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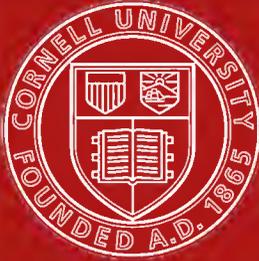
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Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the abuses



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THE

NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

“Societie (saith the text) is the happinesse of life.”—*Loues Labour's lost*, iv. 2.

Meeting at University College, Gower St, London, W.C., on the 2nd Friday of every month (except at Easter and during July, August, and September), at 8 p.m. Subscription, *which constitutes Membership*, One Guinea a year, due on 1st January, and payable to the *Hon. Sec.*, A. G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E., or to the Society's account with the Alliance Bank, Bartholomew Lane, E.C.

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THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

(THE FOUNDER'S PROSPECTUS OF NOV. 1873 REVISED.)

To do honour to SHAKSPERE¹, to make out the succession of his plays, and thereby the growth of his mind and art; to promote the intelligent study of him, and to print Texts illustrating his works and his times, this *New Shakspeare Society* was founded in the autumn of 1873.

It was then a disgrace to England, that while Germany could boast of a Shakspeare Society which had gathered into itself all its country's choicest scholars, England was then, and had for 20 years been, without such a Society. It was a disgrace, again, to England that even then, 257 years after SHAKSPERE's death, the study of him had been so narrow, and the criticism, however good, so devoted to the mere text and its illustration, and to studies of single plays, that no book by an Englishman existed which dealt in any worthy manner with SHAKSPERE as a whole, which tracked the rise and growth of his genius from the boyish romanticism or the sharp youngmanishness of his early plays, to the magnificence, the splendour, the divine intuition, which mark his ablest works. The profound and generous "Commentaries" of Gervinus²—an honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read—was then the only book known to me that came near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or could be put into the hands of the student who wanted to know the mind of SHAKSPERE. (But this is so no longer. Thanks to the work of our new Society and some of its Members, we have at last, by English men, works dealing worthily with the development of our great English poet's art and mind.) I was from the first convinced that the unsatisfactory result of the long and painful study of SHAKSPERE by so many prior English scholars—several, men of great power and acuteness—arose mainly from a neglect of the only sound method of beginning that study, the chronological one.³ And this was why I founded the new Society on the basis of Shakspeare's chronology. Unless a man's works are studied in the order in which he wrote them, you *cannot* get at a right understanding of his mind, you cannot follow the growth of it. This had been specially brought home to me by my work at Chaucer. Until I saw that his *Pity* was his first original work, the key of his life was undiscovered; but that found, it at once opened his treasure-chest, the rest of the jewels he has left us were at once disclosed in their right array, the early pathetic time of his life made clear, its contrast with the later humorous one shown, and, for the first time these 470 years, the dear old man stood out as he was known in Wycliffe's time. Something of this kind must take place in the mind of every one who will carefully and reverently follow SHAKSPERE's steps on his way up to the throne of Literature, where he, our English poet, sits, the glory not of our land alone, but of the world.

Dramatic poet though SHAKSPERE is, hound to lose himself in his wondrous and manifold creations; taciturn "as the secrets of Nature" though he be; yet in this Victorian time, when our geniuses of Science are so wresting her secrets from Nature as to make our days memorable for ever, the faithful student of SHAKSPERE need not fear that he will be unable to pierce through the crowds of forms that exhibit SHAKSPERE's mind, to the mind itself, the man himself, and see him as he was; while in the effort, in the enjoyment of his new gain, the worker will find his own great reward.

Fortunately for us, SHAKSPERE has himself left us the most satisfactory—because undesigned—evidence of the growth in the mechanism of his art, in the gradual changes in his versification during his life, changes that must strike every intelligent reader, and which I cannot at all understand the past neglect of. To cite only one such change, that from the sparing use of the unstopt

¹ This spelling of our great Poet's name is taken from the only unquestionably genuine signatures of his that we possess, the three on his will, and the two on his Blackfriars conveyance and mortgage. None of these signatures have an *e* after the *k*; four have no *a* after the first *e*; the fifth has the overline open-topt *a* (or *u*) which is the usual contraction for *ra*, but must here have been meant for *re*. The *a* and *e* had their French sounds, which explain the forms 'Shaxper', &c. Though it has hitherto been too much to ask people to suppose that SHAKSPERE knew how to spell his own name, I hope the demand may not prove too great for the imagination of the Members of the New Society.

² Miss Bunnett's translation, with an Introduction by myself, is published by Smith and Elder, 12s. Mr H. N. Hudson's 'Shakespeare: his Life, Art, and Character' (Sampson Low and Co.), with comments on

twenty-five of his best Plays, is one of the best original commentaries of its kind in English that I know. Mrs Jamieson's *Characteristics of Women* (5s.) has some most subtle and beautiful studies of Shakspeare's chief woman-creations. See too Prof. Dowden's able and interesting *Mind and Art of Shakspeare* (12s.); his even more valuable *Shakspeare Primer* (1s.); Mr H. P. Stokes's Prize-Essay on the Chronology of Shakspeare's Plays (6s.). My own views of Shakspeare's four Periods, and the Groups of, and Links between, his Plays, are given in my Introduction to the *Leopold Shakspeare*, Cassell and Co., 10s. 6d.

³ The ordinary editions put the Plays higgledy-piggledy; often, like the Folio, beginning with Shakspeare's almost-last play, the *Tempest*, and then putting his third or fourth, the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, next it. No wonder readers are all in a maze.

line to the frequent use of it¹:—a test which, when applied to three of SHAKSPEARE'S unripest, and three of his ripest (though not best) plays, gives the following result,—

Earliest Plays.	Proportion of unstopt lines to stopt ones.	Latest Plays.	Proportion of unstopt lines to stopt ones.
Loues Labour's Lost	1 in 18'14	The Tempest	1 in 3'02
The Comedy of Errours	1 in 10'7	Cymbeline King of Britaine	1 in 2'52
The two Gent. of Verona	1 in 10'	The Winter's Tale	1 in 2'12

surely shows its exceeding value at a glance, though of course it alone is not conclusive. Working with this and other mechanical tests—such as Mr Spedding's, of the pause, of double endings (or redundant final syllables), of the weak ending in *as, in, &c.* (including light endings), the use of rymes, Alexandrines, &c.—we can (I said in 1873), without much trouble, get our great Poet's Plays into an order to which we can then apply the higher tests of conception, characterization, knowledge of life, music of line, dramatic development, and imagination, and see in how far the results of these tests coincide with, or differ from, those of the former ones; whether the conscious growth of power agrees or not with the unconscious change of verse.

Having settled this, we can then mark out the great Periods of SHAKSPEARE'S work—whether with Gervinus and Delius we make Three, or, guided by the verse-test, with Bathurst, we make Four, or with other critics Five, and define the Characteristics of each Period.² We can then put forth a Student's Handbook to SHAKSPEARE, and help learners to know him. But before this, we can lay hand on SHAKSPEARE'S text, though here, probably, there will not be much to do, thanks to the labours of the many distinguisht scholars who have so long and so faithfully workt at it. Still, as students, we should follow their method. First, discuss the documents: print in parallel columns the Quarto and Folio copies of such plays as have both, and determine whether any Quarto of each Play, or the Folio, should be the basis of its text,³ with special reference to *Richard III.* Secondly, discuss all the best conjectural readings, seeking for contemporary confirmations of them; and perhaps drawing up a Black List of the thousands of stupid or ingeniously fallacious absurdities that so-called emenders have devised. Thirdly, led by Mr Alexander J. Ellis, discuss the pronunciation of SHAKSPEARE and his period, and the spelling that ought to be adopted in a scholars' edition of his Plays, whether that of the Quartos or Folio,³ or any of SHAKSPEARE'S contemporaries. It is surely time that the patent absurdity should cease, of printing 16th- and 17th-century plays, for English scholars, in 19th-century spelling. Assuredly the Folio spelling must be nearer SHAKSPEARE'S than that; and nothing perpetuates the absurdity (I imagine) but publishers' thinking the old spelling would make the book sell less. Lastly, we could (unless we then found it needless) nominate a Committee of three, two, or one, to edit SHAKSPEARE'S *Works*, with or without a second to write his *Life*.

¹ Here are two extreme instances. The early one has a stop at the end of every one of its first 16 lines. The late one has only 4 end-stopt lines. (See the late C. Bathurst's 'Differences of Shakspeare's Versification at different Periods of his Life,' 1857.)

(Early) *Loues Labour's lost*, iv. 3 (p. 135, col. 1, Booth's reprint) (Late) *The Tragedie of Cymbeline*, iv. 2 (p. 388, col. 2, Booth's reprint)

Ber. O 'tis more then neede.
 Haue at you then, affections men at armes;
 Consider what you first did swaere vnto:
 To fast, to study, and to see no woman:
 Flat treason against the kingly state of youth.
 Say, Can you fast? your stomacks are too young:
 And abstinence ingenders maladies.
 And where that you haue vow'd to studie (Lords),
 In that each of you haue forsworne his Booke.
 Can you still dreame and pore, and thereon looke?
 For when would you, my Lord, or you, or you,
 Haue found the ground of studies excellence,
 Without the beauty of a womans face?
 From womens eyes this doctrine I deriue:
 They are the Ground, the Bookes, the Achadems,
 From whence doth spring the true *Promethean* fire.

Bel. No single soule
 Can we set eye on: but in all safe reason
 He must haue some Attendants. Though his H[um]or
 Was nothing but mutation, I, and that
 From one bad thing to worse: Not Frenzie, Not
 absolute madnesse could so far haue rau'd
 To bring him heere alone: although perhaps
 It may be heard at Court, that such as wee
 Caue heere, hunt heere, are Owt-lawes, and in time
 May make some stronger head, the which he hearing,
 (As it is like him) might breake out, and swaere
 Heel'd fetch vs in; yet is't not probable
 To come alone, either he so vndertaking,
 Or they so suffering: then on good ground we feare,
 If we do feare this Body hath a taile
 More perillous then the head.

² The doubtful Plays like *Hen. VI.*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Pericles* (of which Mr Tennyson has conuinc'd me that Shakspeare wrote at least the parts in which *Pericles* loses and finds his wife and daughter: see a print of them in the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, Part 1), *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (see *West. Rev.*, April, 1847, and the second Paper in the Appendix to the *New*

Shakspeare Society's Transactions, 1874, Part I), &c., could be discuss't here. The Plays just mention'd will be edited for the Society. The Sonnets and Minor Poems will be discuss't in their chronological order with the Plays.

³ In the first Trial-editions of the Plays in Quarto for the Society, the spelling of the text adopted as the basis of the edition, whether Quarto or Folio, will be follow'd.

The above, the main work of the Society, will be done as in ordinary Literary and Scientific Societies, by Meetings, Papers, and Discussions; the Papers being shorter, and the Discussions much fuller, than in other bodies. The Society's first Meeting was held on Friday, March 13, 1874, at 8 P.M., at University College, Gower Street, London, W.C., as the Committee of the Council of the College have been good enough to grant the use of the College rooms to the *New Shakspeare Society* at a nominal charge, to cover the cost of gas and firing. Offers of Papers to be read at the Society's Meetings are wisht for, and should be made to the Director. The Papers read will be issued as the Society's *Transactions*, and will form *Series 1* of the Society's Publications.

The second part of the *New Shakspeare Society's* work will be the publication of—2. A Series of SHAKSPERE's Plays, beginning with the best or most instructive Quartos, both singly, and in parallel Texts with other sketch-Quartos or the Folio, when the Play exists in both forms; and when not, from the Folio only. This Series will include *a.* Reprints of the Quartos and first Folio; *b.* trial-editions of the whole of *Shakspeare's Plays* in the spelling of the Quarto or Folio that is taken as the basis of the Text. 3. A Series of the *Originals and Analogues of Shakspeare's Plays*, including extracts from North's Plutarch, Holinshed, and other works used by him; 4. A short Series of *Shakspeare-Allusion Books*, contemporary tracts, ballads, and documents alluding-to or mentioning SHAKSPERE or his works; 5. A Selection from the *Contemporary Drama*, from Garrick's Collection, &c.; 6. *Works on Shakspeare's England*, such as Harrison's celebrated *Description of England*, W. Stafford's *Complaint*, &c.; 7. A chronological Series of English *Mysteries, Miracle-Plays, Interludes, Masks, Comedies*, &c., up to Shakspeare's time; 8. *Miscellanies*, including (at Mr Tennyson's suggestion) some facsimiles of Elizabethan and Jacobite handwritings, to show what letters would be most easily mistaken by printers; and (at Mrs G. H. Lewes's suggestion) reprints of last-century criticisms on SHAKSPERE, to show the curious variations in the history of opinion concerning him; besides other occasional works.

The Society's *Transactions* will be in 8vo; its *Texts* will be issued in a handsome quarto, the quarto for Members only; but as the Society's work is essentially one of popularisation, of stirring-up the intelligent study of SHAKSPERE among all classes in England and abroad, all such publications of the Society as the Committee think fit, will be printed in a cheap form, for general circulation.

The Presidency of the Society will be left vacant till one of our greatest living poets sees that his duty is to take it¹. A long list of Vice-Presidents is desired, men eminent in Literature, Art, Science, Statesmanship or rank, as well to do honour to SHAKSPERE, as to further the work of the Society on him. I hope for a thousand members—many from our Colonies, the United States, and Germany; so that the Society may be a fresh bond of union between the three great Teutonic nations of the world. I hope our *New Shakspeare Society* will last as long as SHAKSPERE is studied. I hope also that every Member of the Society will do his best to form Shakspeare Reading-parties, to read the Plays chronologically, and discuss each after its reading, in every set of people, Club or Institute, that he belongs to: there are few better ways of spending three hours of a winter evening indoors, or a summer afternoon on the grass. Branch Societies, or independent ones in union with us, should also be formed to promote these Readings, and the general study of SHAKSPERE, in their respective localities. To such Societies as wish it, proofs of the Papers to be read in London will be sent in advance, so that each such Society can, if it pleases, read at each of its Meetings the same Paper that is read at the Parent Society on the same night.

The Society will be managed by a Committee of Workers, with power to add to their number. The first Director will be myself, the Founder of the Society. Its Treasurer is T. Alfred Spalding, Esq., LL.B., 6, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C.; its Honorary Secretary, Arthur G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E.; its Bank, the Alliance Bank, Bartholomew Lane, London, E.C.; its printers, Messrs Clay and Taylor, Bungay, Suffolk; and its publishers, Messrs Trübner and Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

The subscription (which constitutes Membership, without election or payment of entrance-fee) is a Guinea a year, payable on every first of January to the *Honorary Secretary*, Arthur G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E., by cheque, or Money Order payable at the Chief Office, E.C. The first year's subscription is now due. No publications can be supplied to Members before payment of their Subscriptions.

United States Members pay \$6.50 a year (to Mr Snelgrove, or) to Prof. F. J. Child, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Society's *Honorary Secretary* for the United States of America.

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

November, 1873.

3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.

¹ On March 12, 1879, MR ROBERT BROWNING accepted the post of President.

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LIST OF PAPERS

- TO BE READ AT THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS, AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER ST, W.C., ON THE SECOND FRIDAY OF EVERY MONTH, FROM OCT. 1879, TO JUNE, 1880, AT 8 P. M. (54th Meeting, 3rd Friday.) October 17, 1879. I. "On the Dispute between George Muller, glasier, and trainer of Players to Henry VIII, and Thomas Arthur, tailor, his player-pupil," by G. H. OVEREND, Esq., of the Public Record Office. II. "ESSEX is not the Turtle-dove of SHAKSPERE'S *Phœnix and Turtle*," by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.
- (55.) November 14, 1879. I. "On 'Hebenon' in *Hamlet*," I. v. 62, by Dr. BRINSLEY NICHOLSON. II.
- (56.) December 12, 1879. I. "Are the philosophizings of Achilles in *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 75—111, and of Anfidius in *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 37—55, mistakes in characterization on SHAKSPERE'S part?" by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. II.
- (57.) January 23, 1880. (4th Friday: probably) A Paper by EDW. ROSE, Esq.
- (58.) February 13, 1880. A second Paper on *Cymbeline*, by W. J. CRAIG, Esq., M.A.
- (59.) March 12, 1880. I. A Paper by Dr. B. NICHOLSON. II.
- (60.) April 9, 1880. (probably) A Paper by TY. HOLMES, Esq.
- (61.) May 14, 1880. "On SHAKSPERE'S Treatment of Fate and Freewill in his Characters," by F. D. MATTHEW, Esq.
- (62.) June 11, 1880. I. (probably) "On the Seasons of SHAKSPERE'S Plays," by the Rev. H. N. ELLACOMBE. II.

Offers of other Papers, and of Scraps, are desired, and should be made to the Director, Mr FURNIVALL, 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W. The Committee can appoint the 4th Friday of any month for the reading of any extra Paper that they approve.

The following Publications of the *New Shakspeare Society* have been issued

For 1874 :

- Series I. Transactions.** 1. The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions, Part I, with prints of the genuine Parts of *Timon* and *Pericles*; Mr Spedding's and Mr Hickson's Papers on the several shares of SHAKSPERE and FLETCHER in *Henry VIII* and the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, &c.
- Series II. Plays.** 1. A Parallel-Text Edition of the first two Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597 and 1599, arranged so as to show their Differences, and with Collations of all the Quartos and Folios, edited by P. A. DANIEL, Esq. Presented by H. R. H. Prince Leopold, Vice-President.
- 2, 3. The First two Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597 and 1599: edited by P. A. DANIEL, Esq.

Series IV. *Shakspeare Allusion-Books.* 1. Part I. *a.* Greenes Groatesworth of Wit [written in 1592], 1596; *b.* Henry Chettle's 'Kind-Harts Dreame' [written in 1593]; *c.* 'Englandes Mourning Garment' [1603]; *d.* A Mourneful Dittie, entituled Elizabeths Losse, together with A Welcome for King James [1603]; with extracts from Willobie his Avisa, Marston, Carew, Gabriel Harvey, Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, &c. &c.; edited by Dr Ingleby.

Copies of Dr Ingleby's Still Lion, and Mr Furnivall's Introduction to Gervinus's Commentaries were presented to every Member.

For 1875:

Series I. *Transactions*, 2, 3. 1874, Part II; 1875-6, Part I, Containing Papers by Messrs Hales, Fleay, Simpson, Spedding, and Profs. Ingram and Delius, with Reports of the Discussions on them.

Series II. *Plays.* 4. A revised Edition of the second, or 1599, Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, collated with the other Quartos and the Folios; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq., with Notes, &c.

5, 6. *Henry V:* *a.* Facsimile Reprints of the Quarto, 1600, and First Folio, 1623, edited by Brinsley Nicholson, M.D.

Series III. *Originals and Analogues.* 1. Part I. *a.* The Tragicall Historie of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in English by Ar[thur] Br[ooke], 1562; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq. *b.* The goodly hystory of the true and constant loue between Rhomeo and Julietta; from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.

Mr Halliwell presented to every Member a copy of Mr A. H. Paget's "Shakespeare's Plays: a Chapter of Stage History."

For 1876:

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- Series I.** *Transactions.* 7. Part III., for 1877-9, Papers by Miss Phipson, Mr Ruskin, &c.
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- Series II.** *Plays.* 1. Parallel Texts of the imperfect sketches of *b.* Hamlet, and its Quarto 2 (with the Folio and a revised Text) ; *c.* Merry Wives of Windsor, and Folio 1.
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The Subscription (£1 ls.) for 1879 became due on Jan. 1, and, if not yet paid, should be sent forthwith to the Hon. Sec., A. G. SNELGROVE, Esq., London Hospital, London, E., by Money Order on the Chief Office, or cheque, in either case cross "Alliance Bank." Hon. Sec. for the United States: Prof. F. J. Child, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., to whom Subscriptions, \$7.50 a year, should be paid.

No books will be sent to any Member until his Subscription for 1879, and his arrears, if any, are paid.

New Shakspeare Society.

Second Report, August, 1879.

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§ 1. SINCE the date of the Committee's First Report, July, 1875, the Society's work has gone forward well, notwithstanding the heavy losses that the Society sustained soon after the close of its first year, by the death of its leading authority on the history of the Drama and the Elizabethan time, Mr Richard Simpson, and the disablement for some years of one of its working editors, Dr Brinsley Nicholson. Blows such as these, falling on it so near its start, might well have crushed the life out of any young society; but the New Shakspeare Society has borne them without staggering, and has prest vigorously on to its goal. The Committee however cannot refrain from an expression of their own regret and affection for their lost colleague, Richard Simpson, whose weight of knowledge was more than equalled by a refinement of manner, a sweetness of nature, and gentleness of disposition, that endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. His smile and graceful ways have been missed at the Society's Meetings, even more than his opinion. The Committee are glad to say that Dr Brinsley Nicholson's health has been regained, and that he has taken his place again among them, as an adviser and reader of Papers, though not as an editor. They can report with pleasure too that the Founder of the Old Shakspeare Society, the helper of the New, Mr Halliwell-Phillipps, has

promist to return to that work which has won him so sound a reputation, and done so much service to Shakspeare students. Clear as he had always been from those shameful forgeries which have been the curse of Shakspeare biography and text-criticism for nearly forty years, Mr Halliwell-Phillipps had begun putting the crown to his labours, by the publication of his many-years' fresh gleanings in his *Illustrations of the Life of Shakspeare*. But after the publication of its first Part, he announc't that he should abandon it. Happily he has chang'd his mind, feeling that he has no right to keep to himself material that must be useful to other students of Shakspeare. He is now preparing the Second Part of his *Illustrations*.

§ 2. The Society's Publications for 1875 were mentioned in the last Report; and after its date the issue of one of the books, then considered doubtful, was securd. The Texts for 1875 were:—

In Series II. *Plays*;—Mr P. A. Daniel's revis'd edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (bas't on the Quarto of 1599), with an Introduction, and full critical notes on the Text.

Henry V: a. Facsimile Reprints of the Quarto and First Folio, edited by Dr Brinsley Nicholson.

In Series I. *Transactions*:—Part II of the *Transactions* for 1874, completing the volume. Part I of the *Transactions* for 1875-6.

In Series III. *Originals and Analogues*:—Part I. *a. The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar[thur] Br[ooke], 1562; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.; *b. The goodly hystory of the true and constant loue between Rhomeo and Julietta*; from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.¹

In 1876 came Dr Brinsley Nicholson's illness; and the preparation of the intended main book of the year, the Parallel-Texts of the Quarto and Folio of *Henry V*, was necessarily given up. The Committee therefore determind to open a new branch of the Society's work, to start its Sixth Series, that on *Shakspeare's England*, being certain that this would appeal to a large non-dramatic class of readers, the students of History and Sociology, as well as to our own Members, to whom everything of Shakspeare's time is welcome. The Director's

¹ Mr J. O. Halliwell presented to the Society 600 copies of Mr A. H. Paget's pamphlet, "Shakespeare's Plays: a Chapter of Stage History," 1875; and one was sent to every Member. (These copies are now exhausted.) Mr. Furnivall's gift of a copy of his *Introduction to Gerwinus*, to every Member, still continues.

appeal to some of our wealthy Members for gifts of these *Shakspeare's-England* books was willingly met, and by the generosity of Lord Derby, Mr F. W. Cozens, and Miss Phipson, with a contribution from the Director, the following books were issued :—

Series VI. *Shakspeare's England* : 2. a. *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift*, 1593, with *The passionate Morrice*. b. John Lane's *Tom Tel-Troths Message, and his Pen's Complaint*, 1600. c. Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades, or the Plaine Pathway to Preferment*, 1631. d. *The Glasse of Godly Love*, 1569. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. (*Presented by 3 Members of the Society.*)

3. William Stafford's *Compendious or briefe Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countreyemen, in these our Days*, 1581; with an Introduction by Mr F. D. Matthew; edited by F. J. Furnivall. (*Presented by Lord Derby.*)

The Society added from its own funds:

4. § 1 of Part I of *The Anatomie of Abuses: Contayning A Discoverie, or briefe Summarie, of such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especiallie) in a verie famous Ilande called Ailgna*¹: *Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in Ailgna*¹ *of late, as in other places elsewhere. Verie Godly, to be read of all true Christians, euerie where; but most needefull, to be regarded in Englande. Made dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes. 1. Maij. 1583, collated with the 2nd, 5th, and 6th editions.* Edited by F. J. Furnivall.

Series II. *Plays*. 7. The reprint of the First Quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by Shakspeare and Fletcher, edited by Mr Harold Littledale.

Series VIII. *Miscellanies*. The late Professor W. Spalding's Letter on the Authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, on the Characteristics of Shakspeare's later style, and the Secret of his Supremacy,—one of the ablest bits of Shakspeare criticism ever written—with a Memoir of the Author, by his friend Dr John Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, and Forewords by Mr Furnivall.

And Mr Richard Johnson of Fallowfield, near Manchester, also kindly presented us with:

Series II. *Plays*. 8. The revised Text of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by Shakspeare and Fletcher, with Notes, by Mr Harold Littledale, Part I.

These made a capitally full and valuable issue for 1876,

¹ *Anglia*, England.

indeed, too full a one, for, by mistake, Prof. Spalding's Letter was included in it, and had to be paid for out of the income of 1877. Thus also for the most important book in the *Shakspeare's England Series*, that meant to head it, and therefore numbered 1, there was no 1876 money left. Tho the book was ready in October 1876, it had to be thrown over to 1877. But 150 Members paid their subscriptions for it in advance, and had it in the autumn of 1876. This book was

Series VI. *Shakspeare's England*. 1. William Harrison's *Description of England* in Shakspeare's youth, 1577, 1587, edited from its two versions by Mr Furnivall. Part I, with an enlarged copy of Norden's Map of Shakspeare's London, by Vanden Keere, 1593, and Mr H. B. Wheatley's Notes on it; extracts from foreign travellers' accounts of England in Tudor times, and from Harrison's lately unearthed *Chronologie* or *Chronicle* (extracts mainly for his own time):—'a racy, contemporary description of the England Shakspeare lived in, and the men and women, houses, food, drink, dress, and institutions of his day.'

It was a big book, cost nearly £300, and ought to have been the only book issued for the year, seeing that Prof. Spalding's *Letter* in fact belonged to 1877, having been paid for out of its income. But relying on the energy of our Members—which, alas, was never shown—in getting new members and more money, the Committee also issued in 1877,

Series I. *Transactions*, 1875-6, Part 2, containing Papers by Dr Legge, the Countess of Charlemont, Miss Jane Lee—on 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and their Originals, *The Contention and True Tragedy*—Prof. Delius (on Shakspeare's Use of Narrative in his Plays), &c., and 5 Appendixes of Reprints, three of great interest: 1. the analysis of the times of action of the plays of *Othello* and *Macbeth* by the late Prof. J. Wilson (Christopher North), and of *The Merchant of Venice* by the late Rev. N. J. Halpin:¹ 2. the Confusion in the Time of Action of *The Merry Wives* by Prof. Rich. Grant White; 3. the Speeches of Brutus and Antony over the body of Julius Cæsar, from the enlighted Appian's *Chronicle* of 1578, which may have suggested Shakspeare's. Mr Franz Thimm also added a list of Shakspeareana for 1874-5, and Mr F. D. Matthew an account of the German Shakspeare Society's *Jahrbuch* for 1876.

¹ The whole subject has since been dealt with by Mr P. A. Daniel in the Society's *Transactions*, 1877-9, Part II. In Part I. p. 41-57 Mr Daniel exposd the weak points of Mr Halpin's scheme.

Series II. *Plays*; no. 9. *Henry V.* b. Parallel Texts of the First Quarto (1600) and First Folio (1623) editions; edited by Dr Brinsley Nicholson and Mr P. A. Daniel, and with an Introduction by Mr Daniel.

On its becoming clear that Dr Nicholson could not complete his *Parallel Text*, Mr Daniel, in the most kind way, promised to stay in England and finish it for the Society.

The list of the mistakes in our Reprint of the First Folio *Henry V* was so disappointing,—tho' in only one case was a necessary letter, 'winne[r],' left out, and in only one case a word ('Lord [High] Constable')—that it determined the Committee on a step they had often before contemplated, the giving-up of the issue of a series of Quarto Reprints of the Plays in the First Folio. From the first this was only an eye-luxury; students' needs were satisfied by the facsimile of Staunton, its reduction by Chatto and Windus, and Booth's admirable and handy quarto reprint. This experience, and the continued pressure on the Society's funds, also decided the Committee on giving up to Mr Griggs the reproduction, under the Director's superintendence, of the Series of First (or early) Quartos of Shakspeare's Plays, so that the Committee would need only to reprint—for some years at least—those Quartos that had to be set in Parallel Texts. As Mr Griggs undertook to, and did, photograph at once seventeen of the most important Quartos, and promised to issue them gradually, the Committee felt that they could not but give their sanction to a scheme which would accomplish a large branch of the Society's work long before the Society's small funds would let them do it themselves. But they regret to find that as yet only the first Quarto of *Hamlet* has appeared.

For 1878 the Committee had not much money to spend, and therefore issued only three Books:—

Series I, no. 5. *Transactions, 1877—9, Part I*, containing Papers by Mr Edward ROSE (on the mistakes in the Division into Acts of *Hamlet*); Mr SPEDDING (on like mistakes in *Lear*, *Much Ado* and *Twelfth Night*); Mr T. Alfred SPALDING (on the Witch-Scenes in *Macbeth*,—contending against Mr Fleay, &c. that all the witches are of like kind, and Shakspeare's;—and on the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (contending that there is no good evidence of a second hand in it); Mr P. A. DANIEL, on Mr Halpin's Time-Analysis of the *Merchant of Venice* (showing that 8 days and 4 intervals were required by Shakspeare's words, instead of the 38 hours given by Mr Halpin); Mr C. H. COOTE (on Shakspeare's 'New Map' in *Twelfth Night*,

identifying it, and giving a photolithograph of its 'augmentation of the Indies,' and the Dutchman Barentz's Novya-Zembla Discoveries probably alluded to in *Tw. N. III. ii. 29*); a collection of *Scraps*, from books of literature and dictionaries, illustrating some of Shakspeare's phrases and words; and an *Appendix* of the only known fragments of William Wager's Interlude of *The Cruel Debttter*, 1566.

Series VI, *Shakspeare's England*, no. 5. Harrison's *Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth*. Part II, the Third Book, from the editions of 1577 and 1587, with a Map of Shakspeare's Roads to London; a large héliogravure reproduction (by M. Dujardin of Paris) of De la Serre's view of the North of Cheapside in 1638, and Marie de Medicis's Procession there; an Introduction of 66 pages containing extracts from Stow, Howes, Busino, &c. on the London of Shakspeare's day; and an *Appendix* by Mr Wm. RENDLE on the Bankside, Southwark, and the *Globe* Theatre; giving, for the first time, the real site of that Theatre; with Plans of Paris Garden 1627, and the Bankside, and Wm. Smith's unique Plans of Cambridge and Canterbury, 1588; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

Series VIII. *Miscellanies*, no. 2. Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr*, or *Rosalins Complaint*, 1601, with its Supplement, "*Diverse Poeticall Essayes*" on the *Turtle and Phoenix* by SHAKSPERE, Ben Jonson, George Chapman, John Marston, &c.; edited, with Introduction, Notes and Illustrations, by the Rev. Dr Grosart (*presented partly by Dr Grosart*).

The reasons for squeezing three years' Papers (1877-9) into one volume of *Transactions* were, 1. the Committee's desire to leave more money for Reprints; 2. their conviction that after their first work was done,—the establishment of the value of metrical evidence, and of the chronological study of Shakspeare's works—fewer Papers need be printed; 3. the fact that the more popular and interesting Papers would find publicity in Magazines, and there get their writers pay, as several have done; 4. because many Papers were read from notes, or were tentative, and not meant for printing in full.

With regard to Chester's *Loves Martyr*, it was from the first on the Society's list for editing by Mr Richard Simpson; and when, after his death, Dr Grosart's edition for his subscribers was begun, he was askt by the Director to allow the Society to take, at its cost, casts from his (Dr Grosart's) type, so that the cost of a double setting of the text might be avoided. To this, Dr Grosart kindly consented; and tho, when the proposal was made, the Committee were not aware of the theory of the

identity of the Phoenix and Turtle with Elizabeth and Essex, which the Editor of the book afterwards advocated, they could not let that theory hinder the issue of a work containing the originals of two of Shakspeare's Poems. They inserted the statement usual in Societies' books, that the Editor alone is responsible for the opinions expressed in them; and, to try and help readers thro' the mazes of Chester's confusion, the Committee had a Contents, Argument, and Index, added to the volume. The Committee feel much obliged to Dr Grosart for his leave to them to use his type.

§ 3. For 1879 the money at the Committee's disposal justifies the issues of only three books, till the announcement of these books' being ready, shows whether there will be enough arrears and fresh subscriptions paid up to enable another Text to go out. These three books will be,—

Series I. *Transactions*, no. 6. A Time-Analysis of the Plots of Shakspeare's Plays, I *Comedies*, II *Tragedies*, III *Histories*, by P. A. Daniel, Esq.

Series IV. *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, no. 2. *Shakspeare's Centurie of Prayse, 1592—1693*, culled from Writers of the First Centurie after his Rise, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D.; a new edition, with many additions, by Miss L. Toulmin Smith. (Presented mainly by Dr Ingleby.)

Series VI. *Shakspeare's England Series*, no. 6. § 2 of Part I of Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspeare's Youth, A.D. 1583* (collated with other editions in 1583, 1585, and 1595), with Extracts from Stubbes's *Life of his Wife—a Christal Glasse for Christian Women, 1591* (from Mr Hy. Pyne's unique copy);—from Stubbes's *Perfect Pathway to Felicitie, 1592* (from the editor's unique copy, and Mr Huth's unique copy of the 1610 edition); *Popular and Popish Superstitions on Saints' Days, &c.*, in 1553, being the Fourth Book of Thomas Kirchmaier's or Naogeorgus's *Regnum Papismi*, englished by Barnabe Googe in 1570 as *The Popish Kingdome*; a héliogravure reproduction by M. Dujardin, of Virtue's engraving of the Procession of Queen Elizabeth to the Wedding of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell at Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, on June 16, 1600; other cuts of Elizabethan costume, and a Memorandum thereon by the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth; an account of Stubbes and his Works; and full Notes on the Dress and Customs of his day; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

The question of the Times of the Plots of Shakspeare's Plays was raised in so interesting a way by the extracts from Prof.

Wilson, Mr Halpin and Prof. Grant White in the Appendix to the Society's *Transactions* for 1876, and had so close a bearing on Shakspeare's art, that the Committee, finding how easily Mr Daniel overthrew Mr Halpin's scheme of the time of the *Merchant*, urg'd their kind helper to continue his investigations, and find out at least the facts for future critics of Shakspeare's 'long and short time' to comment on; to ascertain, and set down, the number of days which the action of each Play requir'd, the period which must have elapst between its opening and ending. It was clear that no satisfactory theory of Shakspeare's art in dealing with the immensities, or nothings, of Time and Space could be got at, unless the facts were first ascertain'd, to found the theory on. Mr Daniel was good enough to undertake the work, involving so much time, and care, and labour, a task for which the Committee desire to record their gratitude to him. He first noted all the lines in which the time of the action of each Play was alluded to or involvd—as the Cowden Clarkes have done (with some mistakes and omissions) in 178 pages of their valuable lastly-publisht '*Shakespeare Key*,'—and then from these data framed the statements and schemes of the days of each Play that he has set down in his Treatise which forms Part II of the Society's *Transactions* for 1877-9. About these, Mr Daniel has not yet put forward any theory; he desires to have his statements of facts first examind. As will be seen by the notes on the back of the half-title of the Part, two exceptions have been already taken to points in the schemes of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Caesar*. Mr Daniel asks for more, well-considerd ones, and any comments on the 'long and short time' theory that the schemes may suggest to readers.

