their bread.

Amphil. Yes, with a better confidence than to retaine them, being not able to difcharge them in any ſmall meaſure. For with what confidence can he receiue temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to giue them ſpiritual? With what face can a ſhepeheard receiue of his ſheepe, the milke, the wooll, and fleece, and yet will not, or cannot giue to the ſame either meate or drinke ſufficiently? With what confidence can he receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to breake to them the breade of life, in ſuch forme and maner as he ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet confidence that knowing that the blood of all thoſe that die ghofly for want of inſtruction ſhal be powred vpon his head at the day of iudgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet not¹withſtanding reteane the ſame charge and function to himſelfe ſtill, not being able to difcharge the leaft iote of the ſame? Therefore would I wiſh euery man of what office, function, or calling ſoeuer he be, if he be not able to difcharge his dutie in the ſame, to giue it ouer, and not for greedineſſe of a little mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to caſt away their ſoules, which Ieſus Chriſt hath bought with his moſt precious blood.

How can a Pastor fairly take pay for what he can't give?

[¹ Sig. N. 3. back]

Let unfit men reſign at once.

Theod. Is it lawfull for a paſtor or minifter that hath a flocke to departe from the ſame, In the time of plague, peſtilence, or the like, for feare of infection?

Amphil. Is he a good ſhepeheard that, when he ſeeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heeles and runne away? Or is he a ſure freend that, when a man hath moſt neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not ſhewing any freendſhip towards him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good paſtor, or minifter, (but rather a depaſtor, and minifter) that in time of any plague, peſtilence or ſicknes whatſoeuer, will conuey himſelfe away

A miniſter is no Paſtor, but a Depaſtor, who 'll run away for feare 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 pastor that shoulde feede ¹them, the furthest from them. When they stande vpon the edge, as it were, of saluation or damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauour 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 haue ouer their foules health, which Christ Iesus bought so 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 perpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thousande 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 y^e gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke *that* their flieng away from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues y^e longer vpon earth? Is not God able to strike 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 messenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deuteron. that if we doe ²not those things which he hath commanded vs in his sacred word, curfed shall wee bee at home, and curfed in the fields. And faith he not further, that the plague and pestilence, the botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection soeuer, shall followe vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place soeuer we be, and shall neuer depart from vs, till it haue quite consumed 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 heauie wrath and vengeance of God for their tergiuerfation and backsliding from their duties? Doe they thinke that God cannot saue 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 pleasure, as he was to defend *Sidrach*, *Misaach*, and *Abednego* from the flaming fire? *Daniell* from the mouth of the lions, *Iomas* from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trusted

[¹ Sig. N. 4.]

Such runaways,
to save their
bodies, will
hazard a
thousand souls.

[² Sig. N. 4. back]

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 shortened, 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 thinke that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themselves to thinke ¹that either God is not almightie, or else not [leaf N 5]

mercifull, or neither. For if they beleueed that he were almightie, and that hee were able to saue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleuee that he is as well able to deliuer them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleasure. And if they beleueed 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, so he is most mercifull, and therefore wil preserue al those that put their trust in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a ciuill office in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his present abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a pastor or feeder of soules, 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 haue they not an end of all miseries and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioie in the heauens? Are they not blessed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find ²them so well occupied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iesus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

He will preserve all those who trust in him.

And if he takes them to himself, happy are they.

[² leaf N 5, back]

Theod. But they say, 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 say further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the sicke, and the sicke from the whole. Besides, saie they, *Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti*, Nature hath giuen power of defending of life to euerie liuing creature. Againe, euery thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therefore we 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 say you to them?

Cowardly Pastors' excuses for fleeing from infection.

These refuted :

God has bidden his Pastors to feed his Sheep.

[¹ 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 priuiledge them to discontinue from their flockes and charges. And whereas they faie, that their staieng 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 so that a priuate man who hath no ¹ kind of function nor office, neither ecclesiasticall nor temporall, seeing himselfe if he stae stil in great danger of death, & might auoid the danger by flieng, & so by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murderer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, 'thou shalt keepe the whole from the sicke, & the sick from the whole.' This is the meaning & sence of these words, and not that they do priuiledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be said in confutation of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I haue knowne and doe know some ministers (nay, wolues in sheepes clothing) in *Dnalgne* that in time of any plague, pestilence or infection, thogh there hath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin so far from continuing amongst their flock, *that* if any one of them were sicke, although of neuer so common or vsuall disease, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they haue absented themselues altogether, from visiting *the* sick according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them. Yea, some of them (suppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good pastors) are so nice, so fine & so feareful of death forsoth, *that* in no case they cannot abide to visit the sicke, neither by day nor ² by night. But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to visite, to comfort, to instruct, and relieue the sicke, 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 last gaspe, then they haue done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in small 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 consideration and fight of death, which he seeth before his eies, together with godly exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, out of the word of