Dr Ingleby, not being satisfied with the First Part of the *Allusion-Books* he edited for the Society in 1874, kindly propos'd to give us a second and enlarg'd edition of his *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, 1592-1693, if the Society would pay some one to revise the extracts in the first edition, add in the fresh ones that his friends and he had since gather'd, collect others, and see the whole thro' the Press. This offer the Committee gladly accepted; and for £50 Miss L. Toulmin Smith agreed to do the necessary clerk's and editor's work. The result is before our members, in the present book, enlarg'd by more than one-third in its number of extracts mentioning or alluding to Shakspeare or his works, and with trustworthy texts—always excepting the possible little literal slips that will creep into even the most careful work. On many points, differences from

Dr Ingleby's opinions have been expressed by the reviser. They will serve as material for the reader to form his own judgment by. The Committee wish to express their thanks to Dr Ingleby for his valuable gift to the Society, and to Miss Smith for the care which she has bestowed on the present edition.

Knowing how many country and foreign members the Society has, who do not possess access to a large Elizabethan library, the Committee have gladly acquiesced in Mr Furnivall's wish that Philip Stubbes's famous book on the Absurdities of Dress, Customs, &c., in Shakspeare's time, should be accompanied by an engraving and some woodcuts of the costume of the period, and pretty full Notes on the subjects treated in Stubbes's text, as in the case of Harrison's *England*. The same motive has induced the Editor to reprint with the *Anatomie* the very rare English account by Kirchmaier, or Naageorgus, of the Popular and Popish superstitions on Saints' Days, &c., in Germany (and other Popish countries) in 1553. This was very largely used by Brand in his *Antiquities*, but is so scarce, that the copy in the Cambridge University Library from which our reprint is taken, is believed to be the only complete one known.

The foregoing are the only texts which can be issued for our 1879 income, unless it is largely increased by fresh members, or arrear ones paying up their arrears.

A second gift-book the Society might have had this year, from Mr Richard Johnson of Fallowfield, if its editor's new vocation (school-mastering) had left him time for the avocation of finishing his task for us; and that is,

In Series II, *Plays*:—*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakspeare and Fletcher; *b.* a revised edition, Part II, with Introduction, Notes, and separate Glossaries of Shakspeare's and of Fletcher's words; by Harold Littledale, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin.

But a sudden call of the Editor to India necessitates the book's being thrown over to 1880, or later.

For 1880 there are in the Press,—

Series I. *Transactions*, no. 7. Part III for 1877-9, containing Papers by Miss PHIPSON on the Animal Similes in *Henry VI*, the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and in Marlowe, Greene, and Peele; on "yon grey lines that fret the clouds," *J. Caesar*, II. i. 104, by Mr RUSKIN; Scraps illustrating Shakspeare's phrases and words, &c.; with an Appendix on Shakspeare's 4½ yards of red cloth in 1603, and Lists of the Players of James I and Charles I.

[*Two Papers are in the press.*]

Series II. *Plays*:—*Henry V.* c. a revised edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Index, by Walter G. Stone, Esq.

[*This is now nearly all past for press.*

Cymbeline: a. A Reprint of the Folio of 1623, with full collations; b. a revised Edition, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by W. J. CRAIG, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Dublin.

[*a. is past for press; b. is preparing.*

Series VI. *Shakspeare's England*, no. 7. *Harrison's Description of England*, Part III, containing 4 Chapters from his first Book, from the editions of 1577 and 1587, with an Appendix of Extracts from Churchyard, Norden, Fynes Moryson, &c., on the England of their day, and Notes and an Index to all three Parts; also with héliogravures of Basire's engraving of the Procession of Edward VI from the Tower to Westminster, on Febr. 19, 1547, from the burnt Cowdray picture, and of Wilkinson's engraving of the Sermon at Paul's Cross before James I in 1620, from the Antiquaries' picture; a cut of the best picture of old London Bridge from a MS in the Pepys collection; and Norden's Map of Westminster, with a comment on it by Mr HENRY B. WHEATLEY; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

[*Half the text is past for press, and Mr Herrtage has the Index ready up to the last sheet printed.*

Series VII. *Mysteries*, &c. Three 15th-century Mysteries, the *Killing of the Children*, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, and *Mary Magdalene* (in 2 Parts), with a *Morality of Wisdom*, who is Christ; re-edited from the unique Digby MS 133 by F. J. Furnivall.

[*Half the text is past for press.*

How many of these can be sent out in 1880, depends on the money our members send in. Such of these books as funds are found for, will be issued in the order in which they leave the press. First ready, first out, is the Committee's rule.

§ 4. The results of the Society's first 6 years' work are worthy ones, and full of encouragement for future work. Since the lift given by Coleridge to Shakspeare criticism, there has been no such stimulus to the æsthetic and critical study of SHAKSPEARE, and the basing of it on facts, on metrical and undesignd evidence, as the Society and its leading members have given. Never before had the importance of studying Shakspeare as a whole, of ascertaining, on evidence, the order of his plays, and then following, carefully and lovingly, the development of his mind, and its expression in verse, been duly insisted on, or the method and facts of the case set forth. But henceforward the principles advocated by the Society from

§ 4. *Results of the Society's Work.* MR. BROWNING, *President.* 11

its foundation, are part and parcel of the Shakspeare criticism of the present and the future. The Society has in *Plays* publisht valuable Parallel-Texts of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry V*, besides Reprints of Quartos, and Mr Daniel's edition of *Rom. and Jul.*, acknowledgd by the latest German critic to be the most thorough and excellent edition of the text of the Play ever issued. In *Transactions* it has issued Papers making certain the shares that Shakspeare wrote in *Henry VIII* and *Pericles* (and possibly his share in *Timon* and *The 2 Noble Kinsmen*); containing the fullest discussion of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and their source-plays, and of the Metrical Tests of Shakspeare's works. In *Allusion-Books* it has (thro' Dr Ingleby's kindness) put forth the completest list ever publisht of the mentions of Shakspeare and his works for the first hundred years after his rise in 1592. In *Shakspeare's-England* books it has publisht, with large illustrations, the first separate reprint of the best book on the subject generally, Harrison's *England*, 1577—87, and the first duly annotated reprint of the best book on the specialities of dress and customs, Stubbes's *Anatomie*. In *Miscellanies*, it has reviv'd one of the most stimulating pieces of Shakspeare criticism ever written, Prof. Spalding's *Letter on the Authorship of the Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the work in which Shakspeare's *Phoenix and Turtle* first appeard. The Committee can fairly call on the Society's members to look back with satisfaction on its first six years' work, and to feel that the worth of it, done in honour of the great name the Society bears, was sufficient ground for them to ask MR ROBERT BROWNING to take, and for him to accept, the Presidency of the Society, so long left vacant "till one of our greatest living poets should see that it was his duty to take it." With true gratification the Committee and (they are sure) every Member of the Society receivd Mr Browning's graceful consent to be the first President of the New Shakspeare Society, and thus head the band of English men and women whose bond of oneness is "to do honour to SHAKSPEARE."

§ 5. But tho' the Committee can claim content for the Society's past six years' work, they are painfully alive to the fact that if the Society had been properly supported—backt as a Shakspeare Society should be backt by English and English-speaking men—that six years' work should have been done in two years. What kind of tribute is a miserable £500 a year, to the memory of the man who has done for England and the world, what Shakspeare has done, is doing, and will do? The sum is ludicrous in its pettiness. No Member can be

satisfied with it. Every Member of the Society should make it his business to get the amount increas't. When too Editors and Writers give Members months of trouble and work to produce them good books and Papers, the least that Members can do in return is to give an occasional ten-minutes to hunting and catching a new Member. Every one in the land with a guinea to spare ought to subscribe to the New Shakspeare Society. It is a duty he owes to Shakspeare and to English Literature. And our Members should see that all their friends and acquaintances do their duty in this regard.

Let Members but look at the work waiting to be got to press for the Society, and they will see how urgently more money is needed for it. First, a larger income than usual will be needed in 1880 to clear the books named for that year's issue above. Then funds are wanted at once for 1. Mr W. G. Stone's *Shakspeare Holinshed*—selections from Holinshed's *Chronicle* for Shakspeare's Historical Plays,—of which the text is nearly ready; 2. Mr Furnivall's edition of the Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, of which the copy is ready; 3. Miss J. Lee's Parallel-Text edition of the *Contention* and 2 *Henry VI*, and the *True Tragedy* and 3 *Henry VI*, which can be sent to press at short notice; 4. for the other Parallel Texts, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, 2 *Henry IV*, *Merry Wives*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*; 5. for the important Collection of the Wills of the Actors and Authors of Elizabeth's and James I's times that Colonel J. L. Chester has most kindly undertaken to prepare for the Society, and for which there is no so fit Editor living as himself.

A thousand pounds' worth of work could be got to press in a very little while; and if by way of an instalment of it, any Member will volunteer to imitate the good example set by H.R.H. Prince Leopold, Lord Derby, Mr Cozens, Miss Phipson, and Dr Ingleby, and give the Society another Reprint, or a cheque towards one, his present will be most welcome.

§ 6. *Prizes.* The Committee's First Report said that they proposed "to follow the example of the Early English Text Society, and give yearly to a certain number of the more important Colleges and Schools in Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, some of the Society's completed publications" as a prize for the winner in an examination in Shakspeare or one of his Plays. Books have accordingly been sent, on application, to the following institutions, and the Committee have received most gratifying letters on the stimulus that the gift of these prizes has given to Shakspeare study:—

Aberystwyth, University College, Cardiganshire, South Wales.
 Alabama, University, Tuscalora, Alabama, U.S.A.
 Annapolis, St. John's College, Maryland, U.S.A.
 Baltimore City College, U.S.A.
 Bedford Grammar School.
 Belfast, Queen's College.
 Berlin, Germany, Prof. Herrig's Academy.
 Bonn, Prussia, Prof. Delius's Classes.
 California University, Oakland, California, U.S.A.
 Cork, Queen's College.
 Dublin, Trinity College.
 Fife, St. Andrew's University.
 Galway, Queen's College.
 Glasgow, the Academy.
 Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa City, U.S.A.
 Ithaca, Cornell University, U.S.A.
 Liverpool Institute, Mount St., Liverpool; and Royal Institution.
 Logan Female College, Russellville, Kentucky, U.S.A.
 London, City of London School.
 „ Cowper Street Middle Class School.
 „ Grocers' Company's Schools.
 „ King's College Evening Classes, and King's College School.
 „ University College, and University College School.
 McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
 Manchester, Grammar School.
 „ Owen's College, and Owen's College Evening Classes.
 Mill Hill School, Hendon.
 Mississippi, University of, Oxford, Mississippi, U.S.A.
 Norwich School, Norwich.
 Philadelphia, La Fayette College, Easton, U.S.A.
 Strassburg, Germany, Prof. Ten Brink's Classes.
 Skipton, Yorkshire, The Grammar School.
 Western Female High School, Baltimore, U.S.A.

The names of the Prize-winners we hope to give in next Report.

§ 7. *Societies in Union.* The dropping of the practice of printing the Papers read at every Meeting has of course prevented the sending of these Papers to the Branch Shakspeare-Societies in union with us. But still the Committee have been able to help by advice in the formation of a few fresh Societies, and to lend them some of the MS Papers read at the Society's Meetings. Henceforth this will be the most that the Society can do directly for Branch Societies' help. But the Committee hope that all of them, as well as the many Shakspeare Reading-clubs and Societies about the kingdom, will look on the New Shakspeare Society as a connecting link between them of which they ought to avail themselves.

The Treasurer's Cash-Account for 1878 follows. Those for 1875-7 have already appeared in the *Transactions*.

Hereafter, a Report, or short Statement by way of one, will appear yearly.

Publications of the NEW SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY issued for 1874 :

- Series I. Transactions.** 1. Part I, containing 4 Papers, editions of the genuine parts of *Timon* and *Pericles*, and details of that of *Henry-VIII*, &c.
Series II. Plays. The 1597 and 1599 Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, in a. simple Reprints; b. Parallel Texts, by P. A. Daniel, [b. presented by Prince Leopold.]
Series IV. Shakspeare Allusion-Books. 1. Part I. 1592-8 A.D. (Greenes Groatesworth of Wit, 1592; Chettle's 'Kind-Harts Dreame,' 1593; five sections from Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, &c.); ed. C. M. Ingleby, LL.D.

For 1875 :

- Series I. Transactions,** 2, 3. 1874, Part II; 1875-6, Part I, containing Papers by Messrs Hales, Fleay, Simpson, and Spedding, and Profs. Ingram and Delius.
Series II. Plays. 4. *Romeo and Juliet*, c. a Revised Edition of the Quarto of 1599, with Collations, Notes and Introduction; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.
5, 6. *Henry V.*, a. Reprints of the Quarto and Folio, edited by Dr Brinsley Nicholson.
Series III. Originals and Analogues. 1. Part I. The two Histories of *Romeo and Juliet*, by Ar. Br[ooke], 1562, and W. Painter, 1567; edited by P. A. Daniel.

For 1876 :

- Series II. Plays.** 7, 8. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Shakspeare and Fletcher; a. A Reprint; b. a revised Edition, by H. Littledale. (Presented by R. Johnson, Esq.)
Series VI. 2. a. *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift*, 1593. b. John Lane's *Tom Tell-Troths message*, 1600. c. Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631. d. *The Glasse of Godly Loue*, [1569]. (Presented by 3 members.) Ed. F. J. Furnivall.
3. William Stafford's *Compendious or briefe Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countreyemen, in these our Days*, 1581; Introduction by F. D. Matthew; ed. by F. J. Furnivall. (Presented by the Earl of Derby.)
4. Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1 May, 1583; Pt I, § 1; ed. F. J. Furnivall.
Series VIII. Miscellanies. 1. Prof. Spalding's Letter on the Authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the Characteristics of SHAKSPEARE'S style (1833). With a Memoir by Dr. J. H. Burton, and Forewords by F. J. Furnivall.

For 1877 :

- Series I. Transactions.** 4. Part II. for 1875-6, containing Papers by Prof. Delius, Miss Jane Lee, Prof. S. R. Gardiner, &c.
Series II. Plays. 9. *Henry V.*, b. Parallel Texts of the First Quarto (1600) and Folio (1623) editions; ed. Dr. B. Nicholson, with an Introduction by P. A. Daniel.
Series VI. Shakspeare's England. 1. William Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, 1587, ed. by F. J. Furnivall. Part I, with Norden's Map of London, 1593, and Notes on it by H. B. Wheatley.

For 1878 :

- Series I. Transactions.** 5. Part I, 1877-9, with Papers by Jas. Spedding, Esq., &c.
Series VI. Shakspeare's England. 5. William Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, 1587, Part II, with Maps and Engravings, ed. by F. J. Furnivall.
Series VIII. Miscellanies. 2. Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*—from which Shakspeare's lines to the 'Phoenix and Turtle' were taken—edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, B.D.

For 1879 :

- Series I. Transactions.** 6. Part II. for 1877-9, Mr. Daniel's Time-Analysis of the Plots of Shakspeare's Plays.
Series IV. Allusion-Books. 2. *Shakspeare's Centurie of Praise*, the 2nd edition, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D., and Miss L. Toulmin Smith. (Presented mainly by Dr. Ingleby.)
Series VI. Shakspeare's England. 6. Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, Part I, § 2, with extracts from his other Works, and Wood-cuts: ed. F. J. Furnivall.

Publications of the NEW SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY now at Press :

- Series II. Plays.** 10. *Henry V.*: c. a Revised Edition, with Notes and Introduction; edited by Walter G. Stone, Esq.
Series II. The Two Noble Kinsmen, pub. 1634; c. Introduction and Glossarial Index, by Harold Littledale, Esq., B.A. (Presented by Richard Johnson, Esq.)
Series II. Cymbeline: a. a Reprint of the Folio, 1623; b. a Revised Edition, with Introduction and Notes, by W. J. Craig, M.A.
Series VI. Shakspeare's England. 7. Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, 1587, Part III: and Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*, Part II, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A.
Series VII. Mysteries, &c. *Three 15th-century Mysteries, with a Morality*, re-edited from the unique Digby MS. 133 by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

"Societie (saith the text) is the happinesse of life."—*Loves Labour's lost*, iv. 2.

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Meeting at University College, Gower St, London, W.C., on the 2nd Friday of every month (except at Easter and during July, August, and September), at 8 p.m. Subscription, which constitutes Membership, One Guinea a year, due on 1st January, and payable to the *Hon. Sec.*, A. G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E.

*President :*

ROBERT BROWNING, Esq.

*Vice-presidents :*

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

A.D. 1583.

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PART I.

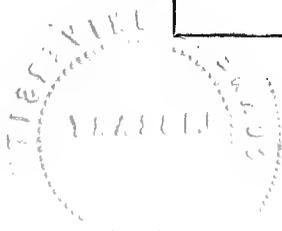
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**Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage**

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden. 2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scull on land. 5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State. 6. Roger Manners, Earl Elizabeth. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, the Brother of the Bride. (Virtue's print, and G. Scharf in *Archæol. Journal*, xxiii. 131. The original painting is Lord Ilchester's)



**Wedding of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.**

1. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand. 2. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand. 4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 5. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 6. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 7. Lord Herbert of Cardiff. 8. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom. 9. Queen Anne. 10. Queen Anne. 11. Queen Anne. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the bridegroom. The replica of Mr. Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, differs in the Queen's right hand and the Bride's feet).



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

A.D. 1583.

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PART I.

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

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WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S *LIFE OF HIS WIFE*, 1591,  
AND HIS *PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE*, 1592 (1610),  
AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, 1588;  
ALSO  
THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)  
*REGNUM PAPISMI*, or *POPISH KINGDOME*, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570.)  
ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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TO

Professor Kobalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMRNT,

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

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

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOFMEN STOFT THEM,

THIS BOOK

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

Is Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



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

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<sup>1</sup> The chapters are not numbered in the 1st edition, and sometimes not divided, as in chap. vii, on Covetousness, p. 114.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.

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

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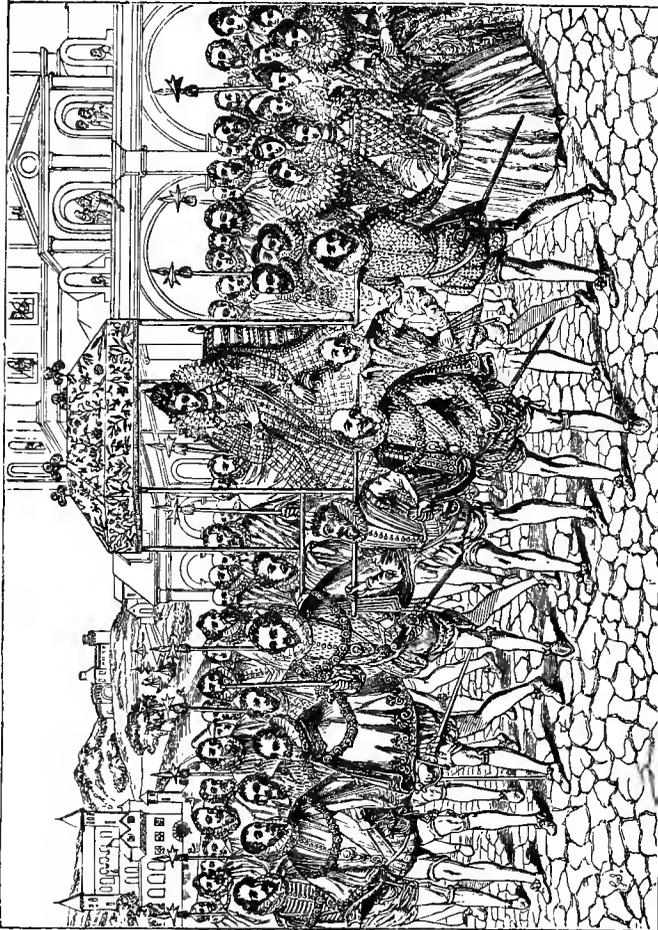
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 Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden.
2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scull cap.
3. George Carey, and Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand.
4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.
5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State.
6. Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.
7. Lord Herbert of Cardiffe.
8. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom.
9. Queen Elizabeth.
10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas.
11. Lord Herbert the Bridegroom.
12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford.
13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell.
14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
15. (Virgic's print, and G. Scharf, in *Archaeol. Journal*, xxiii. 137. The original painting (?) by Marc Gerard) is Lord Liverpool's, Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, puts the Queen's right hand under her dress, and hides the bride's feet.)





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



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 246, 435.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

b

12\*

44





Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). *Planché*, ii. 230.  
 Later fashion of married women baring the neck.



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



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





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



Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. *Planché*, i. 187.  
Later Fashion of married Women baring the Neck.





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



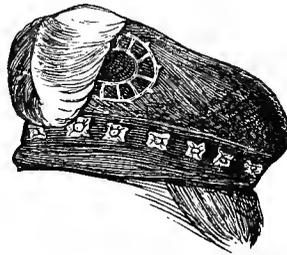
Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. *Planché, i. 436.*



Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstockes  
(*Stubbes, p. 57*); time of Elizabeth, from  
portrait of Sir William Russell.  
*Planché, i. 172.*



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



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



## Memorandum:

### ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE

REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

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

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. 1. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. In general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantries, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

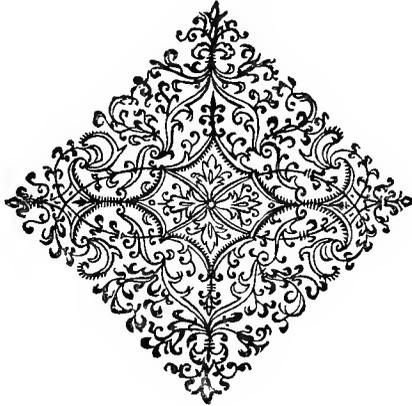
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from her head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. The obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., *Purgatorio*, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in *Musarum Deliciae*, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First: perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X<sup>2</sup> to X<sup>4</sup>) of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

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

ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y<sup>2</sup>) being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman :

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

J. W. EBSWORTH.





Roxburghe Ballad Cuts (Ballad Society). T. Bare Breasts ; Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline).  
 S. Queen Mary. P. Queen Elizabeth. Round Farthingale.



X<sup>1</sup>



R



X<sup>2</sup>

Kuffs, Fans, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. X<sup>2</sup>. Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.





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





X 4

Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches, Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. i. Elizabeth or James I.





(? Time of James I.)



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



M



N



Y



? time of Charles I.





D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



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





A



C



B

Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. **A** : from R. Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592.  
**B** is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, altered from the title-page of his  
*Nine-Days' Wonder* : the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.  
**C**. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.



Z



F



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





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



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.





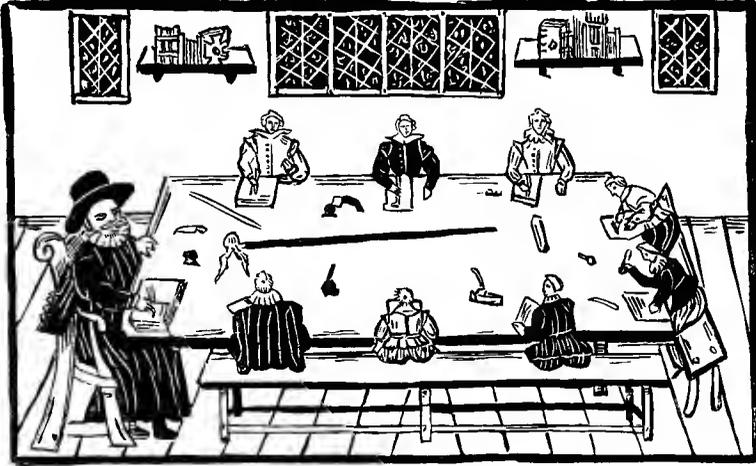
G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's *Philocotonista*, 1635.



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

d





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



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





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



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



FOREWORDS.<sup>1</sup>

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>§ 1. <i>The Anatomie: its 1st and 2nd Parts</i>, p. 35*</p> <p>§ 2. <i>T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes</i>, p. 36*</p> <p>§ 3. <i>Did Stubbes write against real Sins or fancid ones?</i> p. 44*</p> <p>§ 4. <i>Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an earnest Heart?</i> p. 49*</p> <p>§ 5. <i>Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family</i>, p. 50*</p> | <p>§ 6. <i>His 11 known, and 8 extant Works</i>, p. 55*</p> <p>§ 7. <i>His Character</i>, p. 69*</p> <p>§ 8. <i>Miscellaneous</i>: p. 71*</p> <p><i>Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirckmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &amp;c.</i></p> <p>APPENDIX: <i>Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes</i>, p. 75*</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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

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

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

|                            |                                         |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Country                    | Landlords                               |
| Queen                      | Tailors                                 |
| Her Council                | Starchers                               |
| Shires                     | Tanners                                 |
| Judges (delays in law)     | Shoemakers                              |
| Prisoners, their hard case | Brokers (F. 4, bk.)                     |
| Laws                       | Hospitality, or relief for the<br>poor. |
| Universities               | Beggars                                 |
| Schoolmasters              | Husbandmen                              |
| Merchants                  | Ingraters or Forestallers               |
| Drapers                    | Chandlers                               |
| Clothiers                  | Barbers                                 |
| Goldsmiths                 | Surgeons and Physicians                 |
| Vintners                   | Astronomers and Astrologers             |
| Butchers                   | Prognosticators and Almanac-<br>Makers. |
| Grasiers                   |                                         |
| Parks                      |                                         |
| Sheepmasters               |                                         |

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

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

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

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Almond for a Parrat*,<sup>1</sup> 1589.

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

[on sign. C. 4.

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

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

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

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

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose; but I <sup>1</sup>wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vtterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engraft her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargaine. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee; *Phil. Stu.* was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all; and so, O grieffe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it *Mar-martin Iunior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them; tickle me my *Phil.* a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain priuate Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of *Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*. If you be remembered, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes<sup>2</sup> Printing-house, when as you would needes haue *clari* the infinitiue moode of a verbe passiu; which determined, you went forwards after this order: *Sunt* there are, *oculos eies, qui* the which, *cernis* thou doest see, *clari* to be cleare, *tanquem sydera* as the Stars: Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke?<sup>3</sup> Learning is a iewel, my maisters; make much of it; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulted out) amongst the number of those priuy Martinists which he threatens to place in<sup>4</sup> euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitie pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

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

<sup>2</sup> Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of *Holinshed's Chronicle*. See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65\* n. below.

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

<sup>4</sup> Sign. D. 1, back.

§ 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and his Anatomie.* 39\*

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our graue fathers infirmitie, so all their outrageous endeours haue their offspring from affected vainglory.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. ii. back.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. iii.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. iii. back.

<sup>2</sup> A supposd rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my *Captain Cox*, Ballad Soc., p. xlix-1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> See a bit of Gooze's work in the Naogeorgus Appendix, p. 323 below.

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

§ 2. *Nashe's Widow-chaff of Stubbes not to be believd.* 43\*

and Watson ; in Kiffin<sup>1</sup>, Warner, and Daniell ; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers : and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, *Stubbes*, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible intertainment of the daintiest censure.<sup>2</sup>"

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarian, a brabling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (*ib.* p. 61) ; or to say that his books are all like his *Strange Newes* (1592, against Harvey) : "Railing, railing, railing : bragging, bragging, bragging : and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and wayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grosely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (*ib.* p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale—like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it<sup>3</sup> (*Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs*, p. 35),—and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

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

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

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

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

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

§ 3. But the question is, 1. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denouct were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

46\* § 3. *Stubbes's abuse of Cheating, etc., justified.*

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

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

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

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

§ 3. *Stubbes on Sabbath-breaking. Fairs, etc., now.* 47\*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 4. *Stubbes didn't rail only, but car'd for the Poor.* 49\*

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

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

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

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

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

50\* § 4. *Stubbes's care for the Poor, etc.* § 5. *His life.*

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

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God's dumb creatures too<sup>1</sup> (pp. 178, 182). And tho' we can't class him with Orlando, who “wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault” (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to “raile against our mistris the worlde,” and “must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please” (*ib.* II. vii. 47-9).

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

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

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

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

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

know.<sup>1</sup> His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his 4½ years married life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68\*, 69\*, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London :

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

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

“1590. John Stubs<sup>4</sup> filius Philippi baptized the 17 November 1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December.”<sup>5</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subsequently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

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

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

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to,<sup>1</sup> to make

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579, \* not 1581, as Stowe says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1168], vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, *Stubbes* and Page had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

\* See "His Wordes upon the Scaffolde when he lost his Haund on Tewesdaie, 3 November, 1579." In *Nuge Antiquæ*.—Cooper.

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

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

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works.* Of these, eleven have survived to our day in title,<sup>1</sup> and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were entered on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas!) indexless *Transcript* of Mr. Arber. They are:—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV<sup>to</sup>. primo die Martij  
**Richard Jones.** Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. *The Anatomye of abuses.* by PHILLIPE STUBBES . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript*, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV<sup>to</sup>. Tertio Die Augusti.  
**John Charlewood!** Receaved of him for his licence to ymprint *The Rosarie of christian Prayers* . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup> /  
*Transcript*, ii. 426.

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

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

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

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

1583. 25 Eliz. Septimo Die Nouembris/  
**William wright.** Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes *The second parte of Thanatomye of Abuses*<sup>1</sup>. . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript, ii. 428.*

1591. An. Eliz. 33<sup>o</sup>. xv<sup>to</sup> Junij  
**Richard Jones./** Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of LONDON and the wardens / *A Christall glasse for christian women / Conteyninge an excellent discourse of the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE STUBBES*<sup>2</sup> &c . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>/  
*Transcript, ii. 585.*

1593. An. Eliz. 35<sup>to</sup>. xiiij<sup>to</sup>. die Octobris/  
**Thomas Man./** Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of the Bisshopp of LONDON and Master warden **Cawood**. a booke entituled, *A motiue to good woorkes or rather to true christianitye* &c . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript, ii. 638.*

[Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij  
**James Robertss** Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies whiche were **John Charlewoodes** / *Saluo Jure Cuiuscunque* . . . . . xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> C  
*The Rosary of Christian Praiers*  
*Transcript, ii. 651.*

a. But Stubbes had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when (or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and

<sup>1</sup> "9 Augusti [1596].  
**Thomas Creede** Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve Copies whiche were assigned from **William wright** to **Thomas Scarlet**, and from **Thomas Scarlet** to the said **Thomas Crede** . . . . . ijs vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Item the second parte of the Anatomye of abuses called the Displaye of Corruptions.* *Transcript, iii. 68.*

<sup>2</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> Julij [1596].  
**master Whyte warden** Entred for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. *Catheryne Stubes*, vj<sup>d</sup> (with *The scole of vertue*, vj<sup>d</sup>; *Twenty Orders of Calettes and Drabes*, vj<sup>d</sup> . . . *The ffyve and Twentye orders of knaues*, vj<sup>d</sup>) *Transcript, iii. 187.*

Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubes' was assignd to Master Pavier and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (*Trans. iv. 44*), and Pavier's share was, after his death, assignd by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (*Transcript, iv. 164-5*).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Caueat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [*Colophon*] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrie."<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his "*Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier,*" 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of "a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods bloud."

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

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

(4)

|                                                            |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde, | 13 |
| Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denyed.     |    |
| It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre     |    |
| A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire.       | 16 |

(5)

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

\* \* \* \* \*

(12)

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

(14)

Thus died he, committing his soule to the furies fell, 53  
 Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell.  
 Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,  
 For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56  
 (Old) *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, IV. 77-9, 1849.

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

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

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

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

§ 6. *Stubbes on Donnington, in his 2nd Ballad.* 59\*

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

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

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it.<sup>1</sup> And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiij. back, and C. i. :—

"Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 God hath thee warned now by this, and that in freendly sorte, 87  
 To leaue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirth and minstrelsie ;  
 No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be, 90  
 Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile  
 [boil],  
 Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee  
 defile.

(24)

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

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

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me 103  
 Who haue with paines contriued this same, for loue I beare to  
 thee.

(27)

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

c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was "A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retrait from Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubs. London, by T. Purfoot. 1582. 8vo."

d. His fourth was the famous *Anatomie of Abuses*, enterd in the Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo,<sup>1</sup> here reprinted. The success of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at London, by Richard Iones. 16. August 1583. [*Colophon*] Perused, authourised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter. (*Collation*: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon and device<sup>2</sup>). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone 526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition<sup>3</sup> of the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].

<sup>1</sup> There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions describd by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.

<sup>2</sup> The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

§ 6. *Stubbes's 4th Book, the Anatomie, Part 1.* 61\*

and Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter<sup>1</sup>"; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still calld the third<sup>2</sup>: "now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585." (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (calld the fourth) was publisht, "Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and enlarged by the same Author. . . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboute S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595." 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the *Anatomie*, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of t'he plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revisd his *Anatomie* for the edition of 1595,<sup>3</sup> and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his *Perfect Pathway* of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the *Anatomie* after its first publication were mainly<sup>4</sup> these:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. he put in the story at p. 71—3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the 2½ pages, p. 87—9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111—13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113—14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on *Greate Swear yng in Ailgna*, p. 129—136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than 'break or violate the Lordes Sabbathoath,' p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111—14, 122, 130—6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the *Anatomie* is too well known to need any dwelling-on by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's words—the ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are 'puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together' (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have 'their pretie pussie to huggle withall' (p. 97), the usurer, 'thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man' (p. 127), the dancers, 'what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one another' (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, 'to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees' (p. 184), the 'vgglesome monsters and Deuills' (p. 188), &c, &c.

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

A. tractation  
F. discourse

27 | A. preparaunce  
| F. great preparation

72

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 'Distincted' is left in F. 156.

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

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

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

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/rie degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon / the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uerſion vnto God: made / dialogwise by Phil-/lip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed . . . . London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright, / and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the / Poultrie, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe." [1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of 5½ inches high by 3⅝ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36\*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was entered in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

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

"In sanguisugas Papistas,  
Philippus Stubbes.

Q Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,  
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic stimulum,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

66\* § 6. *Stubbes's Parry's Treason, & Life of his Wife.*

received his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a Dag,<sup>1</sup> sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuauied from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided sign. A. ij. (p. 18). . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. high, by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below, p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212,—and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions ‘those fleas and gnats’ that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspeare. These Prayers convinct me that their writer was a pure-minded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes: and all who wish to understand him should read them.

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

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

“In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out so important a word as ‘good’ before ‘workes.’

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

“Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that ‘he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past<sup>1</sup>,’ and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it ‘from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593’ we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it—a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address ‘to the courteous Reader’ he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style:—‘I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect filed phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre fetched epithetes.’

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 25 March, 1593.