II. 2. *Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected.* 99

God, may easilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and dieing in the faith of Iesus Christ, with true repentance for his finnes to-fore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & soule, 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 howe they are soone recouered. Therefore ought not the pastors to neglecte their duties therein, but ¹warely and carefully to watche ouer their flocks night and day without ceasing, 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 beds.

[¹ leaf N 7]

Theod. In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor consist? in the church ouely, or in the bishops?

The Election of Pastors.

Amphil. I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church might examine the life, the conuersation, and disposition of him, or them, whome they would haue to be their pastor, and finding the same good, to present him, or them, to the bishops or elders to whome it apperteineth, to examine for his sufficiencie 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 so to sende him forth into the Lords haruest, as a faithfull laborer therein.

Their liues should be lookt into by the Church; then the men should be presented to the Bishop.

Theod. But some are of opiion that the churches themselues of their owne absolute and plenarie power ought to choose their pastor, and not bishops.

Amphil. The churches haue no further ²power in the election of their pastor, than as I haue told you, that is, to iudge of his conuersation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister or pastor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed confusion (for some would choose one, some another, some this, and some that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. For certeine it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

[² leaf N 7, back]

Churches should not elect their Ministers without the Bishop's approval.

100 II. 2. *No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.*

to elect their pastor, to choose him, to call him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, observing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer seene that any church did euer practise the same. For in the daies of the apostles, did the churches any more than choose fourth certaine persons of a tried conuersation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands vpon them, approue them (after triall had of their sufficiencie in knowledge) and sent them fourth into the Lords vineyard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as some call it, consecrated them not, nor vsed not any other ceremoniall rite in the¹ election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for som 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 call their pastor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging obserued, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches consisting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vnlearned.

Theod. What say you to a feignorie or eldership? were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y^e same were established in euery congregation, as it was in the apostles daies.

Amphil. The feveral estates and conditions of the apostolical churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are diuers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a feignorie 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 some others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we haue most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, to rule and gouerne the church, & therefore² we stand in lesse need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a feignorie 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, considering the state of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when feignories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclesiasticall magistrates

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[¹ leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in its Pastor's call.

Seignory or Eldership in every Church is not needfull now.

[² leaf N 8, back]

A Seignory in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

II. 2. *Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons.* 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouvernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill magistrates (as we haue now), it was necessarie that the seignories shuld be ordeined. But now we, hauing al these things, stand not in such necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Besides, the institution 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 gouernement, but that euery church may alter, and change the same, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

is not needed now.

Every Church may alter its form of external government from time to time.

¹*Theod.* What say you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or not in the church of God at this day?

[¹ Sig. O. 1.]

Amphil. Their office (which was to make collections for the poore, to gather the beneuolences, and contributions of euerie one 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 executed by honest substantiall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chosen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendly beneuolencies of the churches, bestow, or see the same bestowed 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.

The office of Deacon is still very necessary.

Now it is filled by Churchwardens, who daily gather alms and give 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, almost in euery chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of *Paule*, of *Peter*, of *John*, of *Iude*, and of all the rest? Besides that, 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 worthy of double

[² Sig. O. 1. back]

The Apostles ordaind Bishops.

honour? Whereby appeereth that bishops are not onely needfull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can scarcely see 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, waiuarde, or maliciouslye blinde, and struing to catch their owne shadows, 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 moste necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee absolved, whether they maye lawfully vendicate or challenge to themselves superioritie, and primacie aboue their fellowe¹ brethren of the minifterie or no? for some holde that there ought to be equalitie in the minifterie, and no superioritie at all: how say you?

Amphil. They doe not vendicate or challenge anie superioritie or primacie to themselves 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 themselves 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, resteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleased the prince to dignifie them withall aboue their fellowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall together. But if any curious heads should demand why the prince should aduance 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 subiect any dignity or promotion, is it christian obedience² to refuse the same? Nay, is it not extreeme ingratitude towards his prince? Besides, who seeth not, that if there should be no superioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the same honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old saieng, and a true, *Familiaritas, sive æqualitas parit contemptum*, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

² *Orig.* abedience.

The state of the Church couldn't be kept up without em.

[¹ Sig. O. 2.]

They don't claim superiority to other Pastors as to their calling, but only as to the dignity that the prince has given em.

[³ Sig. O. 2. back]

There must be superiority in dignity.

Familiarity breeds contempt.

II. 2. *Bishops to be tolerated. Their business to rule.* 103

therefore take away authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogither. If authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the same, & to shew forth the maiestie thereof, would it not soone grow to be dispised, vilipended, and naught fet by? And therefore the more to innoble and fet fourth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to bestow such authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoever. And therefore, seeing it is the pleasure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any sober christians should easely tolerate the same.

Sober Christians
should tolerate
Bishops.

Theod. Yea, but they saie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, ¹bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, amongst whom was no superiority, inequality, or principallitie at all? [¹ Sig. O. 3.]

Amphil. Indeede amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwise, but al were equall in each respecte, one to another. But what than? The apostles were sent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach the worde. And therefore, 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 whereas they saie there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie at all, I answere, 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 superioritie, and I am perswaded so ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to persiste.

Bishops have
to rule as well
as preach.

Theod. But they adde further, and say that it strengtheneth the hands of the aduersaries, ²the papists. For, saie they, the papists may as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that 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 soueraigntie ouer all the churches in the

[² Sig. O. 3. back]

The Papist
argument
that the

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do.

world. For, say they, may not the pope saie that he receiued plenarie power to be head ouer all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may say, we receiued 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, r. Papists say that

Amphil. They be verie vnlike, and so vnlike as there is no equallitie, comparifon, 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 say so, for then were there state in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receiue his power either of authoritie, superiortie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God himselfe. But whereas hee sayth that hee receiued his power of superiortie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receiued it neyther from God (for his vsurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respect) 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 vsurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate soeuer, that is able *proprio iure* to giue him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste iniurye done to all other Princes, as to giue the soueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a straunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his subiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, government, or superiortie 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 Bishops may the other to themselues.

the Pope gets his power from God.
Not true.

[¹ Sig. O. 4.]
The Pope didn't get his superiortie from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[² Sig. 4. back]

²*Theod.* Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superiortie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being giuen them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitan, primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

II. 2. *Bishops may bear Titles given by Princes.* 105

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 else. And which is more, me thinke they are against the expresse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your iudgement thereof?

Amphil. These names and titles may seeme to fauour of vaine-glorie indeed, if they should arrogate to themselues *Iure diuino*, as they doe not. But if you wil consider by whom they were giuen them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sinceritie of the Gospell. First therefore note that they were giuen them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to set foorth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their callings. Secondly let them note that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not *Iure diuino*, and therefore being giuen them for the causes aforefaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them still without any offence to the diuine goodnesse, or his faithfull spouse vpon the earth. But if they should claime them as due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then should they offend. For our sauiour Christ, seeing his disciples and apostles ambitiously to affect the same vaine-glorious titles and names, set before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, saing: *Reges gentium dominantur eis*, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and those that exercise authoritie ouer them, be called gracious Lords, but *Vos autem non sic*, You shall not be so. In the which words he vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the same 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 saith (speaking to bishops and pastors) Be not Lords ouer your flocks, &c. By these and manie other the like places of holie writt, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate these names or titles to themselues by y^e word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue said) 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 does.

[¹ leaf O 5]

If Bishops claim these titles by God's law, they do wrong.

Christ 'ud have none of this.

[² Sig. O 5, back]

These titles of 'Bishop,' &c., are not given by God's Word, but only by Christian Princes,

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his messengers, his Ambassadors, the disclosers and proclaimers of his secretes, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therefore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were giuen and attributed vnto them. And truly 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 haue the same high calling in more reuerence, & honor, than otherwise they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this that hath bene saide, or anie thing els that can be saide herein, there are some waiward spirits lately reuiued, who hold the same names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and fuche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichristian, 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 say, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the positifue law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully assume the saide 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 same, they are not, of anye wise, sober, 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 tyke; or maye they, as Capytall Iudges, geue definytiue sentence of lyfe and death vpon malefactors and others, that by the iudiciall lawe of man haue deserued to dye?

² *Amphil.* There is neither of the callinges temporall, nor ecclesiasticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the same. And if there were neuer founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

and they dignify
their holders
callings.

They are not
Anti-christian
but Christian,

[¹ Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may
lawfully assume
them.

[² Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only
fulfill one calling.