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

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

‘I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere upon earth. For is not this the next<sup>1</sup> way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulation, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next<sup>1</sup> way to make bloodshed and murther, to raise up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookes and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallows, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happily rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and travelyed long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buried in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilest in the meane tyme other bookes, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conycatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.’

“At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered [Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

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

§ 7. *Stubbes's Character*. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been “of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, unless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: *men very commendabl for their behauour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching away their pastime.*”<sup>3</sup> Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. Tho his

<sup>1</sup> *next* is the contraction of ‘nighest,’ as *hext* of ‘highest.’

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

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

*Anatomic* can't be call'd a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :—

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

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

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

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

§ 8. *Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600.* 71\*

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

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

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

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

“Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:—

“This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had provided a lectica,<sup>1</sup> made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court.”

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

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

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601.<sup>1</sup> Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading lace-ruffs." *Scharf*, p. 143. The bride is in white.

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

" . . . did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it *may* give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner : subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the *Times* newspaper in Printing-house Square."

*b. The Extracts from Stubbes's other works* are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the *Anatomie* alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their married life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

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

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

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

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

c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) *Regnum Papismi*, as englished by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desired with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informed and interested them in *Brand (Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of *The Popish Kingdome*, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.

d. *The present Edition* of the *Anatomie* (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull<sup>1</sup> re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly called the third. That the worth of the book deserved more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's *Description of England* was never reprinted separately,<sup>2</sup> till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the *Anatomie's* reprints.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I shall live to see thee

Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box,

Thy half-crown library, and cry small books:

'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'—

'*A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards*':

'*A pill to purge out popery*':

'*The life and death of Katherine Stubbs*,'"

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

"A booke of the godly *life and death*

*Of Mistress Katherine Stubbs*, which I have turn'd

Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth,

To woe an ancient lady widow with."

'Again, Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale*, [? 1647] says—

"—And in some barn have cited many an author,

*Kate Stubbs*, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

## APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

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

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

*Bp. Babington on Dress.*

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of *Apparell*. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possible may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grienouslie offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing then in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp,<sup>1</sup> seeing it plainly telleth vs, we are not as we were

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

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

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

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

*Que.* I could wish yet a litle larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaieth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant,<sup>1</sup> and a thing, to

---

Though ne'er so richly parted \*, you shall have  
 A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,  
 Or how to rince his clammy guts in beer,  
 Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,  
 And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state  
 Of virtue in bad clothes!" *ib.* p. 108, col. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"*A Dreame of the Devil and Dives*, most terrible and fearefull to the servants of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60 leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

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

\* Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselves in."<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.*

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

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

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

*Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.*

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

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

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

to drunkennes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y<sup>e</sup> name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [*Spending whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage Sunday.*] plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*,<sup>1</sup> to this bearebaiting<sup>2</sup> & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frozen & void of

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

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

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

\* Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.

† I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS. tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.

‡ *James I's Book of Sports.*

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, *that* hauing every day in 6. euery hour in euery day, & euery minute in euery hour, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnlesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling. Awake, awake, in Iesus Christ admonished, awake ! & seeing al the weeke long, y<sup>e</sup> Lord of heauen doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow *with* thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord y<sup>t</sup> one day shall be consecrated of thee, & obserued according to his will."

p. 199-205. "Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, pouring out thanks from a feeling soule for y<sup>e</sup> Lords goodnes euer to vs, & namely the weeke passed? Haue we visited or thought vpon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffering for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues, or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as y<sup>e</sup> preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we haue not, we haue not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much haue we neglected all these; yea, euen diuerse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, haue litle or neuer at all troubled our heads: but for their contraries, in most ful measure we haue wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished *them*. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not iustly condemne them for ungodly gadding [Churchales, stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearebaitings.] summer games,<sup>1</sup> and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

<sup>1</sup> *Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays*.—See Mr. Collier's account, in *Bibl. Cat.* i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's '*Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie*, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (*Henry VIII*, Act I, sc. 4).'

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| While men with maides in wanton<br>dance unseemly oft doo turn,<br>Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause<br>with Venus games to burn . . . | If that his mate doo seem to like the<br>game that he would have,<br>He trips her toe, and clicks her cheek,<br>to show what he doth crave. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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

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

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

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

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

*Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.*

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

*Children's want of Reuerence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.*

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

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

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

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

*Psal. 119.*

*1. Cor. 15.*

*1. Thes. 5. 22.*

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

p. 318-321. "*Que.* What else?"

[*Dancing.*]

"Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, and the allurements to vncleanness, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the councels haue condemned it, & the prooue of Gods iudgements vpon it biddeth vs beware. *Instrumenta luxuria tympana & tripudia*, sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancings. *Laquei sunt & scandala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus.* They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to y<sup>e</sup> beholders. Iob noteth it as an olde practise of the deuill to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth: that from the tabret and the flute, which in themselues are not vnlawefull, they come to dauncing, which is the chiefe mischief of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vnchast behaiour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an inticement to whoredome. In the gospell the spirite of God noteth it in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable

*Job. 21. 11.*

*Calu. serm 80.*

*vpon Iob.*

*Math. 14.*

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was *meretriciæ lasciviæ Martor. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio*. That is, that for her *Calu.* to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoever (saith he) hath a care of honest grauitie, he euer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it *spectaculum familie Regiæ probrosun.* A dishonorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike.

*Syrac. 9. 4.* Sirac, a wise man, and of great experience, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. The *Ambros. de. virgin. lib. 3* godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For *saltatio ad adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet*, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe *Chryst. Math. hom. 48.* speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake it. *Saltatio barathrum diaboli*, sayth another: dauncing is the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Iacobs mariage *in Genes.* (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing *Theophilact in Mar. 6.* that was at it. *Mira collusio* sayth another, *saltat diabolus per puellam*: It is a strange iugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The counells haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgements of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is *An. 1505.* strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Colbecke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead.<sup>1</sup> But because others haue so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to haue bene used of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselves, women by themselves. Which nothing will warrant our custome and iuging in these daies.

*Qste.* Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

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

*Ezek. 16.*  
*1. Cor. 7. 39.*  
*Deut. 22.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie<sup>1</sup> creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthie neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaille, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demanded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grasshopper) I sung, and litle remembered this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will neuer maintaine idlenesse in anie." Thus receiued slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. *Optimum obsonium senectute labor*, (sayth one) They are good refreshings in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,<sup>2</sup> who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tippie and drinke, banket and reuell, what connsell soeuer is giuen vs to the contrarie, with that litle we haue, and sing care away. And a litle gaie apparell on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I haue no wages vnlesse you could worke, many things may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idlenesse and slouth. . . .<sup>3</sup> Wherefore it is not ynough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we haue by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) iust labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fidling and pyping vppe and downe the cuntry, by carying about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subject to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

*Idle Jestings and Scoffing.*

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoever, and all leawde vanitie, or babishe seruilitie to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or suchlike place with one peeuish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a merie greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe.<sup>4</sup> Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

<sup>1</sup> p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> 'Good men' fighting, &c.—"howe dare these sinfull, brauling, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vpon them to be called *good men*

borne, and soe fourth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I haue named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

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

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, diuers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie strait, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must giue accompt in the day of iudgement o feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

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

*Zach. 8. 5.*

*Exod. 13.*

*2. Sam. 18.*

*Leuit. 23.*

*The appointing of festiual dayes.*

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

Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying philosophie, *Philosophandum paucis*: Wee must play but litle.

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

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that calts them *good men*, because *Stoute fighters are not good men.* they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutly, and would mayme and kill desperatly: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.

T. Lupton. *Sieqila*, p. 53.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *improbo*, disapprove, blame, condemn.

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it misspendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise,<sup>1</sup> and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner :

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

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

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

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

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

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

p. 425-428. "Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all oppression, oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Hauē wee neuer detained the poore seruauntes wages, and wrecked our anger vpon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Hauē wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded,<sup>1</sup> or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

<sup>1</sup> "Nay, thou hast yet *Another Cruelly* gnawing in thy bosome; for what hope is there that thou shouldst haue pittie oner others, when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke ouer thy walls into thy Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy seruants and apprentices sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day vpon deadly errands; when they perceiue that the *Armed Man* hath struck them, yea, euen when they see they haue tokens delinered them from heauen to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke vpon their graues, and to gather the flowers themselues that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to haue a writing ouer their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

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

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall  
*Widow and fatherlesse.* towards him in this commaundement. . . . Haue wee not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe we might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why  
*Iob. 31, 32.* we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from the bones, as Iob wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered  
*Bribes.* these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift<sup>1</sup> to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you haue offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnes pulled not vpon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeues."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See *Harrison*, Part I., p. 21, 26-27.

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

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

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

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



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

*Edel-vrouwe*  
Noblewoman

*Burger-vrouwe*  
Citizen's wife

*Wilde Irische*  
Wild Irish

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

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

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

- Pages  
viii/6.—2, 4, 6-6 *differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s* :  
'a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of': has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19,  
20, 21-21, 22, 23, 24.  
ix.—1-1 not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.  
x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F.  
xiv.—9. xvi—Greek motto. xvii—3. xix—2.  
30.—8-8. 36.—13 *differs, having both A. and B. and E.* : 'pelles  
felles & skins' (E. peltes & skins).  
38.—6. 39.—2, 'more' not in C.-D. (as not in E.).  
40.—7. 41.—3, 4, 10-10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12-12. 68.—7.  
70, 71, 72.—has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example,  
Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s head-  
line, 72 foot. *But keeps A. and B.'s 'Eprautna,' p. 71, against E.'s*  
'Antwarpe.'  
79 note.—has the 'Deuil's bellowes' sidenote.  
82.—8. 87.—has E.'s 'Handbaskets' headline, on back, and 'great  
paynes' side-note, &c.  
96.—17. 97.—4 §, 9 'the' not in (as not in E.).  
111-114.—has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the  
top sidenote on 113 markt F.  
117, notes l. 2.—has, like E., 'Lawyers ruffling in.'  
129-136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.  
139.—6, 10 'very' not in (as not in E.). 152.—9-9.  
186-190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; *but on p. 188 'A materiall*  
*Hell,' like F., against E.'s 'Materiall.'* 191.—4, 5.

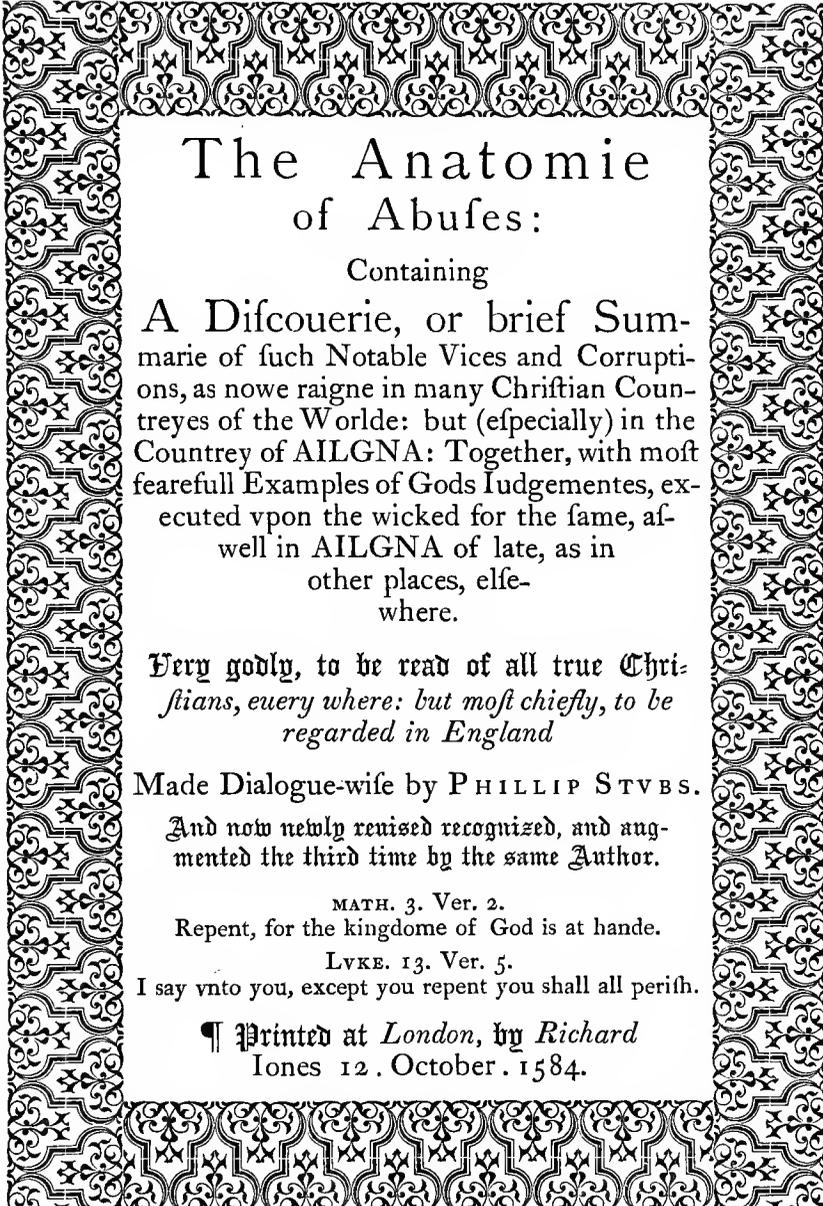
Mr. Wallis, too, thinks "that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination." He adds: "It may interest you to know that my 'Stubbes' has never been 'in the market.' It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father's cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the 'first folio' brought £10.<sup>1</sup> He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.<sup>2</sup> I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books—*Horresco referens!*—being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms."

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

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

1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes, *bl. letter.* 1583.

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



# The Anatomie of Abufes:

Containing

A Discouerie, or brief Sum-  
marie of fuch Notable Vices and Corrupti-  
ons, as nowe raigne in many Christian Coun-  
treyes of the Worlde: but (efpecially) in the  
Country of AILGNA: Together, with moft  
fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, ex-  
ecuted vpon the wicked for the fame, af-  
well in AILGNA of late, as in  
other places, elfe-  
where.

*Very godly, to be read of all true Chri-  
ftians, every where: but moft chiefly, to be  
regarded in England*

Made Dialogue-wife by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly reuifed recognized, and aug-  
mented the third time by the fame Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE. 13. Ver. 5.

I fay vnto you, except you repent you shall all perifh.

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

Perused, au<sup>t</sup>horised, and al-  
lowed, accordyng to the order  
appoincted in the Quee-  
nes Maiesties  
Iniuncti-  
ons.



At London

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

1584.



PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY  
OF THE  
ABUSES IN ENGLAND  
IN  
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,  
A.D. 1583.



[councelled them before, to go to<sup>1</sup> heare the Sermon, hauyng some sparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praise vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus haue I in *sempiternam rei memoriam*, faithfully recorded the Storie of these eight dronkardes, and of their fearfull ende, taken out of the<sup>3</sup> Dutche coppie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburche,<sup>4</sup> for a caneate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous perfonnes throughout the whole worlde, that thei offende not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

[This page not in A.]  
[The mercy of god in sauing of Adam Gibiens. F.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 67. B.\*]

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo blasphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Tonne of Nekershofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as followeth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, trauielyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hofte with speede brought them verie good; but thei dislikyng the Wine, for the newnesse thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; so in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good store. Thus fatte thei swillyng, and caroufyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.<sup>5</sup>

[An example of Godes wrathe and seuerie iustice executed vpon 2 Dronkardes in Almaine. E, F.]

Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroused to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he should drinke: quothe this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne also,<sup>6</sup> and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God should pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He answered "of whether thou wylte." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reachyng forthe his arme, as high as he<sup>7</sup> could, as though God should haue pledged hym in deede, saied these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou louest beste: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddest<sup>8</sup> sent better, thou shouldest haue had better; but suche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery sope, as I haue doen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus stretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe these wordes, the Lorde proceedeth in Judgemente againtfe

[A caneat to blasphemers, and contemners of the maiestie of God. E, F.]

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 67, back. B.†]

[Beholde the blasphemie of this deuill, and feare. E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> to not in F.

\* leaf 67. No head-line. B. E, F have An example of God's wrath.

<sup>3</sup> a in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> Straesburcht F.

<sup>5</sup> Swine F.

<sup>6</sup> also not in E, F.

† leaf 67, back. No head-line. B.

<sup>8</sup> hadst F.

[*This page, to l. 23, not in A.*  
[The Lord strikes the blasphemous drunkard.]

[hym: caufyng his arme to stande stedfast and vnmoueable, so as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to fere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,<sup>1</sup> his countenance not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceiued to come forthe of hym, nor yet to speake one worde he was<sup>2</sup> able: and yet for all that, seemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people assaied to remoue hym from that place, but<sup>3</sup> could not by any strength. In the ende thei tyed Horfes to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once fere hym. Then thei assaied to burne the house, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the house: wherefore, when thei sawe all their waies and deuises to be frustrate, perfwadyng themselues, that God had made hym a spectacle to all drunkards, thei furceafed<sup>4</sup> their attemptes,<sup>4</sup> and wished the wil of the<sup>5</sup> Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the same pitifull case you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vuremoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose blessing will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Drunken beast his companion, thei hanged vppon a Gibbette, before the dore of the same house, as he well deserued! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkenesse, which God graunte every true Christian<sup>6</sup> maie auoide, for feare of Gods' vengeance. *Added in B, E, F.*

[Oh fearefull iudgement of God, yet most iust punishmente. E, F.]

[5 leaf 68. B.†]

[7 sign. 1 7. A.]

<sup>7</sup> *Spud.* <sup>8</sup> Shew mee I pray,<sup>9</sup> the state of that Cuntrey a litle further: is it a welthie Cuntrey with-in it-felse, or otherwyse poore and bare?

[England,]  
Ailgna a famous Yland.<sup>10</sup>

*Philo.* It is a most famous Yland, a<sup>11</sup> fertile Cuntrey, &<sup>12</sup> abounding with all maner of store, both<sup>13</sup> of riches, treasure, &<sup>14</sup> all things els whatfoener; but as<sup>15</sup> it is a<sup>15</sup> welthie and riche Cuntrey,<sup>16</sup> so are the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the populare<sup>17</sup> forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to couet-

<sup>1</sup> a long time after B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> was not F.      <sup>3</sup> but they F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> their enterprises any further F.      † leaf 68. *No head-line.* B.

<sup>6</sup> man *added in E, F.*

<sup>8</sup> *In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousnesse in Ailgna.*

<sup>9</sup> pray you B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> *This side-note not in B, E, F.*

<sup>11</sup> and E; and a F.

<sup>12</sup> & not in E, F.      <sup>13</sup> as well F.

<sup>14</sup> as of F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> the country is E, F.

<sup>16</sup> Country *not in E, F.*

<sup>17</sup> inferior F.

oufnes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can neuer be fatiffied, for, *crefcit amor nummi, quantum ipfa pecunia crefcit*: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more iincreafe, by how much more *the monie* it <sup>1</sup>felfe doth increafe; and *the nature* of a couetous man is fuch that *tam deeft quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as *that* which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. A<sup>2</sup> couetoufe man may<sup>3</sup> wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawne for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, fo a couetous man, drowned in the <sup>4</sup>quagmire or plafh of auarice and <sup>4</sup>ambition, hauing his *summam*<sup>5</sup> *uoluptatem* repofed in momentaine<sup>6</sup> riches, is neuer content with inough, but ftill thirfteth for more, much like to a man ficke of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thurf<sup>7</sup>teth; <sup>8</sup>the more he thurfeth, the more he drinketh<sup>8</sup>; the<sup>9</sup> more he drinketh, *the more* his difeafe increafeth. Therefore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa auari os eft diaboli*; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, which euer is open to receiue, but alway fhut to giue.

*Spud.* But they will eafily wipe away this blot,<sup>10</sup> namely in faying,<sup>10</sup> are we not bound to prouyde for our felues,<sup>11</sup> our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apoftle hold him for an infidell and<sup>12</sup> a deneger of the faith, who prouyde not for his Wyfe and Family? <sup>13</sup>Is it not good to lay vp fomthing againft a ftormie day? wherefore they wil rather deeme themfelues good hufbands,<sup>13</sup> than couetous or ambitious perfons.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup>*Philo.* Euery Chriften Man is bound,<sup>16</sup> in confcience before God, to prouide for their<sup>17</sup> houfhold & Family, but yet fo as his immoderat care furpaffe not the bands,<sup>18</sup> nor yet<sup>19</sup> transcend<sup>20</sup> the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefteft truft & care is to reft onely in the Lord, who

[Englishmen covetous.]

The nature of a couetous man.  
[† leaf 68, back. B.\*]

The insaciabie desire of a couetouse man.

[7 I 7, back]

The purse of a riche Man.

[15 leaf 69. B.†]

How farre euery Man is bound to prouyde for his Familie.

\* leaf 68, back. The nature of a couetous man. B.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore may a E, F.

<sup>3</sup> may not in E, F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> quagmire of auarice and plashe of B, E, F; *after* and F *adds* plunged in the.

<sup>5</sup> summum F.

<sup>6</sup> momentary F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>9</sup> and the E, F. <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> for B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> (saie thei) *added* in B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> or F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> And therefore herein we shew ourselues rather good honsbandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> This I haue heard them pretend for themselues *added* in B, E, F; E *has* This exception haue I; F *has* haue I, *and* alleadge *for* pretend.

† leaf 69. Moderate care allowable. B.

<sup>16</sup> bound indeed B, E.

<sup>17</sup> his B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> boundes F. <sup>19</sup> yet not in B, E, F. <sup>20</sup> not the B, E.

giueth liberally to euery one *that* asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed <sup>1</sup>to *the* performance<sup>1</sup> of *the* same. But so farre from couetoufnes, & from immoderate care, wold *the* Lord haue vs,<sup>2</sup> *that* we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) sufficient to *the* day is the trauail of the fame. After all these <sup>3</sup>things (with a distrustfull & inordinat care) do the heathen seeke, who know not God,' faith our Sauour christ; 'but be you not like to *them*.' And yet I fay, as we are not to distrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such <sup>4</sup>secundary<sup>5</sup> and instrumentall<sup>4</sup> meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to *that* end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetoufnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & assaying al meanes, possible to <sup>6</sup>exaggerat &<sup>6</sup> heap vp riches, <sup>6</sup>*that*<sup>7</sup> thick clay of damnation, to themselues for euer.<sup>6</sup> So (likwise) Land<sup>8</sup>lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raising their fines & incommes, & setting *them* so straitely<sup>9</sup> vppon *the* tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Besides *that*, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage<sup>10</sup> and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them selues to lyue vppon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of<sup>11</sup> whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant <sup>12</sup>clamors haue long since pearced the Skyes, and presented them-selues before the Maiesty of God, saying,<sup>13</sup> how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of <sup>14</sup>thy poore Saincts and vn-worthie<sup>15</sup> members vppon the earth? Take heed, therefore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister<sup>16</sup> oppres-

Immoderate care for riches reprobued.

[<sup>3</sup> sign. I 8. A.]

Land-Lords racke their tenants.

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 69, back. B.†]

Inclosing of commons from the Poore.

[<sup>12</sup> I 8. back]

[Take heed you Rich, who poll and pill the Poor!]

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> for the getting F.

<sup>2</sup> to be added in F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> ordinary F.

<sup>5</sup> causes added in E.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> not in F.

<sup>7</sup> the B, E.

† leaf 69, back. Inclosures in Ailgna. B.

<sup>9</sup> straight B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> prouision F.

<sup>11</sup> of many B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> crying B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> doen to B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> seele E; silly F.

<sup>16</sup> biting F.

sions, and indirect dealings, shall be <sup>1</sup>powred vpon your heads<sup>1</sup> at the great daye of the Lord. Curfed is he (faith our Sauour Chrift) that offendeth one of thefe litle ones: it were better that a milftone were hanged about his neck, & he caft into *the* middeft of the fea. Chrift<sup>2</sup> fo entierely loueth his poore members vpon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himfelfe, and will reuenge it as done to himfelfe. wherfor GOD giue them grace to lay open their inclofures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby GOD is offended, their<sup>3</sup> poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, *the* whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mifchiefe be not met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For thefe inclofures be the caufes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beafts doo eat graffe: Thefe, I fay, are the<sup>4</sup> Caterpillers and deuouring locufes that maffacre the<sup>5</sup> poore, & eat vp *the* whole realme to *the* deftruction of the fame: *The Lord remooue<sup>6</sup> them!*

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they <sup>7</sup>goe ruffling<sup>7</sup> in their filks, veluets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, <sup>8</sup>fumptuous edefices,<sup>8</sup> and ftately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they haue<sup>9</sup> bands and retinewes of men attendant vpon them daylie; they purchafe caftels & towers, Lands and Lordfhips, and what not? And all vpon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They haue fo good confciences that all is fifh that comes to the net; thei refufe nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients caufe,<sup>10</sup> the Lorde kno<sup>11</sup>weth, and one day they fhall finde it. If you haue *argent*, or rather *rubrum vnguentum*, I dare not fay Gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fifh withall, than your fute fhall want no furtherance; but if this<sup>12</sup> be wanting, than farewel clyent; he may go fhooe the goofe for any good fucceffe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, fheriffes & Officers wil returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non eft inuentus*, fmally to the poore mans profit. <sup>13</sup>So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

<sup>1-1</sup> required at your hands F.

\* leaf 70. Inclofures vndoe the Poore. B. E *also has* Lawyers ruffling in.

<sup>3</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> the *not* in F.

<sup>6</sup> amende B, E, F.

<sup>7-7</sup> ruffle it out B, E, F. <sup>8-8</sup> *not* in F. <sup>9</sup> there bandes E; (their F.)

<sup>10</sup> caufes B, E, F.

‡ leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawiers, in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12</sup> this liquor B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> But so B, E, F.

Iniurie to  
Christ his  
members is  
iniury to  
Christ.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 70. B.\*]

Inclofures

[<sup>5</sup> sign. K r. A.]

Lawyers  
ruffling † in [jo  
A.] poore Mens  
riches. [† ruffle F.]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 70, back.  
B. †]

Oyntment to  
greese lawiers  
in the fifh  
withall.

they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and iust; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is nauht: and if one aske *them*<sup>1</sup> why they tould not their clients so in *the* beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, *the* fault is in himselfe; he tould me *the* best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this president & *that* president,<sup>2</sup> turning al the fault vpon *the* fuggester; wheras *the* whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience *can* beare him witnesse. In presence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flightes wold thinke they would go together by the eares<sup>3</sup>); this is<sup>4</sup> to draw on their clients withal; but immediatly after, their clients being<sup>5</sup> gon, they laugh in their sleeues to see how pretily they<sup>6</sup> fetch in such som<sup>7</sup>mes of money; and *that*, vnder the pretence of equitie and iustice. But though thei *can* for a time (*prefligatorum instar*<sup>8</sup>), like cunning deceiuers, cast a mist before *the* blind world, yet the Lord, who seeth (<sup>9</sup> suborned by none<sup>9</sup>) *the* secrets of all harts, shall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The<sup>10</sup> marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfait balances & vntrue waightes, and by their surprising of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. <sup>11</sup>The Artificer<sup>11</sup> & Occupyers, euen all in generall, will not sell their wares for no<sup>12</sup> reasonablen price, but will<sup>13</sup> sweare & teare pittifully, *that* such a thing cost *them* so much, & such a thing so much, wher<sup>14</sup>as they sweare as false as the lying Lord is true. But one day let them be sure *that* the Lord (who faith 'thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceiue thy Brother in bargaining') will reuenge this villanie done to his Maiestie.

<sup>15</sup> Into such a<sup>15</sup> ruinous estat hath couetousnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great<sup>16</sup> scarcitie and dearth of all things. So that that which might haue been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie shillings, is now

<sup>2</sup> this Writing and that Writing *added in* F.

<sup>3</sup> earers (*sic*) F.

<sup>4</sup> instead of a shoyng horne *added in* E, F.

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

<sup>6</sup> they can E, F.

† leaf 71. What maketh thynges deare. B.

<sup>8</sup> more *for* instar B, E, F.

<sup>9-9</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>10</sup> Vpon the other side, *for* the F.

<sup>11-11</sup> Artificers B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> any F.

<sup>13</sup> will *not in* E, F.

<sup>15-15</sup> Yea, into such F.

<sup>16</sup> great *not in* F.

[<sup>1</sup> K 1, back]  
The pretended  
excuse of  
Lawyers when  
their clients  
haue loost  
their plees.

The slaughtie  
practises of  
lawyers.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 71. B. †]

The fraudu-  
lent dealing of  
marchant  
Men.

Artificers.

[<sup>14</sup> sign. K 2. A.]

Great dearth  
in plenty of all  
things.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.<sup>1</sup> That which than was worth twentie pound is now <sup>2</sup>worth a C. pound, and more : Wherby the rich Men haue fo balauced their chefts with Gold and filuer, as they cracke againe. And to fuch exceffe is this couetoufnes growne, as euery one *that* hath money will not flicke to take his neighbors houfe ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired : Wherthorow <sup>3</sup> many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to begge their bread all <sup>4</sup>their dayes<sup>4</sup> after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther houfe or Land, they will neuer rest vntill they haue purchafed it, giuing him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Befides all this, fo desperately giuen are many, that for the acquiring<sup>5</sup> of filuer and Gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew their hands, and both<sup>6</sup> their armes, in *the* blood of their <sup>7</sup>owne Parents and Freends moft vnnaturally. Other fome will not make any conscience to fweare and forfwear themfelues <sup>8</sup>for euer,<sup>8</sup> to lye, diffemble, and deceiue the deereft frends they haue in the world. Therefore the heathen *Poet, Virgill*, faid very well, *O sacra auri fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis* : Oh curfed desire of gold, what nuifchief is it but thou forceft Man to attempt it for *the* loue of thee ! This immoderat thirft of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end ; <sup>9</sup>some as homicides<sup>9</sup> for murthering and <sup>10</sup>killing ; fome <sup>11</sup>as latrones,<sup>11</sup> for robbing & <sup>12</sup>ftealing : fome for one thing, fome for another ; <sup>13</sup>So that surely I think <sup>14</sup>*maior est numerus Hominum,*<sup>14</sup> *quos dira auaritie pestis abforpsit, quam quos gladius vel ensis perforauit* : <sup>15</sup>the number of those<sup>15</sup> whom the peffilence of auarice hath fwallowed vp, <sup>16</sup>is greater<sup>16</sup> than the number of those whom the sword hath deftroid. The Lord affwage the heat<sup>17</sup> hereof with *the* oyle of his grace,<sup>18</sup> if it be his good pleasure and wil !

*Spud.* If I might be fo bold, I wold request you to shew me, out of the word of god, where this fo detestable a vice is reproped.

<sup>1</sup> pounds F. \* leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesse in Ailgna. B.

<sup>3</sup> Whereby E ; Wherby F. <sup>4—4</sup> the dayes of their liues F. <sup>5</sup> getting F.

<sup>8</sup> bathe B, E, F. <sup>8—8</sup> not in F.

<sup>9—9</sup> as we see dayly, some are hanged F. <sup>10</sup> some for *instead of* and F.

<sup>11—11</sup> not in F. <sup>12</sup> some for *instead of* & F.

† leaf 72. Testimonies against Couetousnes. B.

<sup>14—14</sup> the number of men is greater B, E, F ; F *has to be for* is.

<sup>15—15</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>16—16</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> raging heate F.

<sup>18</sup> gracious mercy for grace F.

[\* leaf 71, back. B.\*]

Taking of  
howses ouer  
Mens heads.

The desperat  
desire of Men  
to get money.

[7 K 2, back]

Many brought  
to rufull end  
thorow  
meanes of Gold  
and siluer.

[13 leaf 72. B.†]

Math. 6.  
Testimonies  
out of the  
word of God  
against coue-  
tousnes.  
[<sup>2</sup> sign. K 3. A.]

Luc. 6.  
Math. ix.<sup>3</sup>

[Bible bits  
against covet-  
ousness.]

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 72, back.  
B.1]

· Timo. vi.

Psalm 39.  
Prouerb 1.  
Prouc. xxvii.

[<sup>9</sup> K 3, back]

Mat. 5.  
Luc. 6.

*Philo.* Our Sauour Christ Iesus, the <sup>1</sup> Arch-doctor<sup>1</sup> of all truth, in his Euangely, the fixt of *Matheu*, saith, 'Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.'

Againe, 'be not carfull for Apparell, what <sup>2</sup>you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteoufnes therof, and all these things shall be giuen vnto you.' He charged his *Disciples* to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneyes, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his *Disciples* another time, stryung which of them should be *the* greatestt, that he who wold be the greatestt, must condescend<sup>4</sup> to be seruant of all. When the people wold haue aduanced him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we 'cannot serue two Maisters, God & Mammon': he biddeth vs 'not to set our minds vpon couetousnes'; inferring that 'wher <sup>5</sup>our riches be<sup>6</sup>, there will our harts be also. He saith, 'it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in<sup>7</sup> riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.' The Apostle biddeth vs, 'if we haue meat & <sup>8</sup>drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.' *Dauid* saith, 'Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall possesse them.' *Salom[on]* compareth a couetous man to him *that* murdereth & sheadeth innocent bloud. Againe, 'Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be <sup>9</sup>satisfied.' The Apostle *S. Paule* saith, 'neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shall euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.' And saith further, *that* 'the loue of monie is *the* root of al euil.' Christ biddeth vs 'be <sup>10</sup>liberal & lend to them that haue need, not looking for any resstitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than *the* face of the Lord shall not be turned away from vs.' By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes *the* lord wold haue al christians<sup>11</sup> to be.

<sup>1</sup>—1 teacher F.

<sup>3</sup> E has Math. 9; F has no figure.

<sup>4</sup> humble F.

† leaf 72, back. Punishment of Couetousnesse. B.

<sup>6</sup> is B, F.

<sup>7</sup> in his F.

<sup>8</sup> & not in F.

<sup>10</sup> to be F.

<sup>11</sup> his children F.

*Spud.* Be their any examples in<sup>1</sup> fcriptures<sup>2</sup> to<sup>3</sup> fnew fourth the punihmentes of the fame, inflicted vpon the Offenders therin?<sup>2</sup>

[4 leaf 73. B.\*]

*Philo.* The Scripture is full of fuch fearful examples of the iuft iudgements of God powred<sup>5</sup> vpon them that haue offended herein; Wherof I will recite three or four, for the fatiffying of your Godly<sup>6</sup> mind. *Adam* was caft out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. *Giefe*,<sup>7</sup> the Seruant of *Elizeus the Prophet*, was fmitten with an incurable leprofie, for that he, to fatiffie his couetous defire, exacted gold, filuer, &<sup>8</sup> riche garments, of *Naaman, the K. of Siria* his feruant. *Balaam* was reprov'd of his affe for his couetoufnes in going to curfe the Children of *Ifrael* at the request of *K. Balac*, who promifed him aboundance of gold & filuer fo to doo. *Achal, the K.*, for couetoufnes to haue pore *Naboth* his viniard, flew him,<sup>9</sup> and dyed after himfelfe, with all his progeny, a shameful death. The *Sonnes of Samuel* were, for their infaciabie couetoufnes, detained<sup>10</sup> from euer inioying their Fathers kingdome. *Judas*, for couetoufnes of mony, fould the Sauour of the world, and betrayed him to the *Iewes*, but afterward dyed a miferable death, his bellye burfting, & his bowels guffing out. *Ananias and Saphira* his wife, for couetoufnes in concealing part of the price of their<sup>11</sup> lands from the apoftles, were both flain, & died a fearful death. *Achan* was ftoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetoufnes in ftealing<sup>12</sup> gold, filuer, & Iewels at the facking of *Iericho*, & al his goods were burned prefently. Thus you fee how for couetoufnes of mony, in all ages, Men haue made fhipwrack of their confciences, and in the end, by the iuft iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whofe iudgments I leaue to the Lord.