II. 2. *Bishops may not be Magistrates or Judges.* 107

the callings temporall or ecclesiasticall, much lesse can there euer one man be found, that is able to discharge them both. It is hard therefore that these two callings should concur in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen already vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vpon him. And therefore as it were absurde to see a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the sacraments, so absurde it is to see an ecclesiasticall magistrate exercise the authoritie temporall, and to giue sentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any criminous person, which properly belongeth to the temporall power. Besides, it is a great discredit to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wise nor politique enough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and assistance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the discharge of their duties in their owne calling, for ¹it is written, no man can serue two masters but either he must betraye the one or the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to giue iudgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclesiasticall, & appertained to an ecclesiasticall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuill? Again, our fauor² Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, saying, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you? Whereby appeareth how farre ecclesiasticall persons ought to bee from hauing to doe with temporall matters. But whereas they say the bishops of *Dnalgne* do exercise temporall authoritie, and doe it as iudges capitall, giuing sentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to haue a consultatiue exhortatiue, or consentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my iudgement. For whereas the temporall magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the depth 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 ³all 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.

No ecclesiastical officer

should exercise temporal authority, like condemning men to death.

[¹ Sig. O 7]

No man can serve 2 Masters.

Christ refused to be a Judge.

And English Bishops have only a consultatiue voice in giving temporal Judgments.

[³ Sig. O 7, back]

[² fauor 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?

Amphil. The same fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a *decorum*. But as others weare their attire, some of this colour, some of that, some of this thinge, some of that, so they commonly weare all their apparell, at least the exterior part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, sad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithstanding herein some of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselues with common, and vsual fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, some of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuising, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the veriest Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, so are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themselues with cloth, though neuer so excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, satans, damaskes, programs, taffeties, and the like. I speake not agaynst ¹ those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these thinges (for they both maie, and in some respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but against those that bee meane pastours and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblents, taffetie doblents, filke hosen, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryde, and excesse in others, who are as faultye therein as the reste? Therefore sayde Cato verie well, *Quae culpare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse*: for, sayeth he, *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*. Which is, those thinges which thou blamest in others, see that thou thy selfe bee not guiltye in the same, for it is a foule blemish and a great shame and discredit, what that euyl which thou reproveest in an other, is apparent in thy selfe. For in so doing, a man reprehendeth as well himselfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gospell, 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 seeme, as the maner of y^e Palistinians is to this day. This me think was but a simple cote ² in the eie of the world, and yet Christ Iesus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accustomed to

Pastors dress like other folk,

and generally in black.

But some are very fond of new Fashions,

and wear silks, &c.,
[¹ Sig. O 8]

satin doublets, &c.

This is a foul blemish in them.

Christ wore but one poor coat,

[² Sig. O 8, back]

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. *Elias* and *Elizeus* in a mantell, Iohn the baptist in camels haire, with a girdle of a skin about his loines. The apostle Paule with a poore cloke, and 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 else, knowing that he is as a citie set vpon an hill, and as a candle set vpon a candlesticke to giue light, and shine to al the whole church of God. Therefore faith Christ: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*, &c. Let your light fo shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorifie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

and Paul a poor cloak.

Let the Ministers be sober in dress.

Theod. Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common fort of men?

Amphil. Yes, marie, haue they. They haue other attire more proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and offices) as cap, tippet, furplese, and the like. These they weare, not commonly, or altogether, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to ¹this end and ²purpose, 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.

But, when officiating, they wear Cap, Tippet, Surplice, &c.

[¹ Sig. P. r.]

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 conuenient to be used for a decencie, and comelines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefest thyng wherby a pastor or minister ought to be known from the common & vulgare sorte of people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the execution of ecclesiastical discipline, and other censures of the Church, and withall his integritie of lyfe, and soundnesse of conuersation in euerie 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,

But their chief distinction should be in Preaching and Holy Life,

110 II. 2. *Ministers may well have a distinct dress.*

[1 Sig. P. r., back]
tho their out-
ward mark is
Cap, Surplice, &c.

or markes, for they are knowen and discerned from others also, by exterior habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, sur¹pleffe, and such like: That as the first doth distinguish them from others, whilest they are exercised about the same, (for who is so doltishe, that seeing a man preache, minister the sacraments, & execute other ecclesiasticall censures of the church, that will not iudge him to bee a Minister of the Gospell) so the other notes of apparell (the surpleffe except) may make a difference, and distinguish them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reuerence which is due to a good pastor, or minister of the Gospell may be giuen 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 haue heard great disputation and reasoning *pro* & *contra*, to and fro, that the pastors and ministers of the Gospell, ought not to be disseuered from the common sorte of people, by anie distincte kinde of apparell, but rather by founding the Lordes voice on high, by ministring the sacramentes, and the like: what say you to the same?

and try to
justify their
opinion by the
Bible,

[2 Sig. P. z.]