The punihment of couetousnes shewed by exam-ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

[Bible examples of punihments for couetousnes.]

[9 sign. K. 4. A.]

Sa. viii.

Act. v.

[11 leaf 73, back B.t]

[God's iudgments on couetous men.]

*Spud.* Seeing that couetoufnes is fo wicked a fin, & fo offenfiue both to God & Man, & pernicious to the foule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the fame<sup>13</sup> as they doo.

*Ph.* Two things<sup>14</sup> moue men to affect mony fo<sup>15</sup> much as they

<sup>1</sup> in the holie E, F. (holie F.)

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> of the Iuflice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein F.

<sup>3</sup> that E.

\* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse. B.

<sup>5</sup> executed F.

<sup>6</sup> Godly not in F.

<sup>7</sup> Gehesie F.

<sup>8</sup> and other F.

<sup>10</sup> restrained F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maifter and E] worship in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12</sup> for F.

<sup>13</sup> so much added in F.

<sup>14</sup> in my iudgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.)

<sup>15</sup> so so A.

What make  
Men to affect  
money.

[<sup>o</sup> K 4, back]

Euery Begger  
almost is call-  
ed Maister at  
euery word.

[<sup>†</sup> leaf 74. B.†]

[Titiuillers, that  
is, flattering  
fellows. E, F.]

Refusing of  
vaine Titles.  
[not in E, F.]

[<sup>††</sup> sign. K 5. A.]

do: *the* one, for<sup>1</sup> feare leaft they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous<sup>2</sup> infidelitie!) *the* other,<sup>3</sup> to be aduanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei see *the* world is fuch, *that* he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* & maistered at euery word, and withal saluted with<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>the vaine title of<sup>6</sup> 'worshipfull,' <sup>7</sup>and 'right worshipfull,'<sup>7</sup> though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to fuch outrage<sup>8</sup> is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shoemaker, Tailer, Cobler,<sup>9</sup> Hufband-man,<sup>10</sup> and other<sup>10</sup>; yea, euery Tinker, pedler,<sup>11</sup> and fwinherd, euery Artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest forte of Men that be, must be called by *the* vain name of 'Maisters' at euery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, 'worshipfull' and 'maister,' (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to *the* Godly wyfe, for some speciall vertue inherent<sup>12</sup>, either els<sup>13</sup> in respect of<sup>13</sup> their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but fuch Titiuillers, flattering Parafits, and glosing *Gnatos* as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might easly perceiue. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter<sup>14</sup> them with these titles, knowing that<sup>15</sup> they deserue nothing<sup>16</sup> lesse. <sup>17</sup>Wherefore, like good<sup>18</sup> Recufants<sup>19</sup> of that thing which is euill<sup>19,17</sup> they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembering the words of our sauour Christ, saying,<sup>20</sup> 'be not called Maister,' in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in Heauen; <sup>21</sup>which only true Maister & Lord, *God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, vntil they come to*<sup>22</sup> *perfect men in Iesus Christ.*

*Spud.* The people beeing so fet vpon couetoufnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

<sup>1</sup> a *for* for F.

<sup>2</sup> distrustfull B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> other for desire B, E, F; (F has a *for* for)

<sup>4</sup> by *for* with E, F.

<sup>6</sup> Gentleman and *added* in F.

<sup>7-7</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> extreme madnesse B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> cobler and B, E, F.

<sup>10-10</sup> not in B, E, F.

† leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12</sup> in them *added* in F.

<sup>13-13</sup> for B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> floute E, F.

<sup>15</sup> that not in E, F.

<sup>16</sup> no F.

<sup>17-17</sup>

And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.

<sup>18</sup> wyse E.

<sup>19-19</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> saying not in F.

<sup>22</sup> to be E, F.

vsurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? <sup>1</sup> for vsurie follow-  
eth couetouf<sup>2</sup>nes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 74, back.  
B.\*]

### Great Vsurie in Ailgna.

*Philo.*

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there<sup>3</sup> (for the most part), without vsurie<sup>4</sup> & loane, or with-out some good hostage, guage,<sup>5</sup> or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

Vsury.

*Spud.* I haue heard say that the positive and statute lawes there doo permit them to take vsurye, limitting<sup>6</sup> them how much to<sup>7</sup> take for euery pound.

The positive  
Lawes.

*Philo.* Although the ciuile<sup>8</sup> lawes (for the auoiding of further in-  
conueniences) doo permit certain sommes of money to be giuen<sup>9</sup> ouer-  
plus, beyond or<sup>10</sup> aboue the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet  
are *the* vsurers no more<sup>11</sup> discharged from the gilt of vsurie before God  
therby, then the adulterous *Iewes* were from whordome, because *Moyfes*  
gaue them a permissiue law, for euery man<sup>12</sup> to put away<sup>13</sup> their  
wiues<sup>13</sup> that would, for<sup>14</sup> euery light trifle.<sup>14</sup> And yet the<sup>15</sup> lawes there  
giue no libertie to commit vsurie; but seeing how much<sup>16</sup> it rageth,  
left it should exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all  
reason and godlynes,—As couetoufnes is a raging sea and a bottomlesse  
pit, and<sup>17</sup> neuer sati[sf]ied nor contented,—they haue limited them<sup>18</sup>  
with<sup>19</sup> in certain meeres and banks<sup>20</sup> (to bridle the insatiable desires of  
couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but  
this permission of *the* lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vsury,  
no more (I say) then *the* permission of *Moyfes* argued that whor-  
dome & adulterie is<sup>21</sup> lawfull & good, because *Moyfes* permitted them  
to put away their wiues for *the* auoiding of greater euil<sup>22</sup>: for, as christ  
said to *the Iewes*, ‘from *the* beginning it was not so,’ so say I to these  
vsurers, from the beginning it was not so, nor yet ought<sup>23</sup> so to be.<sup>23</sup>

[<sup>11</sup> K 5, back]

The lawes of  
Ailgna permit  
no vsurie.

[<sup>19</sup> leaf 75. B.†]

<sup>1</sup> I thinke not, *added in* B, E, F.

\* leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B. <sup>3</sup> in England F.

<sup>4</sup> interest *added in* E, F. <sup>5</sup> pawne *added in* F. <sup>6</sup> appointing F.

<sup>7</sup> they shall E, F. <sup>8</sup> Statute F. <sup>9</sup> & taken *added in* F.

<sup>10</sup> and E, F. <sup>12</sup> one F. <sup>13—13</sup> his wife E, F.

<sup>14—14</sup> any light offence E, F. <sup>15</sup> positive lawes E, F. <sup>16</sup> farre F.

<sup>17</sup> and *not in* E, F. <sup>18</sup> it E, F. † leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. B.

<sup>20</sup> boundes F. <sup>21</sup> was then E, F. <sup>22</sup> euils F. <sup>23—23</sup> to be so F.

*Spud.* If no interest were permitted, then<sup>1</sup> no man would lend, & then how should *the poor* doo? wherefore the lawes, *that* permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.<sup>2</sup>

*Philo.* <sup>3</sup>*Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum*: we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting<sup>4</sup> certain reasonable gain to be receiued for the loane of money lent, left otherwise the poore should quaile<sup>5</sup> (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) haue not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeilded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended,<sup>7</sup> which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for<sup>8</sup> the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vfurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therefore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of vfury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo flander *the lawes*, & are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, 'thou shalt not take aboue ij.s. in *the pound*, x.li. in a hundred,'<sup>9</sup> and so fo<sup>10</sup> fourth,<sup>9</sup> Dooth this prooue *that* it is lawful to take so much, or rather *that* thou shalt not take more then *that*? If I<sup>11</sup> say to a man,<sup>11</sup> 'thou shalt not giue him aboue one or two blowes,'<sup>12</sup> dooth this prooue *that* I licence him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not giue him any at al, or if he doo,<sup>13</sup> he shal not exceed or passe *the bands*<sup>14</sup> of resonable mesure? fo this law dooth but mitigate *the* penalty, for it faith *that* the party *that* taketh but<sup>15</sup> x.li, for *the vse* of an C.li, loseth but *the* x.li, not his principal.

<sup>16</sup>*Spud.* Then I perceiue, if Vfurie be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

<sup>1</sup> then *not in E, F.*

<sup>2</sup> in my opinion *added in E, F*; (*F has mine for my*)

<sup>3</sup> The Apostle teacheth *vs added in B*; The Apostle sayth, *E, F.*

<sup>5</sup> vtterly be distressed *F.* <sup>6</sup> not *added in B, E, F.* <sup>7</sup> considered *F.*

† leaf 75, back. Vsurie vnlawfull by Gods lawe. *B.*

<sup>9-9</sup> &c. *F.*

<sup>10</sup> so *for so so B, E.*

<sup>11-11</sup> see a man will needes fight with another, a (*sic*) I hauing authority ouer him, say vnto him *F.*

<sup>12</sup> at the most *added in F.*

<sup>13</sup> that *added in E, F.*

<sup>14</sup> bounds *F.*

<sup>15</sup> aboue *B, E, F.*

[<sup>4</sup> sign. K 6. A.]

The lawes permit some ouerplus, but commaund it [not].<sup>6</sup>

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 75, back. B. †]

Forbidding to outrage in mischief § is not † permission to comit mischief. [§ mircheef A. † no F.]

[<sup>16</sup> K 6, back]

*Philo.* You may be fure of that ; For our Sauour Chriſte willeth vs to be fo far from couetouſnes and vfury, as he faith, “ giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away.” Againe,<sup>1</sup> “ Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward ſhalbe great in heauen.” <sup>2</sup>If we muſt lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, no, not fo much as the bare thing lent, where is the intereſt, the vfurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fiſh for fo much? Therefore our Sauour Chriſte faith, *beatius eſt dare, potius<sup>3</sup> quam accipere* : It is more bleſſed to giue, then to receiue. In the 22. of *Exodus, Deut.* 24, 23, *Leuit.* 25, *Nehe.* 5, *Eze.* 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vſe any kinde of vfury, or intereſt, or to receiue again any ouer-pluſſ beſides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beaſts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what ſoener. *Dauid* asketh a queſtion of the Lord, ſaying, *Lord, who ſhall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and<sup>5</sup> who ſhall reſt in thy holy hil?* wherto he<sup>6</sup> giueth the ſolution him ſelf,<sup>8</sup> ſaying, ‘ euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not giuen his mony vnto vfurie, <sup>9</sup> nor taken reward againſt the innocent : who ſo dooth theſe things ſhall neuer fall.’ In the 15 of *Deut.* the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we haue lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful (then) to aſke again *that* which is lent (for it is not the law of good conſcience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare<sup>10</sup> it then the other<sup>11</sup> to pay it,) much leſſe is it lawful<sup>12</sup> to demaund any vfury or ouer-plus. And for this cauſe the Lord faith, ‘ let there be no begger amongſt you, nor poore perſon <sup>13</sup> amongſt the Tribes of *Israel.*’ Thus, you ſee, the woord of God abandonneth vfurie euen to hel; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the inſtinct of nature and rules of reaſon, haue alwaies abhord it. Therefore *Cato*, being demaunded what vfurie was, aſked againe, ‘ what it was to kill a man?’ making vfurie equialent with murther : And good reaſon, for he that killeth a<sup>14</sup> man, riddeth

Math. 5, 6.  
Luc. 6.

The word of  
God againſt  
vſurie.  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 76. B.\*]

<sup>4</sup> Exodus 20.  
Deut. 24, 23.  
Leuit. 25.  
Nehe. 5.  
Ezech. 22, 18.<sup>4</sup>

Psalm 15.<sup>7</sup>

[<sup>9</sup> ſign. K 7. A.]

When it is not  
lawfull to aſke  
again our  
goods lent.

[<sup>13</sup> leaf 76, back.  
B.†]

Hethen men  
againſt vſury  
and intereſt.  
[interreſt A.]

<sup>1</sup> And againe F. \* leaf 76. The word of God againſt Vſurie. B.

<sup>3</sup> potius not in F. <sup>4-4</sup> not in F. <sup>5</sup> or B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F. <sup>7</sup> Psalm 25 in A ; 16 in F.

<sup>8</sup> him-self not in F. <sup>10</sup> forbear F. <sup>11</sup> other is E, F.

<sup>12</sup> for thee added in F.

† leaf 76, back. Vſurie equall with Murther. B.

<sup>14</sup> a a (sic) A.

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, suffering <sup>1</sup> him by little & little to languish, and sucking out his hart <sup>2</sup> blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any <sup>3</sup> vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of <sup>3</sup> him. The Vsurer killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, seruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. <sup>4</sup> And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when soeuer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe <sup>5</sup> commenced against him; out go butter-flies and writs, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, <sup>6</sup> and beeing once conuented, iudgement condemnatorie and <sup>6</sup> diffinitiu sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the vsury & *the* <sup>7</sup> loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to satisfie aswel the one as th' other, <sup>8</sup> then to *Bocardo* goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte, one peece from an other, without satisfaction bee made. Oh, curfed Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel *Tartarian* and mercilesse *Turck!* darest thou look vp toward heauen, or canst thou hope to be faued by the death of Christe, that suffereest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & sisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iesus, vessels of saluation, coheirs with him of his superiall <sup>9</sup> kingdom, adoptiue sonnes of his grace, & finally faints in heauen, to lye and rot in prison for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome shall beare witness against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison <sup>10</sup> walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to <sup>11</sup> doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy selfe from the vine, as a rotten branch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

vsury equall  
with murther.

[<sup>4</sup> K 7, back]

Sute comm-  
menced  
against him  
that is not  
able to pay  
aswel the  
Vsury as the  
Principall.  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 77. B. †]

To prison with  
him that can-  
not pay the  
vsury.

No mercy in  
imprisoning of  
poor-men for  
vsury.

[<sup>10</sup> sign. K 8. A.]

No crueltie to  
be shewed, but  
mercy and  
companion  
ought to be  
extended.

<sup>1</sup> causing F.

<sup>2</sup> vitall F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

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

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> then presently E, F.

<sup>7</sup> the *not in* F.

† leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.

<sup>9</sup> supernall B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> to *not in* F.

thou art a member of the Deuill, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren<sup>1</sup> in fuch forte for any worldly matter whatfoeuer. Wee <sup>2</sup>ought to shew mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trefpaffes and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who faith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (faith the LORD).

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 77, back. B.\*]

Beleuee mee, it greueth mee to heare (walking<sup>3</sup> in the freats) the pitiful cryes, and miſerable complaints of poore priſoners in durance for debt, and like ſo to continue all their life, deſtitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and clothing to their backs, lying in filthie ſtrawe, and <sup>4</sup>lothſome dung,<sup>4</sup> wurſſe then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable conſolation and brotherly comfort <sup>5</sup>in this World, wiſhing and thyrfing after death to ſet them at libertie, and looſe them from their ſhackles, giues, and yron bands.

The petieful crying of Priſoners in priſon for dept.

[<sup>5</sup> K 8, back]

Notwithſtanding, ſome<sup>6</sup> mercileſſe tygers are growen to ſuch barbarous crueltie that they bluſh not to ſay, “tuſh! he ſhall either paye mee the whole, or els<sup>7</sup> lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will releaſe him, I will make dice of his bones.” But take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man<sup>8</sup>), leſt the Lord ſay to thee, as he ſaid<sup>9</sup> to that wicked Seruant (who hauing great ſommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his ſmall debte, but, catching him by the throte, ſaid, ‘pay that thou oweſt’), bind him hands and feet, and caſt him into vtter Darknes, wher ſhall <sup>10</sup>be weeping and gnawing of teeth.

A tygerlicke tyrannicall ſaying.

Math. xviii. Marc xi.

An Vſurer is worſe than a Thief, for the one ſtealet h but for need, the other for coueitouſnes and exceſſe<sup>11</sup>: the one ſtealet h but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 78. B.†]

An Vſurer worſe than a Thief. [*not in E.*]

An Vſurer is worſe than a Iew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye vſurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of GOD.

An Vſurer worſer † than a Iew. [† worſe B, E, F.]

They are worſe than *Iudas*, for he betraied Chriſt but once, made

An Vſurer worſer § than *Iudas*. [§ worſe B, E.]

<sup>1</sup> brethen (*sic*) F.  
<sup>3</sup> as I walk F.

\* leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vſurers. B.  
<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> ſtinking litter F.

<sup>6</sup> theſe B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> he ſhal *added in* F.

<sup>8</sup> Chriſtian B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> did F.

† leaf 78. Vſurers worſe then the Deuill. B.

<sup>11</sup> lucre F.

restitution, and repented <sup>1</sup>for it <sup>1</sup>(though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, <sup>2</sup>without any remorse or restitution at all.

[<sup>2</sup> sign. L 1. A.]

Vsurers wurse then Hel.

An Vsurer wurse then Death.

An vsurer wurse then the Deuil.

The sayings of Godly Fathers and Writers against vsury. [<sup>4</sup> leaf 78, back. B. f.]

Vsurers punished <sup>6</sup>with sundry tortures.<sup>6</sup>

Scriueners the Diuels agents to set forward Vserie.

[<sup>7</sup> L 1, back]

They are wurffe then hel it self, for it punisheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Vsurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vsurer destroyeth both body & soule for euer. And, to be breef, the Vsurer is wurffe then the Deuil himself, for the Deuil plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his iurisdiction already, but euen all other, without permission<sup>3</sup> of any. Therefore, saith *Ambrose*, if any man commit vsurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, <sup>4</sup>and he ought to dye. *Alphonfus* called vsury nothing els then a life of death. *Lycurgus* banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. *Cato* did the same. *Ageffilaus*, Generall of the *Lacedemonians*, burned the Vsurers bookes in the open market places. *Claudius Vaspattianus*, and after him *Alexander Seuerus* made sharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the same.<sup>5</sup> *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue sharply inueighed against this deuouring canker of vsury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, auoid it. And if it be true that I heare <sup>7</sup>say, there be no men so great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the Scriueners be: For it is sayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed <sup>8</sup>a hundred or two of poundes,<sup>8</sup> of<sup>9</sup> some more, of<sup>9</sup> some lesse, they puttinge in good sureties to the owners for the repayment<sup>10</sup> of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, <sup>11</sup>desiring them<sup>11</sup> to lende them suche a som of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne desires, who making refusall at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate<sup>12</sup> the minds of the poore petitioners withall<sup>13</sup>), at last they lend them how much they desire,

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> compassion B, E, F.

† leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vserie. B.

<sup>5</sup> out of their dominions added in F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> sundry wayes F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> an hundred poundes or two F.

<sup>9</sup> to in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> payment F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> with request F.

<sup>12</sup> whette F.

<sup>13</sup> you must vnderstande added in B, E, F.

receiuing of the poore men what interest &<sup>1</sup> assurance they lust<sup>2</sup> themselves, and<sup>3</sup> binding them, their lands, <sup>4</sup>Goodes, and all, with [4 leaf 79. B.\*] forfeiture thereof if they fayle of payment : where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrument wherby the Diuell worketh <sup>5</sup>the frame<sup>6</sup> of this <sup>7</sup>wicked worke of Vfurie, hee beeing rewarded<sup>7</sup> <sup>5</sup>with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the Archdiuel<sup>8</sup> who owes the money, for helping him to such<sup>9</sup> vent for his coyne : Secondly, he hath a greate deale<sup>10</sup> more vfurie to himselfe, of him who boroweth the money, <sup>11</sup>than he alloweth *the* owner of the money<sup>11</sup> : And, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. <sup>12</sup>And thus the poore man is so implicate<sup>13</sup> [12 sign. L z. A.] and wrapped in on euerie side, as it is impossible for him euer<sup>14</sup> to get out of the briers<sup>15</sup> without losse of all that euer hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are enriched,<sup>16</sup> the poore beggered, and Christ Iesus dishonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us ! <sup>17</sup>*De his hactenus*<sup>17</sup>.

The Scriuiners  
fleece or pit-  
taunce for his  
paynes.

[<sup>18</sup>Greate Swear yng in Ailgna.

[*This chapter  
not in A.*]

*Spud.*

What is the <sup>19</sup>qualitie,<sup>20</sup> and<sup>19</sup> naturall disposition<sup>21</sup> of this people? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people : For the sayng is, that the woordes of God, and good Religion, flourisheth in that laude, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde befides. And I am fullie perswaded, that where the woordes of God is truly prached and his Sacramentes duely ministered (all whiche thei <sup>22</sup>haue) there must all thynges needes prosper, and goe forwarde ; wherefore I desire to knowe your iudgement, whether all these thinges be so, or not.

[Gods word  
flourisheth in  
England, but the  
people are  
wicked still. E,  
F.]  
[<sup>22</sup> leaf 79, back.  
B.†]

<sup>1</sup> and also E, F.<sup>2</sup> list B, E, F.<sup>4</sup> both E, F.

\* leaf 79. Great swear yng in Ailgna. B.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> this landable worke, rewarding his Vassall F.<sup>6</sup> effecte E.<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> laudable worke, rewarding his vassall, B, E. <sup>8</sup> master deuill F.<sup>9</sup> such *not in* B, E, F. <sup>10</sup> deale *not in* F. <sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> *not in* B, E, F.<sup>13</sup> intangled F.<sup>14</sup> hardly F.<sup>15</sup> againe *added in* F.<sup>16</sup> inriched (*sic*) F.<sup>17</sup>—<sup>17</sup> *not in* B, E, F.<sup>18</sup> This chapter, *not in* A, is *added in* B, E, & F. <sup>19</sup>—<sup>19</sup> *not in* F.<sup>20</sup> Inclination, *added in* E.<sup>21</sup> dispositistion (*sic*) F.† leaf 79, back. Hipocrisis vnder the cloke of Christianity. B. E *has* :  
The disposition of Englishmen.

[This page not  
in A.]

[The naturall  
disposition of  
Englishmen.  
E, F.]

[Great wicked-  
nesse committed  
vnder the cloke  
of the gospell.  
E, F.]

[5 leaf 8o. B. †]

[Papistes suffer-  
ed in England  
with too much  
lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists living  
in prison lyke  
Princes. E, F.]

[*Philo.* The worde of God is truely and sincerely preached there, and his Sacramentes duely<sup>1</sup> and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde<sup>2</sup>; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie<sup>3</sup> reformed, accordyng to the prescripte of Gods woorde, sauyng that a fewe remnantes of superstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the siccle of Gods woorde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praisyng thynges paste, contemnyng thynges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambitious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woorde of God sereoufly, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after sermons from place to place, euerie hower almoste: thei receiue the Sacramentes duely, and thei behaue themselues<sup>4</sup> in all thynges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate forte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregioufly; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of De<sup>5</sup>uillrie, purchasng to themselues the greater damnation, in that thei make the worde of God, a vizard<sup>6</sup> to couer their abhominations withall. And as for Sectes, Schismes,<sup>7</sup> and fundrie factions, thei want none amongest them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongest them. These sedicious Vipers, and pithonickal Hidraes, either lurke secretely in corners, seducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward *decorum*, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man saie 'blacke is their eye,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitors (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attire, and flowng in<sup>8</sup> gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to

<sup>1</sup> sincerely F.

<sup>3</sup> well added in E, F.

† leaf 8o. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

<sup>6</sup> or cloak added in F.

<sup>2</sup> besides added in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> themselued (*sic*) F.

<sup>7</sup> Errors, added in E.

<sup>8</sup> abundance of added in F.

[them that will, and to bring them what<sup>1</sup> thei lift. Thei haue their libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to fporte, and pafstyme themfelues, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will : fo that it were better for them to be in prifon then forth. Alas, fhall we fuffer thefe fworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Chriftes Gofpell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amongeft vs? This maketh them obftinate, and incorrigible<sup>2</sup> : this hardeneth their<sup>3</sup> hartes ; and this<sup>4</sup> maketh many a Papift moe then would be, if due correccion<sup>5</sup> were executed.<sup>6</sup> But to returne againe to my former difcourfe. They are alfo inconfant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to fwearyng, in fo muche, as if thei fpeake but three or fower wordes, yet muft thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie othe or two, to the great difhonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

[This page not in A.]

[Exercises of Papifts in Prifons in England. E, F.]

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 80, back. B.\*]

[Great swearing in England. E, F.]

*Spud.* Why fir? Is it fo greate a matter to fweare? Doeth not the worde of God faie, thou fhalt honour me, and fweare by my name, & thofe that fweare by me fhall bee commended? Thefe places and<sup>7</sup> the like, me thinke, dooe fufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to fweare at all tymes, doe thei not fo?

*Philo.* Nothyng leffe: For you muft vnderftand that there be two maner of fwearinges<sup>8</sup>: the one Godly, the other vngodly: the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly fwearing, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magiftrates, and thofe that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depofe a truth; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuerfie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occafion whatfoeuer, and the truth thereof can not by any meanes poffible be fitted out, otherwife then by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magiftrate, and commaunded vpon thy allegiance to confeffe what thou knoweft, <sup>9</sup>thou maieft, and oughteft to depofe the truth, by the inuocation and obteftation of the name of God. And in this doying, thou honoureff God. But beware that thofe things which thou fweareft be true, or els thou makeft God a lier (whoſe name thou calleft to witneffe)

[Two kinds of swearing.]

[When, and how it is lawfull to fweare. E, F.]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 81. B.†]

<sup>1</sup> what maintenance F.

<sup>2</sup> vnreclaimable F.

\* leaf 80, back. How a man ought to fweare. B.

<sup>4</sup> this *not in E.*

<sup>5</sup> punishment F.

<sup>6</sup> vpon them *added in F.*

<sup>7</sup> with E, F.

<sup>8</sup> or othes *added in E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144.*

† leaf 81. Swearing forbidden by God. B.

[This page not in A.]

[The daunger of a false othe. E, F.]

[A wicked kind of swearing. E, F.]

[thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyself, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of swearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blasphem, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for euery light trifle. This kinde of swearyng is neuer at any tyme vppon no occation to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: "Swear not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestool: neither by Ierusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou sweare by an heire of thy<sup>1</sup> head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatsoeuer is more then this commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saith our Sauour Christ.

*Spud.* I perceiue by your reasons, that swearyng is a thyng more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Christian Commonwealth.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 8r, back. B.†]

[Sundry kinds of othes, with their effectes. E, F.]

*Philo.* A true othe is daungerous, a false othe<sup>2</sup> is damnable, and no othe is sure. To sweare before a lawfull Iudge, or otherwise priuately, for the appeasing of controuersies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuersies and troubles. But the other kinde of swearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore saith Salomon: "A man that is giuen to muche swearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstanding this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lashe out the bloudieft othes, is coumpted the braueft fellowe: For (saie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generoseous, heroically, and puiffant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgements will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Daftard, a Cowarde, an Affe, a Pefant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, sides, harte,

[Swearing taken for a vertue in England E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> thine F.      † leaf 8r, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B.

[nailes, foote, or some other parte of Christes blessed bodie,<sup>1</sup> yea, sometymes no parte thereof shalbe left vntorne of these bloudie Villaines. And to sweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon,<sup>2</sup> by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothyng blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afresh, as the Apofstle saith, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Passion, and Bloud-sheddyng, as euer was *Iudas* that betrayed hym, or the curfed *Iewes* that crucified hym) to vnderstande, that to sweare by God at euery woorde, is the greatest othe that can bee. For in swearing by God, thou swearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghost, and by all the whole diuine Nature, Power, dietie,<sup>3</sup> and essence. When thou swearest by Gods harte, thou swearest by his mysticall wifedome. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou swearest by his life. When thou swearest by his feete, thou swearest by his humanitie. When thou swearest by his armes, thou swearest by his power. When thou swearest by his finger, or tung, thou swearest by the holie Spirite. When thou swearest by his nofethrells, thou swearest by his inspirations. When thou swearest by his eyes, thou swearest by his prouidence. Therefore, learne this, and beware of swearing, you bloudie Butchers, leaft God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you sweare by the Worlde, by S. Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatsoeuer it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable<sup>4</sup> in it self. For if it were lawfull to sweare at euery<sup>5</sup> woorde for euery trifle, yet it were better to sweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatsoeuer. Because, that, that<sup>6</sup> a man sweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym<sup>7</sup> to witnesse, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely considered, I am fully perswaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to sweare an othe. And yet swearing is of suche small moment in Ailgna, as I heare say (and I feare me too true), there are many that

[This page not in A.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 82. B.\*]  
[Not lawfull to sweare by any creature. E, F.]

[How dangerous it is to sweare by anything. E, F.]

[To sweare by any creature is idolatrie. E]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 82, back. B.†]

[False swearers<sup>8</sup> in England for money.<sup>8</sup> E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> sworn by, added in E, F.

\* leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. B.

<sup>3</sup> Deity F. † leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B.

<sup>6</sup> each E, F.

<sup>6</sup> which in E, F.

<sup>7</sup> it E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> for money in England F.

[This page not  
in A.]

[Swearers are  
very Devils.]

[A lawe for  
swearers. E, F.]  
[6 leaf 83. B. †]

[Punishment  
due for  
swearers. E, F.]

[for money will not sticke to sweare any thing, though neuer so false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naive, plaine<sup>1</sup> denegers of<sup>1</sup> the faithe, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was<sup>2</sup> there euer any Deuilles that would abdicat<sup>3</sup> themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy drosse and muck of the world? Shall wee suffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not<sup>4</sup> punishe it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppression of the same. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any<sup>5</sup> man for swearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blasphemie bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for if thei doe, <sup>6</sup>thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon<sup>7</sup> their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of swearing is suffered still to remaine without al controlement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

*Spud.* What kinde of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloody swearers.

*Philo.* I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whofoeuer blasphemed the Lord, was presently stoned to deathe, without all remorce, which law iudiciall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee iudged too seuerer, I would wishe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or loofe some ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be seared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with some pretie<sup>8</sup> pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too strict, that thei might bee banished their natieue Countrie, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forsait for euery othe, a certaine somme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paied. If any of these Godly Institutions were executed seuerely, I doubt not, but all cursed swearing would vanish away like<sup>9</sup> smoke. Then should God be<sup>10</sup> glorified,

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> reprobates concerning F.

<sup>2</sup> Were F.

<sup>3</sup> and abandone added in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> not to E, F.

<sup>5</sup> a in E, F.

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

<sup>7</sup> on E, F.

<sup>8</sup> pretie not in F.

<sup>9</sup> like a F.

<sup>10</sup> to be F.

[and our Consciencences made<sup>1</sup> cleane against the<sup>2</sup> greate<sup>3</sup> fearfull daie of the Lorde appeare.

[*This page not in A.*]  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 83, back. B.\*]

*Spud.* If fwearing and blaspheming of God's name be fo hainous a finne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vfers therof with some notable punishment,<sup>4</sup> whereof I praeie you shew me some examples.

*Philo.* I could shewe most fraunge and fearfull iudgementes of God, executed vpon these cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages: but for breuite sake, one or two shall suffice. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire<sup>5</sup> in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe,<sup>6</sup> referring you to the said booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's bloud.' The Lorde will- yng his conuerfion, chastifed him with sicknesse many times to leaue the fame, and moued others euer to admonish him of his wickednesse: but all chastifementes and louyng corrections of the Lorde, al frendly admonitions, and exhortations<sup>7</sup> of others, he vtterly contemned, stil per- feuering in his bloudie kinde of fwearyng. Then the Lord, seing that nothing would preuaile to winne him, arested hym with his Sargeant Death: Who, with speede laied holde on hym, and cast hym vpon his Death bed, where he languished a great while, in extreeme miserie, not forgetting to spewe out his olde vomite of Swearyng. At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approach,<sup>8</sup> caused the Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed vp in his bed very vehemently, sayng: "Gods bloud, he shall not haue me yet:" with that, his bloud gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, some at his wristes, some at his nose and mouth, some at one ioint of his body, some at an other, neuer ceasing till all the bloud of<sup>9</sup> his bodie was stremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie Swearer his mortall<sup>10</sup> life, whose Iudgement I leaue to the Lord.

[God's judgments on Swearers.]

[Lincolnshire in England.]

[A most fearefull example of God's wrath shewed vpon a filthy cursed swearer. E, F.] [† gods *is* F.]

[Death, the Lords executioner. B, F.]

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 84. B.†]

[A most dreadfull end of a swearer. E, F.]

There was also an other, whom I knewe my self for a dozen or fiftene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichsheshire,<sup>11</sup> in a Towne

<sup>1</sup> kepte E; kept F. \* leaf 83, back. Examples against swearyng. B.

<sup>3</sup> and added in E, F. <sup>4</sup> in all ages added in F. <sup>5</sup> Lincolnshire F.

<sup>6</sup> in verse added in F.

<sup>7</sup> exhortation F.

† leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E has: A most dreadfull end of a swearer.

<sup>9</sup> in F.

<sup>10</sup> cursed F.

<sup>11</sup> Cheshire E, F.

[This page, to l.  
21, not in A.]  
[Congleton in  
Cheshire.]

[The fearefull  
death of another  
swearer. E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 84, back.  
B. †]  
[London.]  
[The example  
of a woman for-  
swearing her  
selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc,<sup>1</sup> whose vsuall and common oth was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but still wranckled<sup>2</sup> and feftered from daie to daie, and at the last so rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himself through anguish and paine thereof dyed shortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the same thinges wherein thei had offended, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offended through swearing by his bloud, so the Lorde punished hym with bloud. And as the other offended in swearing by his armes, so the Lorde plagued hym in his arme also. As he punished<sup>3</sup> the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the same by tastyng of delicate<sup>4</sup> meates. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol<sup>5</sup> in Ailgna, who, commyng into a shoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forsware her self; and the excrementes whiche naturally should evacuate<sup>6</sup> downwarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and she dyed miserabile. With infinite<sup>7</sup> like exampled<sup>8</sup> of God's wrath and heauie iudgementes, executed vpon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leasure, I could rehearse. But contentyng my self to haue faied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no lesse needefull to be handled.]

*Spud.* Hauing (by the grace of Chrifte) hitherto spoken of fundrie Abuses of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they sanctifie<sup>9</sup> and keepe the Sabaoth day? In godly Christian exercifes, or els in profane pastimes and pleasures?

### *The Maner of sanctifyng the Sabaoth in Ailgna.*

*Philo.*

THE Sabaoth day, of some is well sanctified,<sup>10</sup> namely in hearing the<sup>11</sup> Word of GOD read, preached, and interpreted in priuat and publique Prayers, in singng of Godly Psalmes, in celebrating the sacra-

<sup>1</sup> Congleton F.

<sup>2</sup> ranckled F.

<sup>3</sup> punished (*sic*) F.

† leaf 84, back. The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. B.

<sup>5</sup> London F.

<sup>6</sup> haue discended F.

<sup>7</sup> the *added in* E, F.

<sup>8</sup> examples *in* F.

<sup>9</sup> sanctisie A.

<sup>10</sup> santified A; obserued E; obserued, as F.

<sup>11</sup> the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for the poore & indigent; <sup>1</sup> which are the true vſes and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other ſome ſpend <sup>2</sup>the Sabaoth day (for the moſt part) in frequenting of baudie Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of miſ-rule (for ſo they call a certaine kinde of play which they vſe), <sup>3</sup>May-games, Church-ales, feaſts, and wakeeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tenniſſe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and ſuch like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the ſabaoth; In keeping<sup>4</sup> Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and ſuch other deuiliſh paſtimes; <sup>5</sup>reading of laciuious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of ſuch like practiſes and prophane exerciſes vſed vpon that day, wherby the Lord God is diſhonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his ſacraments contemned, and his People meruelouſly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. <sup>6</sup> *Lord, remooue theſe exerciſes from thy Sabaoth!* <sup>6</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> L 2, back. A.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 85. B.†]

Prophane exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth day  
[Faires, football-playing and other profanities on the Sabbath-day.]

*Spud.* You wil be deemed too too *Stoicall*, if you ſhould refrain men from theſe exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth; for they ſuppoſe that that day<sup>7</sup> was ordained and conſecrate to that end and purpoſe, only to vſe what kinde of exerciſes they think good *themſelues*: & was it not ſo?

*Phi.* After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therein contained, in <sup>8</sup>ſix dayes, in the ſeuenth day he reſted from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from <sup>9</sup>gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded *that* the ſeuenth day ſhould be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount *Horeb* to *Moyſes*, & in him to all<sup>10</sup> the Children of *Iſrael*, ſaying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the ſeuenth day, &c. If we muſt keep it holy, then muſt we not ſpend it in ſuch vain exerciſes as pleaſe ourſelues, but in ſuch godly exerciſes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the ſeuenth day to be kept holy for ſoure cauſes

[<sup>8</sup> L 3. A.]

When the Sabaoth was ordained.  
[<sup>9</sup> leaf 85, back. B.†]

\* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. <sup>3</sup> in added in E.

<sup>4</sup> keepyng of B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> in added in B, E, F.

<sup>6-6</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> is a day of liberty, and added in F.

† leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.)

<sup>10</sup> call E, F.

## 138 Violaters of the Sab[oth] punished. The Anatomie

Wherefore the  
Sabaoth was  
instituted.

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wonderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and<sup>1</sup> creatures besides. Secondly, *that* his woord (the Church assembling together) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his sacraments ministred sincerely, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages<sup>2</sup> & praiers, bothe priuat & publike, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that euey christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might *the* better sustaine the trauailes of the week to ensue<sup>3</sup>; and also to *the* end *that* all beasts & cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans vse, as helps & <sup>4</sup>adiuments<sup>5</sup> vnto him in his daylie affaires & businesse, might rest and refresh them selues, the better to <sup>6</sup>go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, *sine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam*: Without some rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to tend it might be a typical figure or signitor<sup>7</sup> to point<sup>8</sup> (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher<sup>9</sup> foorth<sup>10</sup> and shadowe<sup>10</sup> vnto vs that blessed rest & thryse happie ioye which the faithfull shal possess after the day of iudgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherefore, seeing the Sabaoth was instituted for these causes,<sup>11</sup> it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly pastymes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

[<sup>4</sup> L 3, back. A.]

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 86. B. †]

[The 4th cause  
for the Sabbath.]

Punishment  
for violating  
the sabaoth.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few small sticke vpon the Sabaoth, was stoned to death by the commandement of God from<sup>12</sup> the Theator of Heauen.

Violaters of  
the sabaoth.

Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few sticks vpon the Sabaoth day, which in some cases might be<sup>13</sup> for necessities sake, and<sup>14</sup> did it but once, what shall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue them-selues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both<sup>15</sup> of *the* Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they haue played the lazie lurdens al the

[<sup>5</sup> L 4. A.]

<sup>1</sup> and all other his B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> orisons *added in* E, F.

<sup>3</sup> following (*for* to ensue) E, F.

<sup>5</sup> supportes F.

† leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B.

<sup>7</sup> vnto vs *added in* F.

<sup>8</sup> poynt out F.

<sup>9</sup> discipher F.

<sup>10-10</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> and to these endes *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> soundyng from B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> lawfull *added in* F.

<sup>14</sup> and yet E, F.

weke before, yet that day of fet purpose they wil toile <sup>1</sup> and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be fure, as he that gathered sticke vpon the Sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the fame, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 86, back. B.\*]

The *Iewes* are verye strict in keeping their Sabaoths; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks vpon the same day, but fet it on the tables *the* day befor. They go not about ij. miles vpon *the* sabaoth day; they <sup>3</sup> suffer not the body of any <sup>4</sup> Malefactor to hang vpon the gallowes vpon the Sabaoth day, with legions of such like superfcious. [<sup>5</sup> And whiche is most fraunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not suffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chanced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna, <sup>6</sup> by greate <sup>7</sup> casualtie fell into a Priuie vpon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeouyrng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chofing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.<sup>8</sup>] Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too scrupelous, <sup>9</sup> and ouerhoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so frait laced, that <sup>10</sup> I would haue no kinde of worke done vpon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although *the* day it self, in respect of *the* very <sup>11</sup> nature and originall <sup>12</sup> therof, be no better than another <sup>13</sup> day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we <sup>14</sup> become temporizers, all <sup>15</sup> beeing alike good; yet becaufe the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified & kept holy to him self, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selues to so loouing a Father; for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the stream,

The Iewes very precise in keeping<sup>2</sup> sabaoth.

[The English Jew who died in a priuy, rather than be pulled out on the Sabbath.]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 87. B.\*]

No work to be done vpon the sabaoth except necessite inforce it.

[<sup>12</sup> L 4, back. A.]

\* leaf 86, back. Strict obseruation of the Sabaoth. B.

<sup>2</sup> keepyng of B, E; keeping the F.

<sup>3</sup> the F.

<sup>4</sup> any felon or B, E, F.

<sup>5-5</sup> added in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> England E, F.

<sup>7</sup> greate *not in* F.

<sup>8</sup> superstitious F.

† leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth. B.

<sup>10</sup> very *not in* E, F.

<sup>11</sup> originall *not in* F.

<sup>13</sup> we wil B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> all times B, E, F.

and we contemne him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodily labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I haue said, in hearing the woord of God truly preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as feales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes,<sup>1</sup> and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, wee must refrain<sup>2</sup> all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at<sup>3</sup> these spirituall exercises vpon the Sabaoth day.

Wherin the true vse of the Sabaoth consisteth.

[† leaf 87, back. B.\*]

[† L 5. A

<sup>4</sup>This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

*Spud.* Hauing shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, whereby the Saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first to begin with stage plays and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from finne?

[The abuses whereby the Sabbath is profaned.]

### *Of<sup>5</sup> Stage-plays, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.*

*Philo.*

ALL Stage-plays, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuine or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of GOD is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therin, and not scoffingly, flowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence,<sup>6</sup> worship, or veneration<sup>7</sup> to<sup>8</sup> the same. <sup>9</sup>the word of

[Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.]

[6 leaf 88. B.†]

\* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. <sup>2</sup> refrain from B, E.

<sup>3</sup> aboute B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> Of not in E, F.

† leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B.

<sup>7</sup> honour F.

<sup>8</sup> at all doen to B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> For it is most certaine added in B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Chrif his blood, & the merits of his paffion, were not giuen to <sup>1</sup>be derided and iested at, <sup>2</sup>as they be in thefe filthie playes and enterluds on ftages & fcaffolds,<sup>2</sup> or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry,<sup>3</sup> wanton fhewes, & vncomely gecture, as is vfed (euery Man knoweth) in thefe playes and enterludes.<sup>4</sup> In the firft of *Ihon* we are taught that the word is GOD, and God is the word: Wherefore, who fo euer abufeth this word of our God on ftages in playes and enterluds, abufeth the Maiefty of GOD in the fame, maketh a mocking flock of him, & purchafeth to himfelfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the facred word of GOD, and God himfelfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once<sup>5</sup> named, but with great feare, reuerence, and obedience to the fame. All the holy companie of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other<sup>6</sup> powers whatfoeuer, yea, the Deuills themfelues (as<sup>7</sup> *Iames* faith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the prefence of his wrath: and doo thefe Mockers and Flowters of his Maiefty, thefe diffemblyng *Hipocrites*, and flattering *Gnatoes*, think to efcape vnpunifhed? beware, therefore, you mafking Players, you painted fepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computiftes, caft your accompts <sup>9</sup>before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, leaft God deftroy you in his wrath: abuſe God no more, corrupt his <sup>10</sup>people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his bleſſed word with fuch prophane vanities. For at no<sup>11</sup> hand it is not lawfull to mixt ſcurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with ſcurrilitie.

[<sup>1</sup> L 5, back. A.]  
The deriding  
of the word of  
God in ſtage  
playes.

Reuerence to  
the maieſtie of  
God due.

A warning<sup>8</sup> to  
Players.

[<sup>9</sup> 1 of 88, back.  
B.†]

[<sup>10</sup> L 6. A.]

Not lawfull to  
intermixt  
diuinitie with  
ſcurrilitie.

*Theopompus* mingled *Moyſes* law with his writings, and therefore the LORD ſtroke him madd. *Theodictes* began the ſame praſtife, but the Lorde ſtroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting<sup>12</sup> the like deuyſes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miſerably: beſides, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other ſide, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the diſhonor of God, and noriſhing of vice, both which

What if playes  
be of prophane  
matter.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> ſcurrility added in F.

<sup>4</sup> vpon ſtages and ſcaffoldes made for that purpoſe, added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> to be added in F.

<sup>6</sup> other Ceraphicall B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> as Saint B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> warning A.

† leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.

<sup>11</sup> any F.

<sup>12</sup> attempting A.

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and sucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therefore they, carying the note, or<sup>1</sup> brand, of<sup>2</sup> GOD his<sup>2</sup> curſe vppon their backs, which way ſoever they goe, are to be hiſſed out of all Chriſtian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Chriſt to dwell amongſt them.

*Spud.* Are you able to ſhewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue reſiſted<sup>3</sup> Playes and Enterluds?

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 89. B. \*]

[<sup>5</sup> L 6, back. A.]

The word of God, al Writers, counſels and Fathers haue writ<sup>7</sup> againſt playes and enterluds.

<sup>4</sup> *Philo.* Not onely the word of GOD doth ouerthrow them, addiudging them & the main<sup>5</sup>tainers<sup>6</sup> of them to Hell, but alſo all holie counſels, and ſinodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuine and prophane, euer ſince the beginning, haue diſallowed them, and writ (almoſt) whole volumes againſt them.

The learned Father *Tertullian*, in his booke *de Speculo*, ſaith that playes were conſecrat to that falſe ydoll *Bacchus*, for that he is ſaid to haue found out and inuented ſtrong drinke.

*Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei*, ſaith that plaies were ordeined by the Deuill, and conſecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Chriſtianitie to ydolatrie, and gentiliſme. And in an other place, *Pecunias Hiſtrionibus dare vitium eſt innane*,<sup>8</sup> *non virtus*: To giue money to Players is a greuous ſin.<sup>9</sup>

*Chriſoſtome* calleth thoſe playes *feſta Sathani*, feaſts of the Deuill. *Lactantius*, an ancient learned Father, ſaith, *Hiſtrionum impudiffimi geſtus, nihil aliud niſi Libidinem mouent*: The ſhameleſſe geſtures of Plaiers ſerue to nothing ſo much as to moue the fleſh to luſt and vnclenneſſe. And therefore in the .30. Counſell of *Carthage* &<sup>10</sup> *Synode* of *Laodicea*, it was decreed that no Chriſten Man or Woman ſhould reſorte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blaſphemie, ſcurrilitie, and whordome maintained. *Scipio*, ſeeing the *Romaines* bente<sup>12</sup> to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehorted them from it

Concilium 3. Cartha. Cap. II. Synode Laodicea, Cap. 54.

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 89, back. B. †]

[<sup>12</sup> L 7. A.]

<sup>1</sup> and E, F.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> Gods F.

<sup>3</sup> disliked F.

\* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B.

<sup>6</sup> practiſers E, F.

<sup>7</sup> haue writ *not in* E, F.

<sup>8</sup> immane B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> and no vertue *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> in the *added in* B, E, F.

† leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

with the<sup>1</sup> moſt prudent reaſons and forcible arguments. *Valerius Maximus* faith, playes were neuer brought vp *ſine regni rubore*, without flame to the Cuntrey. *Ariſt.* debarreth youth acceſſe to Playes & Enterluds, leaſt they, ſeeking to quench the thirſt of *Venus*, doo quench it with a potle of fire. *Auguſtus* baniſhed *Ouid* for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and ſuch other amorous trumperie.

Writers<sup>2</sup> both diuine and prophane againſt playes and Enterluds.

*Conſtantius* ordeined that no Player ſhould be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, ſeeing that Playes were firſt<sup>3</sup> inuented by the Deuil, practiſed by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat<sup>4</sup> to their falſe ydols, Goddes and Goddeſſes, as the howſe, ſtage, and apparell to *Venus*, the muſicke to *Appollo*, the penning to *Minerua* and the Muſes, the action and pronuntiation to *Mercurie* and the reſt, it is more than manifeſt that they are no fit exercyſes for a<sup>5</sup> Chriſten<sup>6</sup> Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them ſaue this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is<sup>7</sup> anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie, inceſt, murder, & ſuch like, the Perſons or Actors are Goddes, Goddeſſes, Furies, Fyends, Haggies, Kings, Quee<sup>8</sup>nes, or Potentates. Of Commedies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the Per<sup>9</sup>ſons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, ſcullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with ſuch like of infinit varietie. If, I ſay, there were nothing els but this, it were ſufficient to withdraw a good chriſtian from the viſing of them; For ſo often as they goe to thoſe howſes where Players frequent, thei go to *Venus* pallace, & ſathans ſynagogue, to worſhip deuils, & betray Chriſt Ieſus.

The ends of playes and Enterluds.

The arguments of tragedies.

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 90. B.]

The ground of Commedies.

[<sup>9</sup> L 7, back. A.]

Theaters and curtaines § *Venus* pallaces.

*Spud.* But, notwithstanding, I haue hard<sup>10</sup> ſome hold opinion that they be as good as ſermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

*Philo.* Oh blaſphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes comparable to the word of God.

<sup>1</sup> the *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Waiters F.

<sup>3</sup> firſt *not in* E, F.

<sup>4</sup> dedicated F.

<sup>5</sup> a *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> men B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> is *not in* E.

† leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B.

<sup>10</sup> heard F.

§ 'The Theatre' (where Shakspeare probably firſt acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the ſite of the preſent Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as 'The Globe' on Bankſide, Southwark, in 1599. 'The Curtain' theatre was cloſe by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Glouceſter St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.—F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, *the* foode of life, and life it felfe? It is all one, as if they had said, bawdrie, hethenrie, pagazrie, fenrilitie, and diuelrie it felf, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipolent<sup>1</sup> with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with *the* other? If he be accursed *that* calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falshood<sup>2</sup> truth, sweet sowre, and fowr sweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accursed that saith that playes & enterluds be equialent with Sermons. Bes<sup>3</sup>ides this, there is no mischief which these plaies<sup>4</sup> maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes<sup>5</sup> is the Mother of<sup>5</sup> vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and sermons? for you shall haue them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when *the* church of God shalbe bare & emptie; And those *that* will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobat is many; the way *that* leadeth to life is narrow, and few tread *that* path; *the* way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyses they go to visite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, insinuat folery, & renue *the* remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maydenly virginitie and chafitie? For prooffe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such<sup>6</sup> bawdie speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes,<sup>9</sup> and the like, is vi<sup>ed</sup>, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done,<sup>10</sup> euery mate forts to his

He is cursed that saith playes and enterluds are comparable to sermons.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 90, back. B.\*]

[<sup>3</sup> L 8. A.]

Wherfore so many flock to see playes and enterluds.

The fruites of theathers<sup>6</sup> & playes.

The Godly<sup>7</sup> demeanoures vsed at playes & enterluds.

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 91. B.†]

[<sup>9</sup> L 8, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup> equialent F.

\* leaf 90, back. The fruites of Playes. B.

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

<sup>5-5</sup> doth minister F.

<sup>6</sup> Theaters F.

<sup>7</sup> goodly F.

† leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

<sup>10</sup> ended E, F.

mate, euery one bringes another homeward of their way verve friendly, and in their fecret conclaues (couertly) they play *the Sodomits*, or worfe. And thefe be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the moft part. And wheras you fay there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie fo there are: if you will learne falshood; if you will learn cofenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,<sup>1</sup> and falſifie; if you will learn to left, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to play the vice, to ſwear, teare, and blaſpheme<sup>2</sup> both Heauen and Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuerginat Mayds, to deflour honeft Wyues: if you will learne to murder, flae,<sup>3</sup> kill, picke, ſteal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel againſt Priuces, to commit treafons,<sup>4</sup> to confume<sup>5</sup> treafurs, to praftife ydlenes, to ſing and talke of bawdie lone and venery: if you will lerne to deride, ſcoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & ſmooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maiſter, the glutton, Drunkard, or inceftuous perſon: if you will learn to become proude, haw<sup>6</sup>tie, & arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne<sup>7</sup> GOD and al his lawes, to care<sup>8</sup> neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and mifcheef, you need to goe to no other ſchoole, for all theſe good Examples may you ſee painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherefore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them muſt needs incurre the<sup>9</sup> damage<sup>10</sup> of<sup>11</sup> *premunire*, that is,<sup>9</sup> eternall damnation, except they<sup>12</sup> repent. For the Apoſtle biddeth vs beware, leaſt wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, &<sup>13</sup> maintain euil to the diſtruction of *them ſelues* & many others, but alſo a maintaining<sup>14</sup> of a great forte of idle lubbers, and<sup>15</sup> buzzing dronets, to<sup>15</sup> fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees ſhould lue.

Therefore I beſeech all players<sup>16</sup> & Founders<sup>16</sup> of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Ieſus Chriſte, as they tender the ſaluation of their

The goodly examples Playes and Enterluds.

[<sup>2</sup> blaſpheme A.]

What things are to be lerned at playes

Theaters Schooles or Seminaries of pſendo chriſtianitie.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 91, back. B.†]

[<sup>8</sup> M r. A.]

A dyuine premunire.

What it is to communicate with other mens finnes.

An exhortation to plaiers.

<sup>1</sup> to lye B, E, F.      <sup>3</sup> flay F.      <sup>4</sup> Treason F.      <sup>5</sup> comsume A.

† leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of miſcheefe. B.

<sup>7</sup> comtemne A.      <sup>9—9</sup> ineuitable ſentence of F.

<sup>10</sup> daunger B, E.      <sup>11</sup> of a B; of the deuine E.

<sup>12</sup> he E, F.      <sup>13</sup> and to B, E, F.      <sup>14</sup> ſupporting B, E, F.

<sup>15—15</sup> laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.

<sup>16—16</sup> founders and maintainers B, E, F.

foules, and others, to leaue of that curfed kind of life, and giue them felues to fuch honeft exercifes and godly miferies as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings *wit*hall: for who wil call him a wifeman, that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Chrifian, who playeth *the* part of a deuil, the fworne enemie of Chrifte? who can call him a iuft man, that playeth the <sup>1</sup>part of a difsembling hipocrite? And, to be breef, <sup>2</sup>who can call him a fraight deling man, who playeth a Cofoners trick<sup>3</sup>? And fo of all *the* reft. Away therefore with this fo infamous an art! for goe they neuer fo braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are<sup>4</sup> they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I fpeak of fuch as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought fo to be punished, if they had their deferts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the laft, I wil fay no more of them, befecching them to confider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heauie difpleafure againft them felues and others; *which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!*

*Spud.* Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it felf <sup>5</sup>caryeth a tafte of<sup>6</sup> fome notorious<sup>6</sup> euil.

### *Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna.*

#### *Philo.*

THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & fuch as the very heathen people would haue blufhed at once to <sup>7</sup>haue named amongft them. And if the name importeth fome euil,<sup>8</sup> then, what may *the* thing<sup>9</sup> it felf be, iudge you? But becaufe you defire to know the manner of them, I wil fhowe you as I haue feen them

The ignomy due to Players. [<sup>2</sup> leaf 92. B.\*] [<sup>2</sup> M 1, back. A.]

Players liue vpon begging.

Players counted Rogues by the lawes of the Realm.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna. [<sup>7</sup> M 2. A.]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 92, back. B.†]

\* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

<sup>3</sup> part F.

<sup>4</sup> And are F.

<sup>5-6</sup> importeth B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> notorious *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> as you say *added in* F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conuenting<sup>1</sup> together, chuse them a Graund<sup>2</sup>-Captain (of all<sup>3</sup> mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of 'my Lord of Mis-rule', and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chufeth forth twentie, fortie, threecore or a hundred lustie Guttes, like to him self, to waighte vppon his lordly Maiestie, and to garde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his lieries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should say, they bedecke them selues with scarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer with golde rings, precious stoncs, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheifs<sup>4</sup> in their hands, and sometymes laid a croffe ouer their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopfes & loouing Besses<sup>5</sup>, for buffing them in *the* dark. Thus al things set in order, then haue they their Hobby-horfes,<sup>6</sup> dragons & other Antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike<sup>7</sup> vp the deuils daunce withall. then, marche these<sup>8</sup> heathen company towards the Church<sup>9</sup> and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bels iynghing, their handkercheifs fwinging<sup>10</sup> about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horfes and other monsters skirmishing amongst the route<sup>11</sup>: & in this sorte they go to the Church<sup>12</sup> (I say) & into the Church,<sup>12</sup> (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & fwinging [t]heir handkercheifs<sup>13</sup> ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, *with* such a confuse<sup>14</sup> noife, *that* no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[ni]zed in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and againe, & so fourth into *the* church-yard, where they haue commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houfes set vp, wherin they feast, banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the<sup>15</sup> night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner how Lords of Mis-rule are used to be played.

The monstrous attyring of my Lord of Misrules Men.

The rablement of the deuils guard.  
[7 M 2, back. A.]  
[9 leaf 93. B.†]

The behaviour of the Deuills band in the temple of God.

Receptacles in the Cemeteries or church yards for the deuils agents.

<sup>1</sup> flocking F.

<sup>2</sup> Ground E.

<sup>3</sup> all *not in* F.

<sup>4</sup> handkerchiefe F.

<sup>5</sup> Bessies F.

<sup>6</sup> their *added in* F.

<sup>8</sup> this F.

† leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

<sup>10</sup> fluttering F.

<sup>11</sup> throng B, E, F.

<sup>12-12</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> handkechiefes F.

<sup>14</sup> confused B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> that F.

My Lord of  
mis-rules  
cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.]  
[6 leaf 93, back  
B.\*]

Wearing my  
Lord of mis-  
rules badges.

Sacrifice  
brought to  
this filthie  
Ydol, my L.  
of mis-rule.

<sup>1</sup>They haue also certain papers, wherin is painted some bablerie or other of Imagery woork, & these they call 'my Lord of mis-rules badges<sup>2</sup>': these they giue to euery one that wil giue<sup>3</sup> money for them to maintaine them in<sup>4</sup> their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunken-<sup>5</sup>nes, pride, and <sup>6</sup>what not.<sup>7</sup> And who will not be<sup>8</sup> buxom to them, and giue them<sup>9</sup> money for these <sup>10</sup>their deuill[i]h<sup>10</sup> cognizances, they are<sup>11</sup> mocked & flouted at<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>not a little.<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>And so affoted<sup>15</sup> are some, that they not only giue them monie to maintain their abomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are<sup>16</sup> badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuill, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents<sup>17</sup> from the Children of God; And so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam*: they fight vnder the banner and standerd of the deuill against Christ Iesus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantastickal fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good-ale, some new-cheese, some olde,<sup>18</sup> some custards, <sup>19</sup>& fine cakes<sup>19</sup>; some one thing, some another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing<sup>20</sup> to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the deuill and fathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; *which God graunt they may!*

*Spud.* This is a horrible prophanation of the sabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more pestilent then pestilence it self. but what? be there any <sup>21</sup>abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

[21 leaf 94. B.†]

[23 M 3, back. A.]

<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>*Philo.* As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

<sup>1</sup> Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) *added in B, E, F.*      <sup>2</sup> or Cognizances *added in F.*

<sup>3</sup> giue them F.

<sup>4</sup> in this B, E, F.

\* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

<sup>7</sup> els *added in F.*

<sup>8</sup> shewe hym self B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> them *not in F.*

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> the deuilles B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> shall be B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> at *not in F.*

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> shamefully B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horrible abused *added in F.*      <sup>15</sup> assotted F.

<sup>16</sup> are the B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup> vassals F.

<sup>18</sup> olde cheese B, E, F.

<sup>19</sup>—<sup>19</sup> some cakes, some flannes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (*but F begins with some Cracknels.*)      <sup>20</sup> thing *not in B, E, F.*

† leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

<sup>22</sup> B, E, F *make a fresh chapter here, with the heading*:—The maner of Maie-games in England.

Against *May*<sup>1</sup>, *Whitfonday*, or<sup>2</sup> other time, <sup>3</sup>all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues,<sup>3</sup> hills, & mountains,<sup>4</sup> where they spend all the night in pleasant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing *with* them birch<sup>5</sup> & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sports, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the<sup>6</sup> cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their<sup>7</sup> May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Oxe hauing a sweet nose-gay of flouers placed<sup>9</sup> on the tip of his hornes; and these Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs,<sup>10</sup> bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime<sup>11</sup> painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering<sup>12</sup> on the top, they fraw the ground rounde<sup>13</sup> about, binde green boughes about it, set vp sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to<sup>14</sup> daunce about it, like<sup>15</sup> as the <sup>16</sup>heathen people did at the dedication of the<sup>17</sup> Idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viua voce*) by men of great grauitie<sup>18</sup> and reputation, that of fortie, three-score, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue scaresly the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled. These be the frutes which these curfed pastimes bring forth. <sup>19</sup>Neither the<sup>20</sup> *Iewes*, the<sup>21</sup> *Turcks*,

The order of their May-games.

[\* side-note here in B.]

\* A great Lord present in May<sup>8</sup> games as superintendent therof.

[\* leaf 94, back. B. †]

The manner of bringing home their May-poles.

[\* M 4. A.]

May-poles a pattern of the hethen Ydols.

The frute of May-games.

<sup>1</sup> day added in F.

<sup>2</sup> or some B, E, F.

<sup>3-3</sup> of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> some to one place, some to another, added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> bowes added in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> the F.

<sup>8</sup> May not in F.

<sup>9</sup> tyed E, F.

† leaf 94, back. The fruites of Maie games. B.

<sup>11</sup> sometimes F.

<sup>12</sup> streaming B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> round not in B, E.

<sup>14</sup> banquet and feast, to leape and added in B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> like not in B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> credite added in F.

<sup>19</sup> Assuredly I thinke added in B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> the not in B, E, F.

<sup>21</sup> nor B, E, F.

*Sarafins*, nor *Pagans*, nor any other nations,<sup>1</sup> how wicked or barbarous foeuer, haue euer vsed fuch deuilifh exercifes as thefe; nay, they would haue been afhamed once to haue named them, much leffe haue<sup>2</sup> vsed them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amiffe.

*The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them<sup>3</sup> from vs!*

[4 leaf 95. B.\*] *Spud.* What is the manner of their church ales, which you fay they vse; for they seem vn<sup>4</sup>couth and fraunge to mine eares?

### *The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.*

[5 M 4, back. A.]

#### <sup>5</sup> *Philoponus.*

The manner  
of Church-ales  
in Ailg[na].

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken *Bachus* beares all<sup>6</sup> the sway, against a<sup>7</sup> *Christmas*, an<sup>8</sup> *Easter*, *Whit-funday*, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of euery parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide half a score or twenty quarters of mault, wherof some they buy of the Church-stock, and some is giuen them of the Parishioners them selues, euery one conferring fomewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it<sup>9</sup> is set to sale, either in the Church, or<sup>10</sup> some other place assigned to that purpose.

The filthiest  
beast, the  
godlyest man.

Then, when the<sup>11</sup> *Nippitatum*, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this *nectar* of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is he that can get the sooneft to it, and spend the most at it; for he that sitteth the clofett to it, and spends the moft at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest<sup>12</sup>; but who either<sup>13</sup> cannot, <sup>14</sup>for pinching pouertie, <sup>14</sup>or otherwise,<sup>15</sup> wil not stick to it, he is counted one deftitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In so much as you shall haue many poor men make hard shift for money to spend ther<sup>16</sup>at,<sup>17</sup> for it<sup>18</sup> beeing put into this *Corban*, they are perswaded it is meritorious, & a good seruice to God. In this kinde of

[16 leaf 95, back.  
B.†]

<sup>1</sup> people B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> to haue B, E.

<sup>3</sup> them farre F.

\* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

<sup>6</sup> all *not in* B; all the *not in* E, F.

<sup>7</sup> a *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> and B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> it *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> or in F.

<sup>11</sup> this B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> and most in Gods fauour, because it is spent vpon his Church forsoth *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> either for want B, E, F.

<sup>14-14</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> for feare of God's wrath *added in* E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money bestowed. B.

<sup>17</sup> and good reason *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> it *not in* B, E, F.

practise they continue six weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer together, fwil<sup>1</sup>ling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke [<sup>1</sup> M 5. A.], as Apes,<sup>2</sup> and as <sup>3</sup>blockish as beafts.<sup>3</sup>

*Spud.* Seeing they haue so good vtterance, it should seeme they haue good gaires. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

*Philo.* Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they say: For they reparaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookes for seruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, surpleesses for Sir Ihon, and such other necessaries; And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the<sup>4</sup> parishes besydes. These be their<sup>5</sup> exceptions, these be their<sup>5</sup> excuses, and these be their pretended<sup>6</sup> allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themselues away in nifibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

For if it wer so *that* they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will haue his howse build<sup>7</sup> with drunkenesse, gluttony, and such like abomination? Must we do euill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stone with the desola<sup>8</sup>tion and vtter ouerthrow of his spirituall howse, <sup>9</sup>clensed and washed in <sup>9</sup>the precioufe blood of our Sauour Iesus Christ? But who seeth not that they bestow this money vpon nothing lesse than in building and repaying of Churches <sup>10</sup>and Oratories? For in most places lye they not like fwyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall<sup>11</sup> downe, the<sup>12</sup> rooffe all bare, and what not out of order? Who seeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn,<sup>13</sup> couered in dust, so as this *Epitaphe* may be writ with ones finger vppon it, *ecce nunc in puluere dormio?* (Alas!) behold I sleep in dust and oblyuion, not once scarce looked vppon, much lesse red vpon,<sup>14</sup> and the<sup>15</sup> leaf of all preached vppon. And, on the other side, who seeth not (for <sup>16</sup>this I speake but <sup>17</sup>in way of *parenthesis*<sup>17</sup>) in *the* meane

How the money is spent which is got by Churchales.

Will the Lord haue his house build with maintenance of euill?

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 96. B.†]

[<sup>10</sup> M 5, back. A.]

The decay of Churches, which are lacerat, rent, and torn.

Sumptuousnes of their owne mansions

<sup>2</sup> Rattes B, E; Swine F.

<sup>3—3</sup> mad as March Hares F.

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

<sup>5—5</sup> golden reasons, these bee their faire B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> pretensed B, E.

<sup>7</sup> builded F.

† leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B. <sup>9—9</sup> purchased with F.

<sup>11</sup> fallen B. <sup>12</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> yea added in F. <sup>14</sup> on B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>16</sup> for *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>17—17</sup> to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.

tyme, their owne howfes and manfion places are curiously build, and fumptuously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather beftow this drunken got-money vpon prophane vfes and their own priuat affaires, than vpon the howfe of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may fay <sup>1</sup>black is their eye<sup>1</sup>. For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they<sup>2</sup> fay; And when time commeth, like good accoumpt-antes, they make their accoumptes as pleafe themfelues.

[<sup>2</sup> the A.]

*Sp.* Were it not better, & more consonant <sup>3</sup>to the truth, that euery one contributed<sup>4</sup> fomewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of <sup>5</sup>templaries & <sup>6</sup>oratories,<sup>5</sup> than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you fay thei do?

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 96, back. B.\*]

<sup>7</sup>*Philo.* It weare muche better. And fo we read, the Fathers of the old Testament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart some-what to the building <sup>9</sup>and reftauration<sup>9</sup> of the Tabernacle which *Moyfes* erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was fuch aboundance of all things, as the Artificers, confulting with *Moyfes*, were glad to request the People to ftay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. Thefe People made no drunken Churchales to build their edefice<sup>11</sup> withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable coftes. But as their zeel was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, fo our zeal is more than frofen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and beftowing it vpon whordom, drunkenneffe, gluttony, pride, and fuch like abominations: *God amend it!*

[7 M 6. A.]

Churches<sup>8</sup> are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power.<sup>10</sup>

*Spud.* How do they folemnife their feaftes and wakeffes there; and what order do they obferue in them?

Our zeal waxen cold and frofen in respect of the zeal of the former world.

*The maner of keeping<sup>i</sup> of Wakeffes, and feafts in Ailgna.*

[<sup>12</sup> leaf 97. B.†]

<sup>12</sup>*Philoponus.*

THIS is their order therein: euery towne, parishe, and Village, fome at one tyme of the Yeere, fome at another (but <sup>13</sup>fo that euery

[<sup>13</sup> M 6, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> Domine, cur ita facis? F.

\* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B. <sup>4</sup> contribute B. <sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> Temples and Churches F. <sup>6</sup> or B, E.

<sup>8</sup> Churges A. <sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> and instauration E; not in F. <sup>10</sup> this side-note not in F. <sup>11</sup> house of Prayer F. † leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

<sup>1</sup>towne, parish, & village<sup>1</sup> keep<sup>2</sup> his proper day affigned and appropriat to it self, (which they call their Wak day) vse<sup>3</sup> to make great preparation and ordenaunce<sup>4</sup> for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkennesse, such faturitie<sup>5</sup> and impletion vsed, as the like was neuer seen: In so muche as the poore men that beare *the* charges of these feasts and wakeffes, are the poorer, and keep the Worser howses a long tyme<sup>6</sup> after. And no marueil, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thrippe & pinch, to runue into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in feasts and wakesses.

The great charges of Wakesses.

*Spud.* Wold you not haue one freend to visite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

*Philo.* I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat<sup>7</sup> day more than at another (except busines vraged it); why should one and *the* same day continue for euer, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more excessse of meats and drinks at that day than at another<sup>8</sup>? why should they abstaine from bodely labor<sup>9</sup>.ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture the whole week, spending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo<sup>10</sup>miticall exercyfes.

Against wakes & feasts

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 97, back. B.†]

[<sup>10</sup> M 7]

*Spud.* Seeing you allowe of one Freend to visite another, would you not haue *them* to congratulat their comming with some good cheer?