Amphil. Indeede there are some, 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 distinct from other common people in his attire, for than Saule should easelie ²haue knowen him by the same. And the example of the damosell that spake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde sayde, *Thy speech bewrayeth thee*, if he had bene distincte from others in attire, or outwarde apparell, shee would than haue sayd, *Thy apparel sheweth thee to bee such a fellowe*. These, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that pastors and Ministers are not to bee discerned and knowen from the lay people, by anye kinde of apparell. But as I will not saie that they are to bee knowen and discerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as saith the Prophet,) so 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. And truelye for my parte, I see no great inconuenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decenete habite (commaunded by a Christian Prince) known and discerned from others. Yet some more curious than wise,

I can't agree
with em.

I think a dif-
ferent dress
justifiable.

II. 2. *Ministers may wear Surplices, &c.* I I I

before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they haue rather chosē to render vp both liuinges, goods, families, and all, leauing their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

¹*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a furpleffe, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire ?

[¹ Sig. P. 2. back
If Tippetts, forked
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 commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare them without scruple of conscience. But if they should repose any religion, holinesse or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papiests doe, than doe they greenouslie offende; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuerfiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I see no cause why they maie not vse them.

are orderd by
a Christian
Prince,

I think Min-
isters may wear
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 poison of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other searching 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 soeuer 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 euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused.

even tho they
first came from
Rome.

[² Sig. P. 3.]

Theod. Notwithstanding they holde this for a *maxime*, that in as much as they came first from the Papiests, 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 *assumption* true, or not?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Papiests, *ergo* it is naught. For we read that the Deuils confessed Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All things are therefore to bee examined, whether the abuse consist in the things themselues, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be remoued, and the things remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good

Use of a good
thing by Papiests,
doesn't make
the good thing
bad.

If a good thing
is abused,

I 12 II. 2. *Clear away abuses from good things abused.*

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to souple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie serue to good ends, and purposes. And because the same hath afterward bene abused, shall the thing it selfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the abuse, let the thinge ¹remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, *quibus omnia dantur scandalo*, to whom all thinges are offence. And further, if these presicians would haue all things remoued out of the Church which haue bene abused to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abused more to Idolatrie and superstition?) 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 y^e 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 Epistles, 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 haue bene instituted by Idolaters. or by them abused to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may serue to good ends, y^e abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrouſly abused by the papists, should be retained in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

take away the Abuse, and let the Good Thing stay.

[¹ Sig. P. 3. back]

If everything that idolatrous Papiſtes have uzd is to be done away with,

the Bible and most other good things 'll have to go.

[² Sig. P. 4.]

Theod. Is the wearing of these garments ²a thing meere indifferent, or not? for some hold it is, some hold it is not?

Amphil. It is a thing without all controuerſy mere indifferent; for, whatſoeuer gods word neither expreſly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeth not y^e conſcience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present ſtate of y^e church, & time requireth. But it is certain that the wearing of this kind of attire is not expreſly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the same, & therefore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conſcience, as y^e present ſtate of time shall require. And therefore ſeeing they be things indifferent, I wold with euery wiſe christian to tolerate y^e same, being certain that he is neither better nor worſe, for wearing or not wearing of them.

These Garments are a mere matter of Indifference: do as you like about em.

Put up with Carments: a man's no better or worſe for em.

II. 2. *Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c.* 113

Theod. Being things, as you say, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse y^e 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 y^e euil) namely to submit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoever he hath, to y^e wil of his¹ Princes, rather than to disobey. If this obedience than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlineesse, what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of small importaunce, and meere trifles as these garments be, iudge you? He that disobeyeth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeyeth the commaundement of God; and therefore, would God all Ecclesiasticall persons 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 edified, which Christe Iesus hath bought with the shedding of his precious hart blood.

[¹ Sig. P. 4. back]

And if your
Prince orders
them, of course
obey him in
such a Trifle.

Theod. Maie a pastor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surpleesse, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, haue giuen up their liuings, and forsaken all?