*Philo.* Yes, truely; but I allowe not of such excessse of ryot & superfluitie as is there vsed. I thinke it conuenient for one Freend to visite another (at sometymes) as oportunitie & occasion shall<sup>11</sup> offer it selfe<sup>11</sup>; but wherfore should the whole town, parish, village, and cuntrey keepe one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they doo? And therefore,<sup>12</sup> to conclude,<sup>12</sup> they are to no end, except it be to draw a great<sup>13</sup> frequencie of whores, drabbes,<sup>14</sup> theiues, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

Wherto wakesses and feasts do very aptly tend.

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> one B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> keeps F.      <sup>3</sup> vseth F.      <sup>4</sup> prouision E, F.

<sup>6</sup> fulnesse F.      <sup>6</sup> yeare F.      <sup>7</sup> prefixed F.      <sup>8</sup> any other E, F.

† leaf 97, back. The fruicts of Wakesses. B.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> bee offered F.      <sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> in my opinion B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> a great *not in* E, F; frequencie of *not in* F.      <sup>14</sup> drabbes *not in* B, E, F.

nesse, thieft, murther, fwearing, and all kind of mischief and abhomin-  
ation; For these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakeffes doo  
tende.<sup>1</sup>

*Spud.* From whence sprang these feasts and wakeffes first of all;  
can you tell?

*Philo.* I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People,  
who, when they were assembled together, and had offered Sacrifices to  
their wodden<sup>2</sup> Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets  
together before them, in ho<sup>3</sup>nour and reuerence of them, so<sup>4</sup> appointed  
the same yeerly to be obserued in<sup>5</sup> memoriall of the same<sup>6</sup> for euer.  
But whence<sup>7</sup> soeuer they had their exordium,<sup>8</sup> certen it is the deuill  
was the Father of them, to<sup>9</sup> drown vs in perdition, and destruction of  
body and soule: which Godd forefend<sup>10</sup>!

*Sp.* As I remember, you spoke<sup>11</sup> of dauncing before, inferring that  
the sabaoth is<sup>12</sup> greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, shew  
mee your iudgement.

*The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, vsed<sup>13</sup>  
in Ailgna.*

*Philoponus.*

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an in-  
troduction to<sup>14</sup> whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to  
vnclenes, & an introite<sup>15</sup> to all kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant  
exercyse to the mind, or a holosome practise for the body<sup>16</sup>: yet<sup>17</sup>, not-  
withstanding, in Ailg[na] both men, wemen, & children, are so skilful in  
this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to  
*Cynoedus, the*<sup>18</sup> prostitut ribauld, nor yet to *Sardanapalus*, that effemi-  
nat varlet. Yea, thei are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

<sup>1</sup> as farre as euer I could iudge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for  
iudge: F then adds:—& the best fruits that they bring forth.

<sup>2</sup> false F.

† leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B.

<sup>4</sup> and so B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> in a F.

<sup>6</sup> them for the same B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> original F.

<sup>9</sup> seeking thereby to F.

<sup>10</sup> remoue farre from vs F.

<sup>11</sup> spake B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> was B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> not in F.

<sup>14</sup> all kind of added in F.

<sup>15</sup> entrance F.

<sup>16</sup> (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would hane it). And F.

<sup>17</sup> And yet, E.

<sup>18</sup> that B, E, F.

From whence  
these annual  
feasts and  
stationarie  
wakeffes had,  
their begin-  
ning.  
[<sup>3</sup> leaf 98. B.†]  
[<sup>7</sup> M 7, back]

Scholes of  
dauncing  
erected.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people<sup>1</sup> glory of their chriſtianitie & integritie of <sup>2</sup>life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Chriſtiani boni vocitentur*, But *vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores<sup>3</sup> reperiuntur<sup>4</sup>*. From <sup>5</sup>the mouth outward they may be ſaid to be good Chriſtians, but in life & maners farre worfer than the heathen or *Paganes*. Wherof if they repent not & amend, it ſhalbe eaſier for that<sup>6</sup> Land of *Sodoma* and *Gomorra*, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 98, back. B.\*

[<sup>5</sup> ſign. M 8. A.]

*Spud*. I haue heard it ſaid, *that* dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & alſo an exercyſe for the body, very holfome; and not only that, but alſo a meane wherby loue is acquired.

*Ph*. I will not much denie but being vſed in a meane, in tyme and place conueniente, it is a certen ſolace<sup>7</sup> to the minds of ſuch as take pleaſure in ſuch vanities; but it is no good reaſon to ſay, ſome men take pleaſur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie <sup>8</sup>is true rather <sup>8</sup>: For this is <sup>9</sup>(*bafis<sup>10</sup> veritatis*) a ground of <sup>11</sup>truth,<sup>9</sup> *that* whatſo-euer a carnall man, with vncircumcifed heart, either deſireth or taketh pleaſure in, is moſt abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other ſide, what the ſpirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Chriſt, by the direction of God his ſpirit, deſireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And ſeeing mans nature is too procliuie<sup>12</sup> of it ſelfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections<sup>13</sup> to <sup>14</sup>fin (as dauncing is) but rather of reſtraints & inhibitions<sup>15</sup> from the ſame, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kiſſing and buſſing, what <sup>16</sup>ſmouching & ſlabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vnclene handling is not practiſed euery wher in theſe dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it ſelfe, which I will not name for offending chaſt eares, ſhall be purtrayed and ſhewed<sup>17</sup> foorth in their bawdye geſtures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp *Venus* cole or not, who is ſo blind

Dauncing a pleaſure to them that delight in vanities.

What allurements to ſin be in dauncing.

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 99. B.†]

[<sup>16</sup> M 8, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup> forſooth *added in F.*

\* leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurement to ſinne. B.

<sup>3</sup> deteriores F. <sup>4</sup> inueniantur B, inuenientur E. <sup>6</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> or recreation *added in B, E, F.* <sup>8—8</sup> is rather true B, E, F.

<sup>9—9</sup> a maxime F.

<sup>10</sup> basis et fundamentum B, E.

<sup>11</sup> or foundation of B, E; E *has* and *for* or.

<sup>12</sup> prone F.

<sup>13</sup> enticementes F.

† leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corroſiue. B.

<sup>15</sup> to ſtay him *added in F.*

<sup>17</sup> ſhadowed F.



good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises <sup>1</sup>after our owne fantasies and delights.

*Spud.* But I haue heard them affirme that dauncing is prouable<sup>3</sup> by the woord of God; for (say they) did not the women come forth of all the Cities of *Israel* to meet king *Saule*? and<sup>4</sup> *David*, returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, with psalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, and other muscally Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them? Did not the *Israelites*, hauing passed ouer the red sea, bring forth their Instruments, and danced for ioy of their deliuerance?

\* We must render accounts for time heere lent vs.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 100. B.\*]

[<sup>2</sup> N 1, back]

[Bible examples of dancing.]

x Sa. 18.

Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in *Horeb* or *Sinai*? Did not king *David* daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the Daughter of *Iephtah* daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feild? Did not the women of the *Israelites* dance comming to visit good *Iudith*? Did not the Damfel dance before King *Herod*? Did not *Christ* blame the people for their not dancing when he said, wee haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced?

2 Sa. 6.

Judic. 11.

Judic. 15.

Mat. 14.

Luc. 7.

Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce?'

Eccle. 3.

And dooth not the Prophet *David*, in many places of his Psalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Instruments of Musick?

<sup>5</sup>Wherefore (for thus<sup>6</sup> they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wherof some were guided by the infinction<sup>7</sup> of <sup>8</sup>God his<sup>8</sup> Spi<sup>0</sup>rit) haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by<sup>10</sup> their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

[<sup>5</sup> sign. N 2. A.]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 100, back. B.†]

*Philo.* The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et labi*: it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceived & to slide from the trueth. Therefore the Apostle saith, follow mee<sup>1</sup> in all things as I follow Christ; but to the intent that they, who perpend<sup>11</sup> the Examples of the Fathers and <sup>12</sup>Scripture fasly<sup>12</sup> wrested to maintaine their deuillish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie & grosse<sup>13</sup> ignorance discouered, I wil compendi-

No man without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

\* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B.

<sup>3</sup> probable E, F.

<sup>4</sup> and also king E, F.

<sup>6</sup> this E, F.

<sup>7</sup> instinct F.

<sup>8-8</sup> Gods F.

† leaf 100, back. None withoute errors. B.

<sup>10</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> pretende E, F.

<sup>12-12</sup> Scriptures fasly (*sic*) F.

<sup>13</sup> not in F.

ouly fet down the true fence and meaning of euery place, as they haue cyted them perticularly. For the first, wheras they say that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Instruments of Ioy to meet *Dauid* and *Saule*, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer<sup>1</sup> the *Philistines*, their sworne Enemies? Was it in prayfe of God, or to stirre vp filthie lust in them selues, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? <sup>2</sup>Did men and women daunce together, as is now vsed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reason to say, such and <sup>3</sup>such did so, therefore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poyfed in the balance of holy scripture, and therby to be allowed or disallowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The *Israelitish* women, hearing of the fame of *Dauid*, and how he had killed their deadly enimie *Goliath*, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & singing songs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,<sup>4</sup> who had giuen them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who sought their distruction euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiquitarie dauncings,—for so I may call them because they be vsed euery where,—let the godly iudge. who seeth not rather that this example (let *Cerberus* <sup>5</sup>the dog of hel alatrare what he<sup>5</sup> list to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praise of God; ours, a lustful, baudie kinde of deamenour<sup>6</sup> in praise of our selues: theirs, to shew their inward ioy of minde for the blessings<sup>7</sup> of <sup>8</sup>God bestowed vpon them; ours, to shew our actiuitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful loue and such like wickednes infinit. But to their fecond allegation: the Children (say they<sup>9</sup>) of *Israel* danced, being deliuered out of the feruitude of *Pharo*, and hauing pas<sup>10</sup>sed ouer the red sea. I graunt

<sup>1</sup> against F.

\* leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.

<sup>4</sup> their God added in F.<sup>5-5</sup> and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.<sup>6</sup> dauncing F.<sup>7</sup> blessing F.<sup>9</sup> they say F.

† leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

r Sa. 18.

The first  
pillare of  
dauncing  
ouerthrowen.[<sup>2</sup> N 2, back. A.]

No good consequent to say others did so, ergo it is good, or wee may doo the like.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 101. B.\*]The difference  
between the  
dances of our  
Forefathers  
and ours.[<sup>8</sup> sign. N 3. A.]Their second  
Pillar shaken.[<sup>10</sup> leaf 101,  
back. B.†]

they did fo, and good caufe they had fo to doo; For were they not emancipate<sup>1</sup> and fet free from three great calamities and <sup>2</sup>extreame miferies<sup>2</sup>? Firft, from the feruile bondage of *Egypt*; from the fwoord of *Pharo*, who purfued the rereward of their hofte; and from the danger<sup>3</sup> of the red fea, their enemies beeing ouerwhelmed in the fame.

[Why the  
Ifraelites  
danced.]

For thefe great and inestimable benefits and bleffings, receiued at the hands of God, they played vpon Instruments of mufick, leaped, daunced, and fung<sup>4</sup> godly fongs vnto *the* Lord, fhewing by thefe outward geftures *the* inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for<sup>5</sup> the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly againft them? They danced for ioy in thanks<sup>6</sup> to god, wee for vainglorie: they for looue to God, wee for looue of our felues: they to fhew the interior ioy of the minde for <sup>7</sup>God his bleffing heaped<sup>7</sup> vpon them; we to fhew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curiofitie in the fame; they to fir vp and to<sup>8</sup> make them felues the apter to praife God; we to fir vp carnall appetites <sup>9</sup>and flefhlie motions: they to fhewe their humilitie before God; and we to fhew our pride both before God and *the* world. But how fo euer it be, fure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, confifting in meafures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no fuch leafure in E<sup>10</sup>gypt<sup>11</sup> to learne fuch vaine curiofity in that luftfull<sup>12</sup> bawdie fchoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this<sup>13</sup> may be called a dauncing or not, at left not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modeft leaping, skipping or moouing of the body to exprefse the ioye of *the* mind in prayfe of God; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of our Sauour Chrifte, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping & praifing God.

How the  
Ifraelits  
danced.

[P N 3, back. A.]

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at<sup>14</sup> fome wonderfull <sup>15</sup>portent or ftraunge iudgment<sup>15</sup> of God<sup>16</sup>; and therefore made<sup>17</sup> not a common praife of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were; much leffe

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 102. B.†]  
[<sup>11</sup> Egigt A.]  
The dauncing  
of our For-  
fathers mai not  
be called a  
dauncing, but  
rather a Godly  
triumphing &  
reioicing in  
heart for ioy.

<sup>1</sup> deliuered F.      <sup>2—2</sup> extram (*sic*) miferies at once F.      <sup>3</sup> daungers E, F.

<sup>4</sup> sang F.      <sup>5</sup> to E, F.

<sup>6</sup> thanks-geuing E, F.

<sup>7—7</sup> Gods blessings bestowed F.

<sup>8</sup> to *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 102. A confutation of dauncing. B.

<sup>12</sup> luftfull *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> they E, F.

<sup>14</sup> when E, F.

<sup>15—15</sup> great blessing F.

<sup>16</sup> was shewed *added in* E; was bestowed vpon them F.

<sup>17</sup> they made F.

Their 3. Reason  
examined.

set vp schools of it, and frequenting<sup>1</sup> nothing els night and<sup>2</sup> day, Sabaoth day and<sup>3</sup> other, as we do. But to their<sup>4</sup> third Reason: The *Ifraelits* daunced before the Calf in *Horeb*. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[<sup>5</sup> sign. N 4. A.]

<sup>5</sup> *Adam* difob[e]yed GOD, and obeyed the deuill: is obedience therfore to the deuill good, because hee did so?

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 102, back. B.\*]

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be short, as it is a friuolous thing<sup>6</sup> to say, because they committed <sup>7</sup> Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it is not lawful to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre<sup>8</sup> any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. therfore of this place I need to say no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant<sup>9</sup> from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.<sup>10</sup>

Their .4. Reason.

[<sup>11</sup> N 4, back. A.]

Their fourth reason: Did not *Dauid* daunce before the Ark? say they. very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women together mooste excellentlie; For<sup>11</sup> *Dauid* danced him selfe alone, without either woman or musicall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of *Dauid* was no vsuall thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliuerie<sup>12</sup> of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of GOD (such a feruent zeale he bore<sup>13</sup> to <sup>14</sup>the trueth), that it<sup>15</sup> burst foorth into

<sup>1</sup> frequented E, F.

<sup>2</sup> nor F.

<sup>3</sup> nor F.

<sup>4</sup> the B, E.

<sup>6</sup> reason E, F.

\* leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproued. B.

<sup>8</sup> conferre E, F.

<sup>9</sup> different F.

<sup>10</sup> lawfull F.

<sup>12</sup> deliuerance B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> did beare F.

† leaf 103. Why *Dauid* daunced. B.

<sup>15</sup> he B, E, F.

<sup>1</sup> exterior action,<sup>1</sup> *the* more to induce others to prayſe God alſo. Would God we would dance, as *Dauid* daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alſauing woord out of the hands of that *Italian Philifſin* & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of *Roome*! for in this reſpect I would make one<sup>2</sup> to daunce, to leap, to ſkip, to triumph, and reioyce as *Dauid* did before the Ark. By this, I truſt, any indifferent man ſeeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude<sup>3</sup> dancings and baudie choruffes, as they did by citing<sup>4</sup> the former places; that is, iuſt nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and ſee neuer the wurffe.

Why Dauid  
daunced be-  
fore the Ark.

Their fiſt reaſon: Did not *Ieptath* his daughter meet her Father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vppon Inſtruments of Ioy<sup>5</sup>? *Ieptath*, going foorth to warre againſt the *Amonites*, promiſed the <sup>6</sup> Lord (making a raſhe vowe) that if it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemies, he wold ſacrifice the firſt luying thing that ſhuld meet him from his houſe. It pleaſed God that his ſole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers preſperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her Father, playing vppon inſtruments in praife of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what proueth this for their daunces? Truly, it ouerthroweth them, <sup>7</sup> if it be well conſidered: for firſt we read that ſhe did this but once, we daylie: She in prayſe of God, we in prayſes of our ſelues: ſhe for ioy of her Fathers good ſucceſſe, we to ſtere vp filthie and vnclene motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babith<sup>8</sup> leuitie: ſhe in comly maner, we in bawdie geſture. And, moreouer, this ſheweth that women are to daunce by themſelues (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themſelues; for ſo importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

Their fiſt Rea-  
ſon examined.

[<sup>6</sup> ſign. N 5. A.]

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 103, back.  
B.†]  
Wherefore &  
how the  
Daughters of  
Iephthath  
daunced.

[Each ſex muſt  
dance by itſelf.]

Their<sup>9</sup> .vi. Reaſon: Did not *the Iſraelitiſh* wemen daunce before *Iudith*, comming to viſit her? I graunt they did ſo: the ſtorie is thus:

Ther .6. Reaſon.

[*Iudith*, Ca. 15,  
B, E.]

*Holofernes*, oppoſing himſelfe againſt the *Iſraelits*, the choſen

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> outward ſhew of the ſame F.

<sup>2</sup> my ſelfe added in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> laſciuious added in F.

<sup>4</sup> citing not in E, F.

<sup>5</sup> musicke F.

† leaf 103, back. Jephtha his daughters daunce. B.

<sup>6</sup> wanton E, F.

<sup>9</sup> The E, F.

people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out  
 [† N 5, back. A.] <sup>1</sup>their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge  
 power, and besieged them on euery side.

Judith cutteth  
 of the head of  
 holofernes.

The *Israelits*, seeing themfelues *circumvalled*,<sup>2</sup> and in great  
 daunger on each side, suborned good *Iudith*, a vert[ui]ous, Godlye  
 Woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vn-  
 possible for them in the eyes of *the world* to haue escaped) to repaire  
 to *Holofernes*, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction:  
 who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it  
 happely to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne fauchine,<sup>3</sup>

[4 leaf 104. B.\*]

wrap<sup>4</sup>ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, sleepefully<sup>5</sup> posselt  
 as he was with *the spirit* of drunkenesse: this done, the Women  
 of *Israell* came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and  
 to congratulat her prosperous successē with instruments of musick,  
 singing of Godly songs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and prayse to  
 God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not that these

The vnlawfull-  
 nes of daunc-  
 ing of men  
 and women  
 together.

women sang, daunced, and played vpon instrumentes in prayse of  
 God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the  
 world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncings of  
 Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was  
 an infinite number of People by, yet the Text faith, there daunced

[6 sign. N 6. A.]

<sup>6</sup>none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of  
 it in respecte of Man.<sup>7</sup> And this being but a particular fact, of a sort  
 of imprudent<sup>8</sup> Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and  
 thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

A custome to  
 daunce in  
 prayse of God.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had <sup>9</sup>powred forth<sup>9</sup>  
 any notable blessing vpon his People, from his Heauenly Pallace,<sup>10</sup> the  
 People, in honour, praise, and thankesgiuing to God for them,<sup>11</sup> would  
 play vpon their instruments, sing Godly Songs, daunce, leape, skip,  
 and triumphe, shewing forth the ioye of their mindes, with their  
 thankfulnessse to God, by all exteriour gestures that they could deuysē:

[12 leaf 104, back.  
 B.†]

<sup>12</sup>Which kinde of thankfull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold

<sup>2</sup> about *added in* B, E; compassed about F.

<sup>3</sup> Faulchone F.

\* leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B.

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

<sup>7</sup> men & women together E, F.

<sup>8</sup> simple F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> bestowed F.

<sup>10</sup> Consistorie B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> it E, F.

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did<sup>1</sup> follow, leauing all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damofell daunce before Kinge *Herode*, when the head of *Iohn Baptist* was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of *Iohn the Baptist*? See whether dauncing styreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if *Herode* with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her <sup>2</sup>behaviour, that he promised her to giue her whatfoeuer she wold desire, though it were half of his Emperie<sup>3</sup> or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with bussing and kissing, flabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I haue heard many impudently say that they haue chosen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainely proueth the wickednesse of it.

Ther .7. Reason.

Dauncing  
styrreth vp  
lust.  
[<sup>2</sup> N 6, hack. A.]

Their .viij. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not dauncing, saying, 'we haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced'<sup>1</sup>? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he allowed <sup>4</sup>of dauncing, or reproued them for not exercysing the same. This is a Metaphoricall <sup>5</sup>or Allegoricall<sup>5</sup> kinde of speach, wherein our Sauour Christ goeth about to reprooue and checke the styfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of *the Scribes and Phariseis*, who were neither moued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospell by the austeritie of *Iohn the Baptiste*, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning sort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauour him selfe, breaking vnto them the <sup>6</sup>pure *Ambrosia*, the <sup>6</sup>*Caelestial Manna*, the word of life, in ioy<sup>7</sup>full and gladfome maner.

Their .8. Reason.

Luc. 7.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 105. B.†]

The more  
than obdurat  
hardnes of the  
Iewes.

[<sup>7</sup> sign. N 7. A.]

*Ihon the Baptist* he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Sauour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyns of *the* Gospell, yet at neither of these <sup>8</sup>kinde<sup>9</sup> of concions<sup>8</sup> they were any whit moued,

<sup>1</sup> would B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> Empire B, E, F. † leaf 105. The contumacie of the Iewes. B.  
<sup>5-5</sup> not in F. <sup>6</sup> that E, F. <sup>8-8</sup> kinds of preachings F. <sup>9</sup> kindes E.

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherefore he sharply rebuketh<sup>1</sup> them by a similitude of foolish Children, sitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted fence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at lef maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing,<sup>2</sup> and reioyng of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyse men determine.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 105, back. B.\*]

Eccle. 3.  
Their .9. Reason.

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce'? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For saith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning somtime, now and than, as the *Israelites* did in prayse to<sup>3</sup> GOD, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leaue vs. But what and if *Salomon* speaketh here<sup>4</sup> of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioyng of the heart in praife to<sup>5</sup> GOD? This is easily gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (*vz.* there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dançe', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to dançe or reioyfe for the vnspēakable treasures purchasēd vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lasciuious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may see and<sup>6</sup> iudge.

Salomon<sup>s</sup> meaneth a certen kind of a spirituall dauncing or reioy(s)ing of the heart.

[<sup>4</sup> N 7, back. A.]

Their vltimum<sup>m</sup> refugium.

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their *vtimum refugium*: That is, Doth not *Dauid* both commend, and also commaunde, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in<sup>7</sup> diuerse of his Pſal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioyng of the heart to<sup>8</sup> the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes,<sup>9</sup> skip like goats,<sup>10</sup> & leap like

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 106. B.†]

<sup>1</sup> rebuked F. \* leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

<sup>3</sup> of B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> of F.

<sup>6</sup> and A.

† leaf 106. Why our feete were giuen vs. B.

<sup>8</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> Coates F.

<sup>10</sup> Does F.

mad men: For to *the* end our feet were not giuen vs, but rather to represent *the* image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

Why our feet were giuen vs.

*Spud.* Do you condemne al kinde of daun<sup>1</sup>cing<sup>2</sup> as wicked and prophane? [<sup>1</sup> sign. N 8. A.]

*Ph.* All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauncing in publike assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,<sup>3</sup> by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatly or publiquely, is at no hand to be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vsed

What dauncing is condemned by the word of God.

for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure priuatly (euery sex distinct<sup>4</sup> by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercise, being vsed moderatly and in *the* feare of God. And <sup>5</sup>thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and vncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally;

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 106, back. B. f.]

For certen it is, the exercyse it self, in it own nature, <sup>6</sup>qualitie & proprietie,<sup>6</sup> though to some it is lawfull, to other some vnlawfull in dyuerse respects, is both ancient & general, hauing been vsed euer in all ages, as wel of *the* Godly, as of *the* wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my iudgement, as it is vsed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyse,<sup>7</sup> without any difference or respect had either to time,

[Dauncing how lawful, how vnlawfull, E, F.]

Person, sex or place, in publike assemblies and <sup>8</sup>frequencies<sup>8</sup> of People, with fuche beastlie slabberings, buffings<sup>9</sup> & smouchings, and <sup>10</sup>other filthie gestures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be vsed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middest of a hote burning<sup>11</sup> fire, and not to consume.<sup>12</sup> But these abuses, with other *the* like (as there be legions moe in it) being cut of from the exercyse it selfe, the thing<sup>13</sup> remayneth <sup>14</sup>very commendable<sup>14</sup> in some respectes. Or els, if our daunces

[<sup>7</sup> N 8, back. A.]

[Dauncing vnpossible to be vsed without hurt E, F.]

<sup>2</sup> then added in F.

<sup>3</sup> I comes after God in F.

<sup>4</sup> distinct F.

† leaf 106, back. What dauncing is condemned. B. <sup>6—6</sup> and quality F.

<sup>8—8</sup> great meetings F.

<sup>9</sup> kissings B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> with B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> glowing F.

<sup>12</sup> burne B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> thing it self B, E, F.

<sup>14—14</sup> more tollerable B, E, F.

tended, as I haue said, to the setting forth of GOD his glorie (as the daunces vsed in <sup>1</sup>preter time<sup>1</sup> did) to draw others to pietie and fancittie of life, and to <sup>2</sup>praise and reioyce in <sup>3</sup>God, to recreate *the* minde oppressed with some <sup>4</sup>great toyle or labor, taken in true vertue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them selues, and Wemen by *them* selues, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to *the* great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

*Spud.* And wherfore would you haue Men to daunce by them selues, and Women by them selues?

*Philo.* Because <sup>5</sup>it is, without all doubt, a <sup>6</sup>prouocation to lust and venery,<sup>5</sup> and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therefore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni*,<sup>8</sup> Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a <sup>9</sup>man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

*Spud.* Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shoue mee what Fathers and Councels haue iudged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

*Philo.* If I should <sup>10</sup>goe foorth to <sup>10</sup>shew all the inuectiues of Fathers, all the decrees of counsels, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher<sup>11</sup>fore of many I wil select a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. *Syrach* saith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a finger or a dauncer, neither heare her, leaft thou be intrapped in her craftines. *Chrysostome*, dylating vpon *Mathew*, saith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visibill to *the* eye, yet palpable<sup>12</sup> to *the* minde. *Theophilus*, writing vpon *Mark*, the sixt Chapter, saith, *Mira collusio saltat per puellam*<sup>13</sup> *Diabolus*: This is<sup>14</sup> a

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> former ages F.                      <sup>2</sup> to the E, F.                      <sup>3</sup> reioycyng in B, E, F.

\* leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.

<sup>7</sup> This repeated side-note not in B, E, F.                      <sup>8</sup> *Cloaca* F.                      <sup>9</sup> a *not in* F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> *not in* F.                      † leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

<sup>12</sup> sensible F.                      <sup>13</sup> illam E, F.                      <sup>14</sup> There is B.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 107. B.\*]

Why men shold daunce by themselves and women by themselves.

[<sup>6</sup> sign. O r. A.]

<sup>7</sup> Why men shold daunce by themselues and Women by them-selues.

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 107, back. B.†]  
Testimonies of Fathers, counsels and Writers against dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.



Cicero.

*Cicero* saith, a good man would not dance in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of *Laodecea* decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any sollempne feast.

In an other Council it was enacted, that no man should dance at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[<sup>1</sup> O 2, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup>The Emperour *Iustinian* decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All Writers,  
bothe holy and  
prophane,  
against  
dauncing.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, councils, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the <sup>2</sup>quauemire or plash<sup>2</sup> of all abomination, and therefore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of *the* flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to *the* stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sinne.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 109. B.1]

<sup>3</sup>*Spud.* Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,<sup>4</sup> who inuented this noble science, or from whence <sup>5</sup>sprang it<sup>5</sup>?

Who inuented  
dauncing, and  
from whome it  
sprang.

*Philo.* Heereof there be fundry and diuers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous *Pagans* and Infidels, who, hauing offered vp their sacrifices, <sup>6</sup>victimats,<sup>7</sup> and holocaustes,<sup>6</sup> to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

[<sup>8</sup> sign. O 3. A.]

And this may be prooued by the *Israelits* themselues, who, hauing seen and learned the same <sup>8</sup>practise in *Egipt*, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of *Horeb*. some again suppose that *Pyrrhus*, one of *Sibils* Priests, deuised it in *Creet*. Others holde that the Priests of<sup>9</sup> *Mars*, who in *Roome* were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, inuented it. Others think that one *Hiero*, a truculent<sup>10</sup> and bloody Tirant in *Sicilia*, who, to fet vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall  
who inuented  
dauncing.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> quagmire or puddle F.

<sup>4</sup> shewe me, *added* in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> victimats *not* in B.

† leaf 109. Who inuented Dauncyng. B.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> it sprang F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> and oblations F.

<sup>9</sup> of of F.

<sup>10</sup> Turculent F.

infurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of *the* inuention therof: for when the *Sicilians* sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speak to another, they inuented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exterior gestures of the body; which vse afterward grew<sup>1</sup> into custome, and now into nature. But what soeuer men say of it, or from whence soeuer it sprang, *S. Chrysostom* saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the Deuils breast, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the egges of a *Cokatrice* may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,<sup>2</sup> then may<sup>3</sup> it be proued that<sup>3</sup> dancing is<sup>4</sup> good, and an exercise fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.<sup>5</sup> *Wherfore God of his mercy take it away<sup>6</sup> from vs!*

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 109, back B.\*]

Vnpossible that dancing should be good

[<sup>6</sup> O 3, back. A.]

*Spud.* What say you of<sup>7</sup> Musick? is it not a laudable science?

*Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.*

*Philo.*

I Say of Musick as *Plato, Aristotle, Galen*, and many others haue said of it; that it is very ill for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,<sup>8</sup> smoothe sweetnes in<sup>9</sup> alluring the auditorie<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>to nicenes<sup>12,11</sup> effeminacie,<sup>13</sup> puillanimitie, <sup>14</sup>& lothfomnes of life,<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-self<sup>15</sup>; for as honie and such<sup>17</sup> like sweet things,<sup>17</sup> receiued into *the* stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make<sup>18</sup> *the* stomack so<sup>19</sup> quafie,<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>nice and weake, that it is not able to admit<sup>21</sup> meat of hard digesture: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but after<sup>22</sup> ward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and<sup>23</sup>

A comparison betwixt hony and dancing.<sup>16</sup>

[<sup>22</sup> leaf 110. B.†]

\* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.

<sup>2</sup> body to weare B, E, F. <sup>3—3</sup> not in E, F. <sup>4</sup> be for is in E, F.

<sup>5</sup> els E, F. <sup>7</sup> to F. <sup>8</sup> nice not in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> in it B, E, F. <sup>10</sup> hearers F. <sup>11—11</sup> to a certaine kind of F.

<sup>12</sup> niceness not in B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> and added in F. <sup>14—14</sup> not in F.

<sup>15—15</sup> muche like vnto Honey B, E, F. <sup>16</sup> musicke B, E, F.

<sup>17—17</sup> other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete things F.

<sup>18</sup> maketh for they make B, E, F. <sup>19</sup> so not in B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> queasie F. <sup>21—21</sup> and vnable to receiue B, E, F.

† leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B. <sup>23</sup> weake and not in B, E, F.

Wits dulled  
by Musick.  
[<sup>2</sup> sign. O 4. A.]

quaffe,<sup>1</sup> and inclined to all licenciousnes of lyfe whatsoever. And right as good edges are not sharped<sup>2</sup> (but<sup>3</sup> obtused) by beeing whetted<sup>3</sup> vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharped, and made apt to all wantonnes and sinne. <sup>4</sup> And therefore<sup>4</sup> Writers affirme *Sappho* to haue been expert in musick, and therefore whorish.

Authors of the  
bringing in of  
musick.

*Tyrus Maximus* saith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyson to all the world.

*Clytomachus*, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon<sup>5</sup> musicall Instruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

*Plutarchus* complaineth of Musick, and saith, that it dooth rather feminine the minde as pricks vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Vertue.

*Pythagoras* condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wise concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

*Spud.* I haue heard it said (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reuieth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter<sup>6</sup> to the seruice of GOD.

Musick the  
good gift of  
God.  
[<sup>7</sup> O 4, back. A.]  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 110, back.  
B.†]

*Philo.* I graunt Musick is a good gift of GOD, and that it delighteth bothe man<sup>7</sup> and beast, reuieth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh<sup>8</sup> it reedyer<sup>9</sup> to serue GOD; and therefore did *Dauid* bothe vse musick him self, & also commend the vse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans priuate recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in  
publique assem-  
blies and  
conuenticles.

But beeing vsed in publique assemblies and priuate conuenticles,<sup>10</sup> as directories<sup>10</sup> to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estraugeth the mind, fireth vp filthie lust, womanniseth the minde, rauiseth the hart, enflameth concupifence, and bringeth in vncleannes. But if musick openly were vsed<sup>11</sup> (as I haue said) to the praise<sup>12</sup> and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

<sup>1</sup> queasie F.      <sup>3-3</sup> dulled by whetting F.      <sup>4-4</sup> And hereof is it that F.  
<sup>5</sup> of B, E, F.      <sup>6</sup> and readier added in F.

† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B.      <sup>9</sup> apter F.  
<sup>10-10</sup> as a Directoric B, E, F.      <sup>11</sup> openly follows used in B, E, F.      <sup>12</sup> prasiè A.

as was intended by it at the firft, or priuatly in a mans fecret Chamber or houfe, for his owne folace or<sup>1</sup> comfort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, folicitude,<sup>2</sup> care, sorrowe, and fuch other perturbations and moleftations<sup>3</sup> of the minde, the only ends wherto true Mufick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.<sup>4</sup> If Mufick were thus vfed it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to ferue God the better; but beeing vfed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannifh, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mifcheef.<sup>5</sup>

How musicke were tollerable & good.

*Spud.* What fay you, then, of Mufitions & Minftrels, who liue only vpon the fame art?

<sup>6</sup> *Philo.* I thinke that all good minftrelles, sober and chafte muficians (fpeking of fuche drun<sup>7</sup>ken fockets and bawdye parafts as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and finging of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie fongs in Tauernes, Ale-houfes, Innes, and other publique affemblies,) may daunce *the wild Moris* thorow a needles eye. For how fhould they bere chafte minds, feeing that their exercyfe is the pathway to all vn-cleanes.<sup>8</sup> Their is no fhip fo<sup>9</sup> balanced with mafsie matter,<sup>9</sup> as their heads are fraught<sup>10</sup> with all kind of bawdie fongs, filthie ballads and fcuruie rymes, feruing for euery purpofe, and for euery Cumpanie.

[<sup>6</sup> sign. O 5. A.]  
The fcarcity of good mufitions and minftrelles.  
[<sup>7</sup> leaf III. B.†]

The marchandise of minftrelles and mufitions.

<sup>11</sup> Who be <sup>12</sup>more bawdie<sup>12</sup> than they? who vn cleaner than they? who more licentious and loofe<sup>13</sup> minded<sup>14</sup>? who more incontinent than they? and, briefly, who more inclyned to all kind of infolencie and lewdnes than they? wherefore, if you wold haue your fonne foft, womannifh, vn cleane, fmoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, fcurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vn femely talking; brifly, if you wold haue him, as it weare, transfatured into a woman, or worfe, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhominacion, fet him to dauncing fchool, and to learn muficke, and than fhall you not faile of your purpofe. And if you would haue your daughter whoorifh, bawdie, and vn cleane, and a filthie fpeaker, and fuch like, bring her vp in <sup>15</sup>mufick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you haue wun the goale.

The wickednes of mufitions and minftrels.

[<sup>15</sup>O 5, back. A.]  
How to haue Children lerned in all wickednes.

<sup>1</sup> and B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> to mitigate F.

<sup>3</sup> passions F.

<sup>4</sup> lawful F.

<sup>5</sup> vn cleannes F.

† leaf III. Good Mufitions fcarce. B.

<sup>8</sup> Baudry & filthines F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> laden with merchandize F.

<sup>10</sup> pestred F.

<sup>11</sup> As for example *added in B*; For prooffe whereof *added in E, F*.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> baudier F.

<sup>13</sup> looser E, F.

<sup>14</sup> then they *added in F*.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 111, back.  
B.†]  
The scarcytie  
of dyuines.

<sup>1</sup> And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of<sup>2</sup> acceptation<sup>3</sup>) to be a Pyper, or<sup>4</sup> bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of<sup>5</sup> dyuines, so few there be<sup>6</sup> as they<sup>7</sup> maye hardly be seene.<sup>6</sup>

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we haue lycenses from iustices of<sup>8</sup> peace to pype & vse our minstrelle to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

But haue you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace,<sup>9</sup> Christe Iesus? If you haue so, you may be glad; if you haue not (for the Worde of God is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemne them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and fraglers<sup>10</sup> from the Heauenlye Country,<sup>10</sup> be arrested of the high iustice of peace,<sup>11</sup> Christ Iesus,<sup>12</sup> and be punished with eternall death,<sup>12</sup> notwithstanding your pretended<sup>13</sup> licences of earthly men. Who<sup>14</sup> shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw<sup>15</sup>ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iustices of peace? shall their licences? Oh, no: <sup>16</sup>For neither ought they to graunt anye licences<sup>17</sup> to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

Licences  
graunted to  
musitions &  
minstrels to  
exercyse their  
mistry or  
facultie of  
mischief.

[<sup>15</sup> sign. O 6. A.]

No lycences to  
do hurte withall  
are to be  
graunted.

[<sup>18</sup> leaf 112. B.†]

<sup>18</sup> Giue ouer, therefore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your prouocations<sup>19</sup> and intyng allurementes, shalbe powred vppon your heads at the day of

A Caue[a]t to  
musitions,  
minstrelles,  
& all others  
of that<sup>20</sup> stampe.

\* leaf 111, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.

<sup>2</sup> of worldly B, E.

<sup>3</sup> the account of the world F.

<sup>4</sup> or a F.

<sup>5</sup> of good F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup>. that small skill in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them F.

<sup>7</sup> any B, E.

<sup>8</sup> of the B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> of peace *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> of peace *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> presented A, pretended B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> Then who F.

<sup>16</sup> It wil not goe for payment at that day *adid in* F.

<sup>17</sup> licencens A.

† leaf 112. A Caueat for Minstrelles. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on the Sab.

<sup>19</sup> example F.

<sup>20</sup> twat A.

Iudgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like<sup>1</sup> their humour.<sup>2</sup>

*Spud.* Is it not lawfull vpon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tenniffe, and fuche other pleafaunt exercyfes, wherein Man taketh pleasure and delight?

*Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other exercyfes vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna.*

<sup>3</sup> *Philoponus.*

[<sup>3</sup> O 6, back. A.]

THEse be no Sabaothlike<sup>4</sup> exercyfes for any Christian man to folow any day at all, much lesse vpon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold haue to be consecrat to himselfe, and to be spent in holy and Godly exercyfes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowls, tenniffe, and such like, thei are *furta officiosa*, a certen kind of smooth, deceitfull, and sleightie theft, wherby many a one is spoiled of all that euer he hath, sometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and soul for<sup>5</sup> euer. And yet (more is the pitie) these be the onely exercyfes vsed in euery mans howse, al the yeer thorow; But specially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els vsed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, they<sup>6</sup> think they haue a commiffion and prerogatiue that time to do what they lust,<sup>7</sup> and to folow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priuiledged at that tyme to doo euill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes<sup>8</sup> to be. Can anie<sup>9</sup> time dispense with them, or giue them libertie to sin? No, no: the soule which sinneth shall dye, at what time so euer it offendeth. But what will thei say? Is it not Christmas? must we not be mery? truth it is, we ought, both than and at<sup>11</sup> all tymes besides, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyse; not to swil and gull<sup>12</sup> more that time than at any other time, nor<sup>13</sup> <sup>12</sup> to lauifh fourth more at that time than<sup>14</sup> at another<sup>14</sup> time.<sup>15</sup>

Exercises vn-lawfull vpon the Sabaoth day.  
*Furta officiosa.*

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 112, back. B.†]

All wicked games vsed in Christmas tyme.

No tyme priuiledged<sup>10</sup> a man to sinne.

[<sup>11</sup> sign. O 7. A.]

<sup>1</sup> please E, F.                      <sup>2</sup> daintie humours F.                      <sup>4</sup> not in F.

† leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vsed in Christmas. B.

<sup>6</sup> for that they F.                      <sup>7</sup> list B, E, F.                      <sup>8</sup> exercises B, E, F.                      <sup>9</sup> anie not in F.

<sup>10</sup> priuiledgeth E, F.                      <sup>12-12</sup> in more then will suffice nature, nor F.

<sup>13</sup> not A.                      <sup>14-14</sup> at any other B, E, F.                      <sup>15</sup> times A, B, E, F.

The true  
keeping of  
Christmas.

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat<sup>1</sup>) vppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iefus Chriftn,<sup>2</sup> not onely<sup>3</sup> that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our felnes thankeful to his<sup>4</sup> Maieftie for the fame. Notwithftanding, who<sup>5</sup> is ignorant<sup>5</sup> that more mifchiefe is that time committed than in all the yeere befides? <sup>6</sup>what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,<sup>7</sup> murther, <sup>8</sup>and what not,<sup>8</sup> is<sup>9</sup> committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere befides! to the great difhonor of GOD, and impouerifhing of the realme.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 113. B.\*]

Wickednes in  
Christmas.

*Spud.* Is it not lawfull for one Chriftnian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

*Philo.* To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Chriftnian man will not fo ydely and vainely fpend his golden dayes) one Chriftnian with another, for their priuat recreations, after fome oppreffion of studie, to driue away fantasies<sup>10</sup> and fuche like, I doubt not, but they may, vsing it moderatly, with intermiffion and in the feare of <sup>11</sup>GOD; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for defire onely of his Brothers fubftance (rather than for any other caufe) it is at no<sup>12</sup> hand lawfull, or<sup>13</sup> to be fuffered.

Vnlawful for  
one Chriftnian  
to play with  
another to  
win his  
monie.

[<sup>11</sup> O 7, back. A.]

For as it is not lawful to robbe, fteale and purloine by deceit or flaight, fo is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of theft; for thefe playes<sup>14</sup> are no better; nay, worfer than open theft; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of <sup>15</sup>it. The commaundement faith, thou fhalt not couet nor defire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifef that thofe that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

[Gamynge worfe  
then open theft  
E, F.]

[<sup>15</sup> leaf 113, back.  
B. †]

<sup>1</sup> in the secrete cogitations of our myndes *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> God and man *added in* B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> at *added in* E, F.

<sup>4</sup> blessed *added in* F. <sup>5-5</sup> knoweth not E, F; is so *for* is B.

\* leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B.

<sup>7</sup> and sometimes *added in* B, E, F. <sup>8-8</sup> not in B, F.

<sup>9</sup> what no, tis A. <sup>10</sup> or melancholy passions *added in* F.

<sup>12</sup> not at any *for* at no F. <sup>13</sup> nor F. <sup>14</sup> games B, E, F.

† leaf 113, back. Gamynge houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The *Apostle* forbiddeth vs to vse deceit in bargaining, in buying or selling; much lesse than ought we to vse deceit in gaming.

Our Sauour Christ biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another should do vnto him. Which rule, if it weare dulie obserued, weare sufficient to with[d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of <sup>1</sup>indyrect and <sup>1</sup>vniust dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man should winne thy money, so thou oughtest not <sup>3</sup>to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou wouldest be done by.

A rule to  
restraine  
vnlawfull  
gameing.<sup>2</sup>  
[<sup>3</sup> sign. O 8. A.]

*Spud.* If gameing for money be so vnlawfull, wherfore are there howses<sup>4</sup> and places appointed for maintenance of the fame?

*Philo.* That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: For are they not the very seminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abomination, whatfoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

Gaming  
houses with  
their wicked-  
nes.

And therefore I marueile, *that* those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can euer<sup>5</sup> haue light hearts, or once to<sup>6</sup> looke <sup>7</sup>vp towards Heauen, *that* not onely suffer this manifest theft in their howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourish<sup>8</sup> the fame.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 114. B.†]

The *Apostle* saith, not onely they that doo euill *digni sunt morte*, are worthie of death, but also *qui consentiunt facientibus*, those who consent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked excercyse, I beseeche you.

For doth not fwearing, tearing, and blaspheming of the Name of GOD; doth not stinking Whordome, Theft, Robberie, Deceit, Fraude, Cofenage, fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; <sup>9</sup>doth not pride, rapine, drunko[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherfore I will not doubt to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the

[<sup>9</sup> O 8, back. A.]

<sup>1-1</sup> not in F.

<sup>2</sup> gamening A.

<sup>4</sup> gamyng houses B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> neuer F.

<sup>6</sup> to not in B, E, F.

† leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

<sup>8</sup> vphold F.

ſhambles, or blockhowſes of the Deuill, wherein he butchereth Chriſten mens ſoules infinit waies, God knoweth : the Lord ſuppreſſe them !

*Spud.* Weare there euer anie lawes made againſt the inordinat abuſe hereof? or haue the Godly in any age miſliked it ?

*Philo.* In all ages and times both the godly ſober Chriſtians haue deteſted it, and holſome lawes haue been promulgat<sup>1</sup> againſt it.

*Octavius Auguſtus* was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues beſides.

<sup>2</sup> *Cicero* obiected to *Marcus Antonius* his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The noble *Lacedemonians* ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Corinth* to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthriftie games, returned back again (*infecta pace*) their peace vnconcluded, ſaying it ſhould neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gameſters.

The ſame *Lacedemonians* ſent to *Demetrius*, in deriſion of his diceplaying, a paire of <sup>3</sup> dice of gold. Sir *Thomas Eliot* (that worthe Knight) in his 'Book of gouernance' aſketh, who will not think him a light man of ſmall credit, diſſolut, remiſe, and vaine, that is a Dice-player<sup>4</sup> or gameſter ?

*Publius* ſaith, *Quantò peritior eſt aleator in ſua arte, tanto nequior eſt, & vita, & moribus* : How much conning a man is in gaming and diceplaying, ſo much corrupter he is both in life and maners. *Iuſtinian* made a lawe that none ſhould play at dice, nor cards, for no cauſe, neither priuately nor openly.

*Alexander Seuerus* baniſhed all gameſters out of his dominions ; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiſcat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer truſted nor eſteemed of anie.

<sup>6</sup> *Ludouicus* ordeined that al gameſters ſhold depart<sup>7</sup> his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

*K. Richard* the ſecond forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

<sup>1</sup> published F.

\* leaf 114, back. Lawes againſt Gamyng. B.

<sup>4</sup> Dici-player A.

<sup>6</sup> this ſide-note not in E, F.

† leaf 115. Punishment for Gamyng. B.

<sup>7</sup> out of added in F.

Lawes and  
sanctions  
diuulgat  
againſt  
gaming.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 114, back.  
B.\*]

The infamy  
purchased by  
gaming.

[<sup>3</sup> ſign. P 1. A.]

<sup>5</sup> Laws againſt  
gaming.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 115. B.†]

*K. Henrie* the fourth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned fix daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming. Punishment for gaming.

*K. Edward* the fourth ordeined, who fo kept gaming howfes should suffer imprifonment three yeeres, and forfait xx. li.<sup>1</sup> & the Players to be imprifoned two yeers & forfait .x. pound.

*K. Henri* the feuenth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned all a day, and the <sup>2</sup>Keeper of the dicing howfe to forfait for euery offence vi. fhil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behaiour. The penalty for those that keep gaming howfes. [2 P 1, back. A.]

*K. Henrie* the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing howfes should forfait xl. fhil., and the Players to forfait vi. fhil. viij.d., with many<sup>3</sup> good lawes and fanctions<sup>4</sup> fet fourth againft this raging Abuse of gaming; which, <sup>5</sup>to auoid tediousnes<sup>5</sup> I omit, befeching *the* Lord to root vp and fupplant thefe, and all other ftumbling blocks in his church <sup>6</sup>what fo euer.<sup>6</sup>

*Sp.* As I remember, in the Catalogue of abufes before, you faid, *the* fabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, <sup>7</sup>hawk-[7 leaf 115, back. B.†]ing, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon *the* faid day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow thefe exercifes vpon the fabaoth day neither?

*Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vfed vnlawfully<sup>8</sup> in AILGNA.*

*Philoponus.*

THEfe Hethnicall<sup>9</sup> exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which *the* Lord <sup>10</sup>hath confecrat<sup>10</sup> to <sup>11</sup>holy vfes,<sup>11</sup> for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any refpect tollerable, or to be fuffered. For is not<sup>12</sup> the baiting of a Bear, befides that it is a filthie, ftinking, <sup>13</sup>and lothfome game, a<sup>14</sup> daungerous & <sup>15</sup>perilous exercyfe? [13 sign. P 2. A.] wherein a man is in daunger of his life enery minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not fo, yet what exercyfe is this meet

<sup>1</sup> pound B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> other *added in F.*

<sup>4</sup> statutes F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> least I might seeme tedious F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> & common wealth F.

† leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B.

<sup>8</sup> vpon the Sabboth day *added in F.*

<sup>9</sup> Heathnifh F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> would haue consecrated B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> his seruice F.

<sup>12</sup> is not *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and *not in* F.

<sup>15</sup> and a B, E.

No Creature  
to be abused.

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beaft to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they <sup>1</sup>be bloody<sup>1</sup> beafts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to set foorth the glorie<sup>2</sup> & magnificence of <sup>3</sup>the great<sup>3</sup> God, & for our vse; & therefore for his sake<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>not to be abused.<sup>5</sup> It is a [com]mon saying amongft all men, borrowed from the french, *Qui aime Iean, aime son chien*; <sup>6</sup> loue me, loue my dog: so, loue God, loue his creatures.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 116. B.\*]

God is abused  
when his  
Creatures are  
misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think *that* the abuse therof<sup>7</sup> resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse *the* creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think *that* the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

Keeping of  
mastiues and  
bandogs.

[<sup>8</sup> P 2, back. A.]

<sup>8</sup>And some, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre affotted that they will not stick to keep a dosen or a score of great mastiues <sup>9</sup>and bandogs,<sup>9</sup> to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.<sup>10</sup> pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (say they<sup>11</sup>), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the<sup>12</sup> Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsooth, worthe of commendation, and wel fitting<sup>13</sup> these Gentlemen of such reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by such vnfaourie exercyses, his Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his <sup>14</sup>heauie

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 116, back.  
B.†]

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> bloody bc F.

<sup>2</sup> power added in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> our B, E, F.

\* leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>5</sup> we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> that is added in F.

<sup>7</sup> done to his dog F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> yea, an hundred B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> say they not in B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> the not in F.

<sup>13</sup> fitting F.

† leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [= Parys] garden. B.

wrath, his fearfull indgements,<sup>1</sup> and dreadfull vengeance vpon the Beholders of thefe vanities.<sup>2</sup>

*A Fearfull Example of God his Iudgement vpon the prophaners of <sup>3</sup>his Sabaoth.<sup>3</sup>*

[Accident at the Bear-House in Paris Garden, Southwark, on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1583.]

Vpon the 13. day of Ianuarie laft,<sup>4</sup> being the Sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the<sup>5</sup> People, Men, Wemen, and Children, <sup>6</sup>both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking<sup>6</sup> to <sup>7</sup>thofe infamous places, where thefe wicked exercyses are vsuallie practifed, (for they haue their courts, gardens, & yards for *the* fame purpose)<sup>8</sup> when they were<sup>8</sup> all come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middest of al their iolytie & pastime, all the whole building (not one stick standing) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation<sup>9</sup>), wherof feuen were killed dead, <sup>10</sup>some were<sup>10</sup> wounded, some lamed, and other some brused and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to squaht,<sup>11</sup> some their legges broken, some their arms, some their backs, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should haue hard a woful crie, euen pearcing the skyes, parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wyues <sup>13</sup>their Hufbands, and Hufbands their wyues, marueilous to behold<sup>14</sup>! This wofull spectacle and heauie iudgement, pitifull to heare of, but most ruefull to behold, did<sup>15</sup> *the* Lord send<sup>16</sup> down from Heauen, to shew vnto the whole World how greenuously he is offended with those that spend his Sabaoth in such wicked exercifes; In *the* meane tyme, leauing his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to shun the fame for feare of <sup>17</sup>like or worfer<sup>18</sup> Iudgement to come!

[7 sign. P 3. A.]

A wofull crie. <sup>12</sup>

[<sup>13</sup> leaf 117 B.]

[<sup>17</sup> P 3, back. A.]

\* Paris—(F. J. F.) <sup>1</sup> iudgment B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> as hereafter followeth B, E, F. <sup>3—3</sup> the Sabaoth daie B, E, F. <sup>4</sup> last *not in* F. <sup>5</sup> there resorted an infinite number of *for* the E, F. <sup>6—6</sup> of each sort E, F. <sup>8—8</sup> and beyng B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> by estimation *not in* B, E, F. <sup>10—10</sup> were some F. <sup>11</sup> quasht B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> *this side-note not in* F. † leaf 117. A wofull spectacle at the Theaters. <sup>14</sup> haue heard F. <sup>15</sup> did *not in* B, E, F. <sup>16</sup> sent B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> sharper B, E, F.

*A fearfull Iudgement of GOD, shewed at  
the Theaters.*

THE like Iudgement (almost<sup>1</sup>) did the Lord shew vnto them a litle befor, being assembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies<sup>2</sup> practised: For he caused *the* earth mightely to shak and quauer, as though all would haue fallen down; wherat the People, fore amazed, some leapt down (*from* the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood) to the ground; wherof<sup>3</sup> some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another,<sup>4</sup> & many fore crusht and brused; but not any but they went away fore<sup>5</sup> affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither *the* one nor *the* other fray them from these diuelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his<sup>6</sup> wrath; *which God forbid!* The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maiestrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be honored and their consciences disburthened<sup>7,8</sup>.

Besids these exercyses, thei flock, thick & three fold, to *the* cockfeights, an exercyse nothing inferiour<sup>9</sup> to *the* rest, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cofe<sup>10</sup>nage, scoulding, railing, couitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of<sup>11</sup> one another of their goods, & *that* not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blaunch & fet out these mischiefs *wit*hall (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & fet howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to *the*<sup>12</sup> purpose, flags & ensignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim *the* fame, to th' end *that* many may come to the dedication<sup>13</sup> of this solemne feaft of mischief: <sup>14</sup>the

<sup>1</sup> in effect F.<sup>2</sup> fooleries there F.<sup>3</sup> whereby F.<sup>4</sup> another where F.<sup>5</sup> sore B, E, F; store A.

† leaf 117, back. Cockfighting in Ailgna. B.

<sup>7</sup> discharged F.<sup>8</sup> *A new chapter-heading follows in* B, E, F:—Cockfighting in Ailgna; F *has*:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabboth day in England.<sup>9</sup> *not in* F.<sup>11</sup> of *not in* F.<sup>12</sup> that B, E, F.<sup>13</sup> celebration F.<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> *not in* B, E, F; *A new chapter-heading follows this in* B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F *has*:—Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabboth day in England.

A wofull  
spectacle.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 117, back.  
B.†]

Cockfeight-  
ing vpon the  
Sabaoth.\*  
[\* day added in  
F.]  
[<sup>10</sup> sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed  
times for  
exercise of  
dyuelries.

Lord supplant them!<sup>14</sup> And as for hawking & hunting vpon the fabaoth day,<sup>1</sup> it is an exercyse vpon *that* day no leffe vnlawful than the other; <sup>2</sup>For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much leffe every day <sup>3</sup>in his life,<sup>3</sup> as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore<sup>4</sup> let Gentlemen take heed; for, be iure, accounts must be giuen at the day of iudgement for<sup>5</sup> every minut of time, both how they haue spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be iure no more libertie is giuen *them* to mispend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is giuen to the pooreft and meaneft person *that* liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in *the* volume of *the* sacred scripture,<sup>6</sup> that was a good man and a Hunter.

Hawking & hunting vpon the sabaoth.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 118. B.\*]

No more libertie giuen to one than \* another for mispend- ing of their goods.  
[\* then to F.]

*Efau* was a great hunter, but a reprobat; *If<sup>r</sup>maell* a great hunter, but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet <sup>8</sup>a reprobat<sup>8</sup> and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time<sup>9</sup> of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue some in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a fort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one year, than they will impart<sup>10</sup> to the poore members of Christ Iesus in vii. yeers, peradventure, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradiſe persisted in innocency, all beaſts what ſo euer weare obedient to him, and came and proſtrated<sup>11</sup> themſelues be<sup>12</sup>fore him; But euer ſince his fall they haue fled from him, & diſobeyd him, becauſe of his ſin; that ſeeing he diſobeyed the Lord, they again diſobeied<sup>13</sup> him. For ſo long as man obeyed God, ſo long they obeyed him, but ſo ſoone as man diſobeyed God, they diſobeyed him, & becam enemies to him; as it were, ſeeking to reuenge *the*<sup>15</sup> iniurie which man had don vnto<sup>16</sup> God in diſobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cauſe why all beaſts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to<sup>17</sup> vs, is our diſobedience to

[<sup>7</sup> P 4, back. A.]

No good hunters [in] scripture.

Cost bestowed in hauks and dogges.

[<sup>12</sup> leaf 118, back. B. f.]  
When all beaſts weare obedient to man, & wherfore they rebell.

<sup>1</sup> day *not in* E, F.

\* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B.

<sup>3-3</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>4</sup> And therfore F.

<sup>5</sup> of F.

<sup>6</sup> Scriptures F.

<sup>8-8</sup> an abiect E, F.

<sup>9</sup> times F.

<sup>10</sup> giue F.

<sup>11</sup> humbled F.

† leaf 118, back. Why beaſtes rebell against man. B. <sup>13</sup> diſobey F.

<sup>15</sup> that E, F.

<sup>16</sup> to F.

<sup>17</sup> vnto F.

the LORD, which we are rather to sorow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

[<sup>2</sup> sign. P 5. A.]  
For pleasure sake only no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God.

<sup>1</sup> If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vse them, in the feare of God, *with* thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or <sup>2</sup> rather a <sup>3</sup> pseudo-christian, <sup>3</sup> that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and pleasure delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth vp the corne of *the* poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise <sup>4</sup> in preiudicing <sup>4</sup> him, as hunters doo? wherfore God giue them grace to see to it, and to mend <sup>5</sup> it <sup>6</sup> betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leaue the <sup>7</sup> euil and to doo good, leaft the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and consume vs from of <sup>8</sup> the vpper face of the Earth. <sup>9</sup>

Hurt by hunting to poore Men.  
[<sup>6</sup> leaf 119. B.†]

*Spud.* What say you to keeping of Markets, of <sup>10</sup> Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon *the* Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vse the same vpon any <sup>11</sup> day?

Not lawfull to keep courtes Leetes, Markets and Fayres, vppon the Sabaoth day.

*Philo.* No truely; for can you <sup>12</sup> serue God & the deuil together? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we serue two Maisters, <sup>13</sup> and neither offend the one nor <sup>14</sup> the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For saith he, '*Thou shalt looue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall <sup>15</sup> thy power, withall thy strength,*' and so fourth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to giue ouer our selues so wholly and totally to the seruice of God al *the* daies of our life, but ef-

[<sup>13</sup> P 5, back. A.]

<sup>2</sup> or not B, E, F.      <sup>3-3</sup> cruel Tartarian F.      <sup>4-4</sup> annoying F.

<sup>5</sup> amend F.      † leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

<sup>7</sup> the *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>8</sup> of *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> *A new chapter-heading follows this in* B, E, F:—Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth daie in Ailgna [England F.].

<sup>10</sup> of *not in* F.      <sup>11</sup> that E, F.      <sup>12</sup> we F.      <sup>14</sup> nor displease E, F

<sup>15</sup> withall A.

pecially vpon the Sabaoth day, being confe<sup>1</sup>crate to that end, we may not intermedle with these prophane exercifes vpon that day. For it is more then manifest *that* these faires, markets, courtes, and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs. in the true<sup>2</sup> feruice of God, and an abuse of *the* Sabaoth, but also lead vs the path way to hel. For what cofonage is not there practised? what falshod, deceit, & fraude is not there exercifed? what difsimulation in bargaining? what setting foorth<sup>3</sup> of fucate<sup>3</sup> & deceivable wares, is not there frequented<sup>4</sup>? what lying, fwering, foriwering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & *sometimes* murther, either there or by *the* way thither, is not enery where vsed<sup>5</sup>? In courtes & leets, what ennie, malice, & hatred is noorished<sup>6</sup>? what expoftulation, railing, fcoulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? <sup>7</sup>what opreffion of *the* poore, what fauouring the<sup>8</sup> rich, what iniustice & indirec<sup>t</sup> dealing? what bribing, deceining, what poling & pilling is there<sup>9</sup> practised? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we must haue these goodly pageants played vpon *the* sabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in *the* week. And heerby <sup>10</sup>*the* sabaoth is contaminat,<sup>10</sup> Gods woord contemned, his commandements difanulled, his sacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, &, <sup>11</sup>*in summa*, his blood trod vnder feet, and all mischeef maintained. <sup>12</sup>*The Lord cut of these, with all other sin, both from their soules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edified*<sup>12</sup>!

*Spud.* Is *the* playing at football, reding of mery bookes, & such like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

*Ph.* Any exercife which withdraweth vs from godlines, either vpon *the* sabaoth<sup>13</sup> or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbidden.<sup>14</sup> Now, who is so grossly blinde, *that* seeth not *that* these aforefaid exercifes not only withdraw vs from godlines & vertue, but also haile & allure vs to

\* leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

<sup>2</sup> true *not in* F. <sup>3—3</sup> counterfeit F. <sup>4</sup> vsed B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> committed B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> noorished A. <sup>7</sup> of the F. <sup>9</sup> the (*sic*) F.

<sup>10—10</sup> it commeth to passe that the Sabboth is prophaned F.

† leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12—12</sup> *not in* B, E, F. *A new chapter-heading follows, Playng at Footeball in Ailgna.\** (\*—\* vpon the Sabboth and other dayes in England F.)

<sup>13</sup> day added in F.

<sup>14</sup> forbidden (*sic*) F.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 119, back. B.\*]

Abuse of the Sabaoth by Fayres, markets.\*

[\* masks A.]

The euil in Courtes and Markets.

The euils in Courtes and Lects practised.

[<sup>7</sup> sign. P 6. A.]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 120. B.†]

Playing at Foot-ball

Foot-ball a  
freendly kind  
of fight.

[<sup>1</sup> P 6, back. A.]

Hurt by foot-  
ball playing.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 120, back.  
B.†]

Foot-Ball  
playing a mur-  
thering Play.

[<sup>12</sup> sign. P 7. A.]

Reading of  
wicked  
bookes.

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 121. B.†]

wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I protest vnto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practise, then a felowly sporte or paffeime. <sup>1</sup> For dooth not euery one lye in waight for his Aduerfarie, seeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his nose, though it be vpon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place foeuer it be, hee careth not, so he<sup>2</sup> haue him down. And he that can serue *the* most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? so that by this meanes, somtimes their necks are broken, <sup>3</sup> somtimes their backs, <sup>3</sup> sometime their legs, sometime their armes; <sup>4</sup> sometime one part thurst out of ioynt, sometime an other; sometime<sup>5</sup> the<sup>6</sup> noses gush out with blood, sometime<sup>5</sup> their eyes start out<sup>7</sup>; and sometmes hurt in one place, sometmes in another. But whosoouer scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore <sup>8</sup> wounded, craised<sup>9,8</sup> and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they haue the<sup>10</sup> sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a<sup>11</sup> hundreded such murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometmes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

<sup>12</sup> Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepeded malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? *God make vs more careful ouer the bodyes of our Bretheren!*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>14</sup> And as for the<sup>15</sup> reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vnlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vpon any other day; as

<sup>2</sup> he maie B, E, F.

<sup>3-3</sup> not in F.

† leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B.

<sup>5</sup> sometimes F.

<sup>6</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> of their heads added in F.

<sup>8-8</sup> crushed F. <sup>9</sup> craised not in B, E. <sup>10</sup> the not in B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> an F.

<sup>13</sup> *A new chapter-heading follows in* B, E, F. Reading of wicked bookes in Ailgna. [England. F.]

† leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

<sup>15</sup> the not in F.

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian foules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vngodly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the foule, & corrupt *the* minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.<sup>1</sup>

The euil  
comming by  
reading euil  
Bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whofoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhoneft foeuer, or vnfeemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plaufibly<sup>2</sup> admitted and<sup>2</sup> freendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this issue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurrilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyest and sa<sup>3</sup>gest bookes that be: for<sup>4</sup> if it be a godly treatise, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a flourish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the *Bible*, the<sup>5</sup> blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed; That woorthie<sup>6</sup> Booke of *Martyrs*,<sup>7</sup> made by that famous Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister *Iohn Fox*, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be<sup>8</sup> reuerenced; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, sacraligious libels, and hethnicall pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may<sup>9</sup> vindicate to them selues no smal commendations<sup>9</sup> at the hands of the deuil for inuenting the same) corrupt mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whoredome, suppress vertue & erect vice: which thing, how should it be otherwife? for are they not inuented & excogitat by *Belzebub*, written by *Lucifer*, licensed by *Pluto*, printed by *Cerberus*, & set a-broche to sale by the infernal furies themselves, to *the* poysoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt<sup>10</sup> thorow these

[<sup>3</sup> P 7, back. A.]

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 121, back. B.\*]

[The hurte that  
wicked books  
bring E, F.]

[<sup>10</sup> 'Q 1', A.  
wrongly signd;  
leaf P 8 is misst;  
the catchword is  
right.]

<sup>1</sup> present *not in* F.

<sup>2—2</sup> receiued F.

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

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

<sup>6</sup> renowned F.

\* leaf 121, back. Hethnicall bookes in Ailgna. B.

<sup>8</sup> to be *not in* F.

<sup>2—9</sup> challenge no small reward F.

wicked bookes, fhallbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

*Spud.* I pray you how might al thefe inormities and Abufes be reformed? For it is to fmall purpofe to fhew *the* abufes, except you fhewe withall how they might be reformed<sup>1</sup>

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 122. B.\*]

[The Lawes  
againſt Evil  
Doers are not  
enforct.]

*Philo.* By putting in practife and executing <sup>2</sup>thofe good lawes, <sup>3</sup>wholfome fancies<sup>3</sup>, and Godly<sup>4</sup> ftatutes, which haue bene heretofore, and daily are, fet foorth and eftabliſhed, as GOD be thanked, they<sup>5</sup> are manie. The want of the due execution wherof is *the* caufe of all thefe miſchiefs, which both rage and raigne amongft vs.

*Spud.* What is the caufe why thefe lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

*Philo.* Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the niglignce and contempt<sup>6</sup> of the inferiour Magiftrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, diffranchifed and difpenſed withall; for, as the ſaying is, <sup>7</sup>*quid non pecunia poteſt*: what is it but money will bring to paſſe<sup>7</sup>? And yet, notwithstanding, ſhall it be don inuifibly in a clowde (vnder *benedicite* I ſpeake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the ſame are <sup>8</sup>dalie executed<sup>8</sup>. This fault is the corruption of thoſe that are put in truſt to ſee them executed, as I haue <sup>9</sup>tould you, and (notwithſtanding) do not.

[Why the lawes  
are not executed  
as they ought  
to bee E, F.]

[<sup>9</sup> P 8, hack  
(wrong Q 1, bk.)  
A.]

*Spud.* This is a great <sup>10</sup>corruption &<sup>10</sup> Abufe, doubtles, and worthie of great puniſhment.

*Ph.* It is fo truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of GOD, the publike weale of the Cuntrey and correccion of vices, it is great pytie that money ſhould buy them out. For what is that els, but to fell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droſſe, yea, mens fouls for corruptible mo<sup>11</sup>ney? Therefore, thoſe that fell them are not onely Traitors to GOD, to their Prince and Countrey, but are alſo the Deuils Marchants, and<sup>12</sup> ferrie the bodies and foules of Chriſtians, <sup>13</sup>as

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 122, back.  
B.†]

[They that buy

<sup>1</sup> amended B, E, F.

\* leaf 122. How to reforme Abufes. B.

<sup>3—3</sup> not in F.

<sup>4</sup> Goldy A; Godly B, E, F.

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

<sup>6</sup> corruption F.

<sup>7—7</sup> Pecunia omnia poteſt, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> duly excuted (*sic*) B, E, F.

<sup>10—10</sup> not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B.

<sup>12</sup> to B, E, F.

<sup>13—13</sup> as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in *Charons boate*<sup>1 13</sup> to the *Stigian* flood of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for euer.

or sell lawes for money are traitors to God E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al<sup>2</sup> the lawes in *Ailgna* be), why shuld they be suppressed<sup>3</sup> for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulged,<sup>4</sup> but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer seene the light.

And why were lawes instituted<sup>5</sup>, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull<sup>6</sup> the same againe, vpon special<sup>7</sup> causes & considerations, but no inferiour maieftrat or subiecte what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne<sup>8</sup> foule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

[None maie stay the course of the lawes, but the Prince E, F.]  
[<sup>7</sup> sign. Q 2. A.]

And therefore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in *Ailgna*) vpon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was *Iudas* of the death<sup>9</sup> of Christe Iesus.

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 123. B.†]

*Spud.* Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abhominacion amongst them, I am perswaded the<sup>10</sup> daye of Iudgement is not farre of; For when iniquity shall haue filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all<sup>11</sup> appere, as *Christ* witnesseth in his *Euangelie*.

[The day of Judgment is not far off.]

*Philo.* The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,<sup>12</sup> strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Iudgements<sup>13</sup> hath he sente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence<sup>14</sup> & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the

[The wonderfull

<sup>1</sup> ouer the Sea of this world added in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> the most of B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> bought out F.

<sup>4</sup> published F.

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

<sup>6</sup> annul F.

<sup>8</sup> not in F. † leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B.

<sup>10</sup> that the E, F.

<sup>11</sup> all thinges E, F.

<sup>12</sup> not in F.

<sup>13</sup> tokens F.