Amphil. Those that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & constitutions of man, will leave their flocks,² and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the same, doe shew themselues to be no true shepherds, but such as Christ speaketh of, that when they see the Wolfe comming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe. They giue euident demonstration also, that they are not such as the holie Ghost hath made ouerseers ouer their flocke, but rather such, as being possessed with the spirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themselues, to the destruction of their flocke. If they were such good shepherds as they ought to be, and so louing to their flocke, they would rather giue their life for

Any Pastor
who leaves his
Flock because
he won't wear
a Surplice, &c.,

[² Sig. P 5]

shows that he's
no good
Shepherd.

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 mercileffe wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vpon his flocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trifle? 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 giue his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trifles wil efrang himselfe from his flocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to giue them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trifles alone, being no part of our saluation 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 saie they refuse the wearing of these garments, because they are offensive to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderance 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 saying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driuen to the wall, and fore graueled, 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 haue already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselues. And who know also how to vie things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therefore this question thus I shut vp in few 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 fence, and preiudicate opinion, abusing all things, euen the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for euer, excepte 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]

² *Theod.* I pray you why doe they weare white in their surplesses, 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 miseries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherefore I desire to know your iudgment herein.

Amphil. You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their miseries in all things after their maner. Therefore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

The Papists say
that White
signifies
Holiness;

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 visions, in that aungels, and celestial creatures haue euer appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore forsooth they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, & South, the government whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vpon their heades. The gowne, saye they, doth signifie the plenary power which they haue to doe all things. And therefore none but the Pope, or hee ¹with whome hee dispenceth, maie weare the same euerie where, bicause none haue *plenariam potestatem*, plenary power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, saith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurisdiccions, because therein they haue full power from him. Thus foolishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, shadows, 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 greuouslie abuse these things, will therefore haue them cleane remoued? If all things that haue bene abused, should be remoued because of the abuse, thau should we haue nothing left to the supply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) y^e word of God, the spirituall food of our soules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in y^e whole vniversall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not bene abused? Let vs therefore take the abuses away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vse these things which the wicked Papists haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I beseech the Lorde that wee ²may all agree together in one truth, and not to deuide our selues one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst another. And seeing we do all agree together, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iesus Christ our sauiour, one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one

the Cornerd
Cap the Mon-
archy of the
World,

and the
Gowne the Pope's
plenary power:

[Sig. P 6, back]

all this is
gammon.

But because
Papists haue
abuzd these
things,

as well as the
Word of God,

aren't we to
uze em?
Surely we are.

[² Sig. P 7]
Do let us Re-
formers all
agree, and not
make rows.

We've all one
God and
Saviour,

116 II. 2. *Don't quarrel about the Bone, or Shell.*

let us then
agree about
outward
rites, &c.

We've got the
Kernel. Don't
let's wrangle
over the Shell.

[1 Sig. P 7, back]

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.

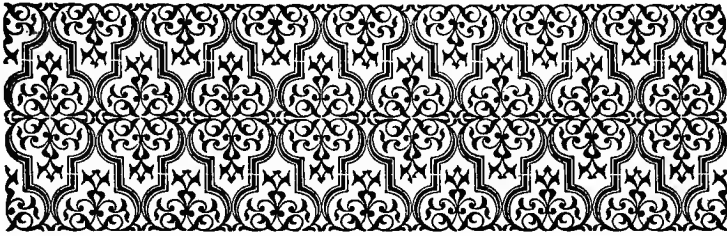
May you and I
meet again, if
not on Earth,
yet to rest for
ever in Heaven!

hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together 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, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow? Let vs consider that this contention of ours among our selues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking such deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwise 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 please God we doe, I promise you in another worcke to discourse of the same more at large. In the mean time let vs giue our selues, ¹to fasting, and prayer, most humbly beseeching his excellent maiesty to blesse 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 sins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow y^e precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Chrifte Iesus our Lord, and onely sauour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praise, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother *Theodorus*, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do see you againe.

Theodo. And I you also good brother *Amphilogus*,
beseeching the Lord that if we meete not
vpon earth, we maye meete yet in the
kingdome of heauen, there to rest
in perfect felicitie
for euer.

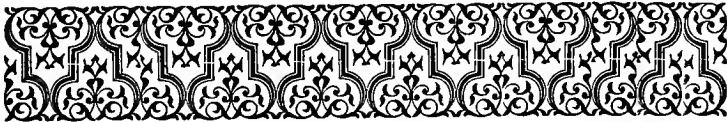
Amphil. The Lord grant it
for his mercies sake.
Amen.

FINIS.



LONDON
Printed by Roger
Ward for William Wright,
and are to be solde at his shop toy-
ning to Saint Mildreds Church in
the Poultry, being the mid-
dle shop in the row.

1583.



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