<sup>14</sup> impenitencie E, F.

signes and tokens; which the Lord hath sent to warne vs of the daie of iudgement E, F.]  
[<sup>1</sup> Q 2, back. A.]

fame Earth to remooue from place to place? the seas and waters to roare, swell, & brust out, and ouerflow their bankes <sup>1</sup>to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to send foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull coniunctions of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres haue not been<sup>2</sup> heard of? haue not the clowdes distilled downe abundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges vppon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets, blasfing starres, fire <sup>3</sup>Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her operation in sending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglesome monsters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it seemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet <sup>4</sup>we are <sup>4</sup> nothing at all amended: (alas) what<sup>5</sup> shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal iudge vs righteously? that there is a Deuill who shal torment vs after this lyfe vnspcakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shal find that there is a Materiall Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, whereiu they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongest the terrible Company of vgglesome <sup>6</sup>Deuills, world without end, how light so euer they make account of it in this World.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 123, back. B.\*]

[All God's Creatures are wroth with us, but we don't mend.]

[<sup>6</sup> sign. Q 3. A.]

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at <sup>7</sup> it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speeches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not <sup>8</sup> otherwyte. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruants; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobat, prepared for the Deuil & his Angels, or els the word of God is in <sup>10</sup>no wyse to be credited; which blasphemie once to think <sup>11</sup>, God keep all his Children from!

[<sup>9</sup> Materiall hell after this life E, F.]

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 124. B.†]

<sup>2</sup> seene or *added* in F.

\* leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> are we F.

<sup>5</sup> that A, B, E; what F.

<sup>7</sup> of F.

<sup>8</sup> and not F.

<sup>9</sup> A materiall F.

† leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B.

<sup>11</sup> think of F.

*Spud.* But they will easily auoid this; for they say it is writ<sup>1</sup>, at what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I wil put all his sin<sup>2</sup> out of my remembrance, faith *the* Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the last, they will wish no more. What think you of these felowes?

*Philo.* I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worfe<sup>3</sup> than *Tartarians*<sup>3</sup>, and more to be auoided than *the* poison of a serpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body & foul for euer. Wherefore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and<sup>4</sup> auoid them; For it is truely said *cum bonis bonus eris*, et *cum peruerfis peruerferis*<sup>5</sup>: with the good thou shalt<sup>6</sup> learne good, but with the wicked thou shalt<sup>6</sup> be peruerted. [Men who put off repentance till their deaths are but Devils.]

[<sup>4</sup> Q 3. back. A.]

*Spud.* Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

*Ph.* No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating<sup>7</sup>, and detesting of sinne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he seeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therefore this can be no true repentance; For there is<sup>8</sup> two maner of re<sup>9</sup>pentances, *the* one a true repentance to life, the other a false repentance to death. As we maye see by *Iudas*, who is said to haue repented, and, which is more, to haue confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to haue made restitution, and yet was it a false repentance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before. [No true repentance which is deferred to the last gaspe E, F.]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 124, back. B. †]

[Two maners<sup>10</sup> of repentance, a false repentance, and a true repentance E, F.]

*Peter* repented and weept bitterly, and was saued therby, though he neither made confession nor satisfaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a<sup>11</sup> true repentance, springing of faith, it can ferue them no more to life, than the pretended repentance of *Iudas* did ferue him to saluation. [<sup>11</sup> sign. Q 4. A.]

<sup>1</sup> written F.

<sup>2</sup> wickednes E, F.

<sup>3-3</sup> then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoever F.

<sup>6</sup> peruerteris B, F.

<sup>6</sup> shalt F.

<sup>7</sup> not in F.

<sup>8</sup> are E, F.

† leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B.

<sup>10</sup> maner of repentances F.

Let them beware, for *Cain* repented, yet is he condemned. *Eſau* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Antiochus* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Iudas* did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why ſo? Becauſe their prolonged repentaunce ſprange not of faith, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Thus they may ſee, that euerye light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynough to ſay at the laſt, I repent, I repent; For vnles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare ſo that man had *liberum arbitrium*, free wil<sup>2</sup> of himſelf to repent truly when he wold, and that God<sup>3</sup> promiſed in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the giſte of God, *de ſurſum veniens a patre luminum*, com<sup>4</sup>ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therefore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaſeth<sup>5</sup> him; & of him are we to craue it inceſſantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwiſe to preſume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we haue nothing leſſe than a true repentance.

[Every light affection is no true repentance E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 125. B.+]

[<sup>6</sup> Q 4, back. A.]

[Of true and feignd repentance.]

<sup>6</sup> *Spud.* Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and ſorrow of the<sup>7</sup> heart, conceiued for our ſinnes, with a hatred and lothing of the ſame) [f]erueth to ſaluation thorow the mercie of God in Chriſt, ſo fained repentance ſaueth not from perdition. And, therefore, we muſt repent dayly and howrely, and not to<sup>8</sup> deferre our repentaunce to the laſt gaſpe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

*Philo.* True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the laſt caſt<sup>9</sup> (as they ſay) will hazard his body and ſoule to eternall damnation for euer? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye aſſure him ſelſe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlaſting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the moſt precious blood of his deare Sonne, Ieſus Chriſt, our alone Sauour and Redemer, to whome be praife for euer!

<sup>1</sup> & of an inward hatred vnto ſin, &c. F.

<sup>2</sup> and power added in F.

<sup>3</sup> God had F.

† leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

<sup>5</sup> ſhall pleaſe B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>8</sup> did not *for* not to F.

<sup>9</sup> gasp F.

*Spud.* Now must I needs say, as the Wyfe King *Salomon* said, all things are vaine and <sup>1</sup>transitorie, and <sup>2</sup>nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: the workes of men are vnperfect and lead to destruction, their exercyses are vaine and wicked altogether.

All things are  
vaine and  
vanitie it-selfe.  
[<sup>1</sup> leaf 125, back.  
B. †]

Wherefore I, setting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth consecrate <sup>3</sup>my selfe to the seruice of my GOD, and to follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

[<sup>3</sup> sign. R 1. A.]

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord<sup>4</sup> God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promising, by the assistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

*Philo.* God giue you grace so to do, and euery Christen man els, and to auoid all the vanities and deceivable pleasures of this life; for certainly they tread<sup>5</sup> the path to eternal destruction, both of body and soule for euer, to as many as obey them.

The ioyes of  
this life tread  
the path to  
death.

For it is vnpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this World, and to lyue in ioy for euer in *the* Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, hauing spent the daye, and also consummate<sup>6</sup> our iorney, we must now depart, beseeching GOD that\* we may both meete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigne and lyue

with him for euer, through Iesus Christe our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy

Spirit, be all honour & glorie

for euer more.

Amen.

*FINIS.*<sup>7</sup>

† leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation. B.

<sup>2</sup> and that F.

<sup>4</sup> Lord my E, F.

<sup>5</sup> leade E, F.

<sup>6</sup> ended our F.

<sup>7</sup> F then concludes with this line:—God haue the praise, both now and alwaies.  
*Amen.*



[sign. R 1  
back. A.]

## ¶ Faults escaped in printing.

| Letter. | Page.                         | Line.      | Fault.                                                                                             | Correction.                           |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| In B    | vij                           | 6          | the in Lord                                                                                        | in the Lord                           |
| In B    | xi                            | 5          | what is ther                                                                                       | what thing is there                   |
| In D    | xi [p. 49]                    | 3          | <i>initimur</i>                                                                                    | <i>nitimur</i>                        |
| In D    | xiiiij [p. 50]                | 9 [l. 1]   | <i>tante meriades</i>                                                                              | <i>tantæque meryades</i> <sup>2</sup> |
| In D    | xv                            | 16         | fupplied                                                                                           | applied [p. 52, l. 11]                |
| In F    | i                             | 19         | Read thus :                                                                                        |                                       |
|         | [See p. 65, 4th<br>paragraph] |            | <i>Spud.</i> I pray you shew me the opinions of the<br>Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces. |                                       |
| In F    | ix [p. 71]                    | 3 [l. 8]   | Antiquities                                                                                        | Antiques <sup>2</sup>                 |
| In F    | xvj                           | 5          | pefteruing                                                                                         | peftering                             |
| In I    | ijj [p. 105]                  | 26 [l. 9]  | refug meat                                                                                         | refufe meate                          |
| In I    | ijj [ , , ]                   | 27 [ , , ] | patrings                                                                                           | parings                               |
| In I    | vij [p. 108]                  | 16 [l. 23] | <i>appetitum</i>                                                                                   | <i>appetitui</i>                      |



[sign. R 2. A.]

Perused, authorized, &  
allowed, according to the order  
appointed in the Queenes Maiefties Iniu-  
ctions.



At London  
Printed by Richarde  
Jones: dwelling at the Signe of the  
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto  
Holborne Bridge.  
1583<sup>3</sup>.



[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll:—*Quel  
che. mi. molestava. accendo. et. ardo. This plate is not in B, E.*]

<sup>1</sup> this page '192' not in F.

<sup>2</sup> The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.

<sup>3</sup> 1585 E, 1595 F.

EXTRACTS  
FROM  
PHILLIP STUBBES'S  
*Life of his Wife.*

1591.



# A Chrifal Glaffe for Chrifian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

*An excellent Discourfe, of the godly life  
and Chrifian death of Miftriffe Katherine Stubbes  
who departed this life in Burton vppon  
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day  
of December. 1590.*

With a moft heauenly confeffion of the Chrifian  
Faith, which ſhe made a little before her departure:  
together, with a moft wonderfull combate be-  
twixt Satan and her foule: worthie to  
be imprinted in the tables of eue-  
ry Chrifian heart.

Set downe worde for worde as ſhe ſpake it, as neere  
as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen ſo ſaieth the  
Spirite, for they reſt from their labours, and their workes  
follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the  
Rose and Crowne neere Wolborne  
Bridge. 1591.



**A Chrifall Glas, for Chri-  
ftian women : wherein they may fee a wonderfull  
and true example of a right vertuous life and  
Chriftian death: as by the difcourfe following, to  
their further inſtruction and comfort,  
it may appeare.**

[leaf A 2]

[Sidenotes by  
F. J. F.]

Alling to remembrance (moſt Chriſtian Reader) the  
finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God,  
and to edifie one another in the way of true godli-  
neſſe, I thought it my duetie as well in reſpect of the  
one, as in regarde of the other, to publiſh this rare  
and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Chriſtian  
death, of miſtreſſe *Katherine Stubbes*, who whileſt ſhe liued, was a  
myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true  
Chriſtianitie. She was of honeſt and wealthie parentage, and her  
father had borne office of worſhip in his companie: he was zealous  
in the truth, and of a ſound Religion. Her mother was a Dutch  
woman, both diſcreete and wiſe, of ſingular good grace and modeſtie:  
and, which did moſt of all adorne her, ſhe was both religious, and  
verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London  
certain yeares, it pleaſed God to bleſſe them with children, of whom  
this *Katherine* was yongelt ſaue one. But as ſhe was yongelt ſaue one  
by courſe of nature: ſo was ſhe not inferiour to any of the reſt, or  
rather farre excelled them all without comparifon by manie degrees,  
in the induments and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age  
(her father being dead) her mother beſtowed her in marriage to one  
maiſter *Stubbes*, with whom ſhe liued four yeares, and almoſt an  
halfe, verie honeſtly and godly, with rare commendations of all that  
knewe her, as well for her ſingular wiſedome, as alſo for her modeſtie,  
courteſie, gentleneſſe, affabilitie and good gouernment. And aboute

I publiſh my  
wife's Life, to  
glorify God and  
edify men.Her Father, a  
citizen.  
Her Mother,  
Dutch.My wife, their  
youngelt child  
but one.At 15 ſhe married  
me, and liud with  
me 4 yeares.

She was zealous  
for the truth, and  
opposd Papists  
and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

She was seldom  
without a Bible  
or good book in  
hand.

She was always  
asking me to  
explain texts.

She sufferd no  
disorder in her  
house.

She never  
scolded or  
brawld;

or gossip.

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she seemed to surpasse manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenance or credite soeuer they seemed to be, she would not yeeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would most mightily iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntruthes, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuersant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would spend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: asking him: "what is the sence of this place, and what is the sence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What obserue you of this place, and what obserue you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that *Dauid* was, when hee saide: 'The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauour Christ, who biddeth vs to search the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. Shee obeyed the commaundement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be silent, and to learne of their husbands at home. Shee would suffer no disorder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed. And so gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that she was neuer heard to giue any the lie, nor so much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knowen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the least childe that liued: much lesse to scolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And so solitarie was shee giuen, that shee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and disdaine of others.

When her husbände was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulede get her

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what soever: neither was she given to pamper her body with delicate meats, wines, or strong drinks, but refrained them altogether. And as she excelled in the gift of sobriety, so she surpassed in the virtue of humility. For it is well knowne to diuers yet liuing, that she utterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwise. She could neuer abide to heare any filthy or vnclane talk of scurrilitie, neither swearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reprove them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for such defaults. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vnclane, vndecient, or vnseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to sweare or blaspheme God any maner of way: but alwayes her speech were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh. And for her conuersation, there was neuer any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so continually she liued, and so circumspectly she walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so farre from perswading her husbande to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that shee would perswade him to bee more beneficiall to them. If she sawe her husband merrie, then shee was merrie; if hee were sadde, she was sadde; if he were heauie, or passionate, shee would endeouour to make him glad; if he were angrie, shee would quickly please him, so wisely shee demeaned her selfe towards him. Shee would neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wife counsaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and submission, seeke to perswade him. And so little giuen was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours maruailed why shee was no more carefull of it, and would aske her sometimes, saying: "Mistresse *Stubbes*, why are you no more carefull for the things of this life, but sit alwayes poring vpon a booke, and studying?" To whome she would answer: "If I should be a friend to this worlde, I should be an enemy to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. *Iohn* biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

She'd not go to parties alone.

[leaf A 3]

She abhorred pride and foul talk;

liued continually, and shund all show of euil.

She was generous: sympathized with her husband, and neuer crossed him.

She cared not for this world, but for God.

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she  
should not live  
long,but should die  
in child-birth.Her boy was  
born,and she did very  
well,till a burning  
ague seized her.She never slept  
an hour together  
for 6 weeks ;but in all her  
suffering, no  
impatient word  
escaped her.

not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be giuen to me. 'Godlinesse is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.' I haue chosen with good *Martha* the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (shee would say) is neuer drawne drie. I haue inough in this life, God make me thankful, and I know I haue but a short time to liue here, and it standeth me vpon to haue regard to my saluation in the life to come." Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yeares after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that she conceyued with a man childe: after which conception she would say to her husband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not ouce, nor twice, but manie times, that she should neuer beare more children, that that child would be her death, and that shee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, so it came to passe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, she grewe so strong and lustie, that she was able within foure or fise dayes to sit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being throughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But presently vpon this so sudden recouerie, it pleased God to visite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which sicknes she languished for the space of six weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, shee was neuer seene, nor perceiued to sleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderstanding, sence, and memorie, to the last breath; prayed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her sicknesse, which was both long and grieuous, she neuer shewed any signe of discontentment, or of impacience: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, founding either of desperation, or infidelitie: of mistrust, or distrust, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so desirous was she to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentences were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I desire to be dissolued, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4]

And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliuer me from this bodie subiect to sinne? Come quickly, Lord Iesus, come quickly! Like as the heart desireth the water springs, so dooth my foule thirst after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of

She desired to be set free, and to be with Christ.

my God, then to dwell in the tentes of the wicked:" with manie other heavenly sentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her sicknesse absolutely, that God would take her out of this miserable worlde: and when her husband and others would desire her to pray for health, if it were the will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I shoulde liue, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life, and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death,

She knew death was the door to everlasting life.

and therefore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God, that the sentence of my death is giuen already, by the great Iudge, in the Court or Parliament of heauen, that I shall nowe depart out of this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might liue here, but pray to God to giue me strength, and pacience, to perseuere to the ende, and to close vp mine eyes in a iustifying faith in the blood of my Christ."

Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together, "Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for thy Christ his sake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send thy sergeant to arest me, send thy purseuant to apprehend me, thy

She prayd God to send and fetch her.

herauld to summon me: oh send my Iailour to deliuer my foule out of prison, for my bodie is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to my foule. Oh sende thy holie Angels to conduct my soule into the euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as it were in a slumber, her eies closed, & her lips vttering these words very softly to her selfe: "Oh my sweete Iesus, oh my loue Iesus: why not nowe, sweete Iesus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh sweete Iesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Iesus!" repeating them many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly speeches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worser worde was

She calld on Iesus.

there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of hei [leaf A 4, back]

She often smil'd  
sweetly,

seeing visions  
and heavenly  
sights.

She took leave  
of her boy, and

bequeatht him  
to me as the  
Lord's.

She repented of  
having been too  
fond of her little  
dog.

[leaf B]

sickneffe. She was accustomed many times as she lay, verie suddenly to fall into a sweete smiling, and sometimes into a most heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenance seemed as though she greatly reioyced at some glorious fight. And when her husband would aske her why she smiled and laughed so, she woulde say, "if you sawe such glorious visions and heavenly fights as I see, you would reioyce and laugh with me: for I see a vision of the ioyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I shall go to; and I see infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen." In regard whereof, she was willing to forsake herselfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world besides. And so calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, she tooke it in her armes, and kissing it, said: "God bleise thee, my sweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:" and kissing it againe, deliuered it to the Nurse, with these words to her husband standing by: "Beloued husband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forsake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne selfe, and esteeme all things druggue, that I may winne Iesus Christ. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, see that he be brought vp in the exercife of true Religion."

The childe being taken away, she spyed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time she loued well,) lying vpon her bed: she had no sooner spied her, but she beate her away, and calling her husband to her, said: "Good husband, you and I haue offended God grieuouly in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities!" And afterward coulde she neuer abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Hauing thus godly disposed of all things, she fell into an extasie, or into a trauce or fownde, for the space almost of a quarter of an houre, so as every one thought she had beene dead. But afterward she, comming to her selfe, spake to them that were present, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) saying: "Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you haue taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beseech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heauen. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glasse is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perfwaded, for three causes, to make a confession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly resolved in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the spirite of God hath taught me out of his blessed and alfauing worde. The second cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde iudge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iesus Christ, and so by your rash iudgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and last cause, is for that, as you haue beene witnesses of part of my life, so you might bee witnesses of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not haue you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vnlesse they be reprobates: for *Paul* sayeth, *Rom. 8*, 'If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.' This blessed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you giue me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am sealed to the day of redemption."

She wisht to make confession of her faith,  
1. to confirm others;

2. to testify that she died a Christian;

3. that her friends might be witnesses of her belief.

*A most heavenly confession of the Christian faith,  
made by this blessed seruant of God Mistresse  
Stubbes a little before she died.*

My Wife's  
Confession of  
Faith.



Although the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnspokeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor expressed in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleuee, as farre as he hath reuealed himselfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God shall illuminat my heart. I beleuee therefore with my heart, and freely confesse with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleuee, is a most glorious spirite, or spirituall substance, a diuine essence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

effenciall being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maieftie, innuifible, inaccessible, incomprehenfible, and altogether vnſpeakable. I beleene and confeſſe, that this glorious Godhead, this bleſſed ſubſtaunce, effence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Perſons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ſpirite, diſtinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the ſame in nature, in effence, ſubſtance, deitie, maieftie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie. . . . .

I believe in God  
in 3 Perſons,

&c., &c., &c.

[ . . . . . ]

“When God had caſt *Adam* into a deade ſleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his ſide, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her freight way, and called her by her name. Coulede *Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead ſleepe, whileſt ſhe was in making? And ſhall not we being reſtored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was *Adam* in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee leſſe in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and ſee as it were but in a Glaffe, and ſhall wee not knowe one another in the life to come, where all ignorance ſhall bee done away?

I believe that  
we ſhall know  
each other in  
heaven.

“In the 16. of *Luke*, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe *Abraham* and *Lazarus* in heauen. Then I reaſon thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do know thoſe that be in heauen ſo farre aboue them: how much more ſhall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade alſo in the 17. of *Matth.* howe our Sauour Chriſt, meaning to ſhewe vnto his diſciples, *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, as it were a ſhadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is ſayde to bee tranſfigured before them, and his face did ſhine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them *Moyſes* and *Elias*, ſayeth the text.

Dives in hell  
knew Abraham  
and Lazarus in  
heaven.

“Then it followeth, that if the Diſciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in ſhadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe *Moyſes* and *Elias*, the one whereof dyed almoſte two thouſande yeares before, the other not much leſſe, howe much more ſhall wee knowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

Much more ſhall  
we know one  
another in the  
life to come.

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my faith, this is my hope, & this is my trust; this hath the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that hast begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I beseech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and fauour." And she had no sooner made an end of this most heauenly confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iesus, on whom she constantly beleued. And wheras before she looked with a sweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the sudden, she bent the browes, she frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vnglesome, and displeasent thing, she brust foorth into these speaches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were scornfully and disdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

[leaf C 2, back]

When she had ended, Satan was ready to attack her

She scowld at him, and scorn'd him.

*A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule, and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ.*

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords seruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chofen and elected in Christ to euerlasting saluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maist get the[e] packing, thou damned dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. But what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a sinner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a sinner, and a grieuous sinner, both by originall sinne, and actuall sinne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therefore, Satan, I bequeath my sinne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to saue sinners (as he faith himfelse) and not the righteous: 'behold the

Hell-hound,

be off!  
Damned dog,  
be gone!

Tho' I am a sinner,

[leaf C 3]

yet Christ's  
blood has  
cleansd me.

All my sins are  
pardond for his  
name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid  
my debt to God  
for me.

Firebrand of  
Hell, avoid!

[leaf C 3, back]

Pack! Or I will  
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (saith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out: 'the blood of Iesus Christ doth cleanse vs from al sinne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Christs righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and satisfaction for all my finnes. But what sayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable sinner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being assured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names sake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heauie laden with the burden of sinne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Christes armes were spread wide open (Satan) vpon the Crosse (with that she spread her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent sinners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Dost thou say, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deserts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Christs righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his works my works, his deserts my deserts, & his precious blood a full satisfaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a iust God, thou saiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my finnes, which hee hath punished already in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paid the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therefore, thou dastard, auoid, thou cowardly fouldier, remooue thy siege, and yeelde the field wonne, & get thee packing, or else I wil call vpon my grand-captaine Christ Iesus, that valiant *Michael*, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had scarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a sweet smiling laughter, saying, "Now is he gone, now is he gone! do you not see him flie like a coward, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath lost the felde, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iesus Christ, who hath sent his holy Angels to keepe me." And speaking to them that were by, she said, "would God you saw but what I see! Do you not see infinite millions of most glorious Angels stand about me, with fire charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet *Elizeus*. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall see him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I haue fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miserie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduerfitie, whatsoeuer. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Christ shal giue to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to herselfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iesus, come, my loue Iesus, oh sende thy pursuant (sweet Iesus) to fetch me! Oh (sweet Iesus) strengthen thy seruant, & keepe thy promise!" Then sang she diuers Psalmes most sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, she desired her husband that the 103. Psalme might bee sung before her to the Church. And further, she desired him that hee would not mourne for her, alledging the Apottle *Paul*, where he saith: 'Brethren, I woulde not haue you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to be reioyced for: for that she should passe (she saide) from earth to heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himselfe. After which wordes, very suddenly, she seemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-

Then she laught.  
for Satan ran off  
like a beaten  
cock.

She saw millions  
of Angels about  
her.

By Christ's  
might she had  
won the victory.

She calld on  
Iesus to fetch  
her.

She sang Psalmes  
sweetly.

She bade me not  
mourn for her.

[leaf C 4]

She lookt  
cheerfully,

208 A Chrifall Glaffe for Christian women.

and welcomd  
death;

commended her  
spirit to her  
God,

and then slept  
sweetly in the  
Lord.

She was but 18  
when she died.  
May we all  
follow her  
example!

fully, as though ſhe had ſeene ſome glorious fight: and liſting vp her whole body, and ſtretching fourth both her armes, as though ſhee would imbrace ſomething, ſaid: "I thanke my God, through Ieſus Chriſt, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my foule out of priſon! Oh ſweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, ſweet death! neuer was there any gueſt ſo welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the meſſenger of euerlaſting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlaſting life: welcome (I ſay), and thrive welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and ſet my foule at libertie. Strike (ſweet death), ſtrike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy bleſſed hands I commend my ſpirit! Sweete Ieſus, into thy bleſſed hands I commend my ſpirit! Bleſſed ſpirit of God, I commit my foule into thy handes! Oh moſt holy, bleſſed, and glorious Trinitie, three perſons and one true euerlaſting God, into thy bleſſed handes I commit both my foule and my bodie:" at which wordes her breath ſtaied; and ſo, neither mouing hand nor foot, ſhe ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

Thus haſt thou heard (gentle Reader) the diſcourſe of the vertuous life and chriſtian death of this faithfull ſeruaunt of God, Miſtreſſe *Katherine Stubbes*: which is ſo much the more wonderfull, in that ſhe was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when ſhe departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to thoſe vnſpeakeable ioyes wherein ſhe now reſteth, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde; to whome with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praife, dominion, and thankeſgiuing, both nowe and euermore. Amen.

F I N I S. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM  
THE 1610 EDITION OF  
PHILIP STUBBES'S  
PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,  
WITH  
A SHORT TREATISE  
OF  
PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,  
WRITTEN IN 1592.

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[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume,  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches high by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank ; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too ; all the leaves are bordered.]

Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

# CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*,

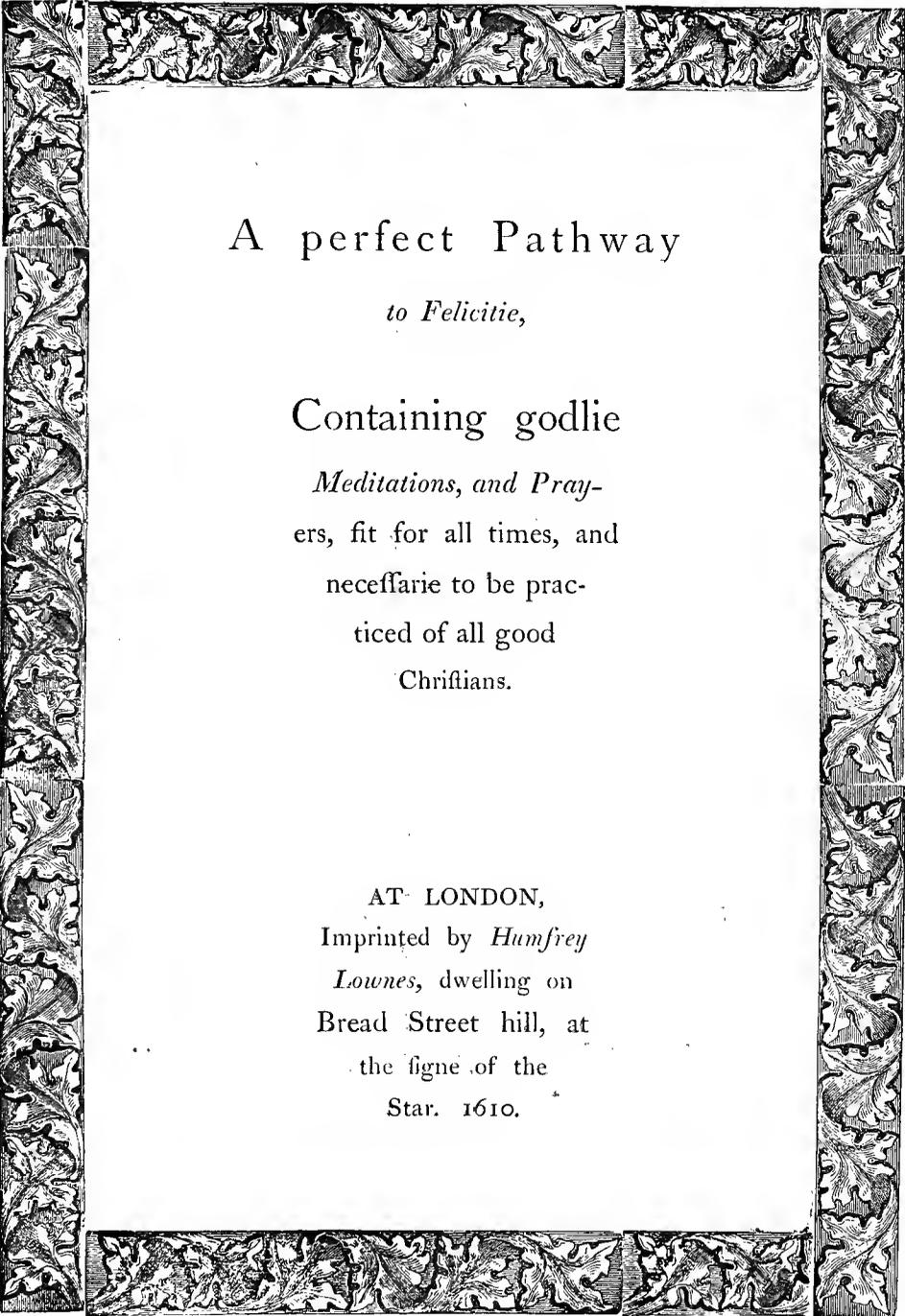
ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>¶ 1. Blank. ¶ 2. Title.<br/>         ¶ 3. The Epistle Dedicatorie.<br/>         ¶ 8. † The Preface.<br/>         A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meate.<br/>         A 3. Thankesgiuing after meate.<br/>         A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate.<br/>         A 4, bk. An other praier after meate.<br/>         A 5. A praier before meate.<br/>         A 6. A thankesgiuing after meate.<br/>         A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the foure Tearmes of the yeare. (A 8, back, blank.)<br/>         B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.<br/>         B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.<br/>         B 5. Meditations in the morning.<br/>         B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.<br/>         C 1. A praier for the morning.<br/>         C 4. Precepts at thy going fourth of thy Chamber.<br/>         C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.<br/>         C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and hands.<br/>         C 6. Meditations before and at dinner.<br/>         C 7. A praier before meate.<br/>         C 8. Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the table.<br/>         D 1. † A Thanks-giuing to God after dinner.<br/>         D 2. Meditations after dinner.<br/>         D 3, bk. Directions how to behaue thy selfe before and after Supper.<br/>         D 4, bk. A thanks giuidg [<i>s<sup>o</sup></i>] to God before Supper.<br/>         D 6, bk. A thankesgiuing to God after Supper.<br/>         D 7. Directions of Christian behauiour after Supper.<br/>         D 8. † Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.<br/>         E 2, bk. † A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one.</p> | <p>E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.<br/>         E 6, bk. † Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.<br/>         E 7. † A Praier to be said at the breake of the day.<br/>         E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day.<br/>         F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.<br/>         F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.<br/>         F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.<br/>         F 3. † Christian directions for the Morning.<br/>         F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / <i>Treatise, of praiers</i> / and <i>Supplications</i>; / COMPRISING / <i>a briefe summe of all such</i> / things as we stand / <i>in need of in this</i> / life. / <i>By the same Author.</i> / P. S. Gent. / (F 5, back, blank.)<br/>         F 6. † A Praier for the Morning.<br/>         F 7. † A Prayer for the Euening.<br/>         F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times.<br/>         G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauour, with desire of forgiuenes.<br/>         G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.<br/>         G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes<sup>1</sup> Maiestie.<br/>         G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestates and rulers in the common wealth.<br/>         H 2. A praier for the increase of faith.<br/>         H 3, bk. A praier against the deuill, the world and the flesh.<br/>         H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.<br/>         H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing.<br/>         H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.</p> |
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<sup>1</sup> Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters *her* to *his*, and [our souereigne] <sup>1</sup> *Ladie and gouernesse* to <sup>1</sup> *Lord and gouerner.*

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]



A perfect Pathway

*to Felicitie,*

Containing godlie

*Meditations, and Pray-*  
ers, fit for all times, and  
necessarie to be prac-  
ticed of all good  
Christians.

AT LONDON,  
Imprinted by *Humfrey*  
*Lownes*, dwelling on  
Bread Street hill, at  
the signe of the  
Star. 1610.

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| K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are mariied.                  | N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word.  |
| K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of households.    | N 8. A praier against swearing.                                                      |
| K 7. A praier to be said of seruants.                                    | O 1, bk. A praier against drunkennesse.                                              |
| K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace and fauour of God.                    | O 3. A praier against slouthfulnesse and idlennesse.                                 |
| L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience.                             | O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth.                           |
| L 3, bk. A praier for a true and liuely faith.                           | O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisdome.                                                 |
| L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie.                                 | O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mindfull to die.                                   |
| L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie.                          | P 1, bk. † A Thanks-giuing to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed vpon vs. |
| L 7. A praier for a good name.                                           |                                                                                      |
| L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sickness.                              |                                                                                      |
| M 2. A praier for the assistance of                                      |                                                                                      |

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlasting GOD bee all /honour, glorie, prayse do/minion power, and thanks/giuing for euermore. Amen.

*Vni Deo & trino sit, omnis gloria*

*FINIS.*

[Ornament.]

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Prayse and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sicke (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). *Finis.* (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

<sup>a</sup> sign. P 5, back.

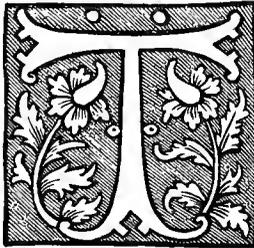
1610.

and euerlasting GOD, be all honour, glorie, praise, might power maiestie and <sup>1</sup> dominion, now and for euer. Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

○ Singular Iouer of vs, Christ Iesu, O Bridegroom to whom thy Church is most deare, and which hast promised that thou wilt neuer faile her: increase her; . . .

<sup>1</sup>To the right worshipfull,  
*vertuous, and godlie Gentle-*  
*woman, Mistresse Katherine*  
*Milward,* most faithful spouse  
 to the no lesse worshipfull, wife and  
 religious Gentleman, Master *Willi-*  
*am Milward.* Esquire, *P. S.* wisheth  
 all happie successe in this life, with in-  
 creafe of worship, and in the life  
 to come, eternal felicity in the  
 Heauenly Hierarchie by  
 Iesus Christ.



*Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull)*  
*may be maruailed at, concerning this little*  
*book: <sup>2</sup>as namely, first, why I haue pub-*  
*lished it, confidering the great number of*  
*Books, either of the same, or verie like*  
*Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,*  
*wherfore I haue dedicated it rather vnto<sup>3</sup>*  
*you then to anie other. For the first, I*  
*protest before God, who knoweth the secrets*  
*of all hearts, I haue not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or*  
*<sup>4</sup>gaines, nor yet for any other priuate respect of my owne whatsoeuer;*  
*but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good*  
*friends, and alliance also, who yet being liuing, & the onely man that*  
*hath borne the whole charges of the impresson thereof, both can, & I*  
*know will (if need should require) iustifie the same against any that*  
*shold <sup>5</sup>auerre the contrarie. And for the second, when I considered*  
*with my selfe how much bound I haue alwaies beene to your worship*

<sup>1</sup> sign. ¶ 3.

<sup>2</sup> sign. ¶ 3, back.

<sup>3</sup> vnso orig.

<sup>4</sup> sign. ¶ 4.

<sup>5</sup> sign. ¶ 4, back.

*uer since the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you haue euer conceiued of me, & sundrie other your courtesies shewed towards me, far beyond my deserts or expectation: As also when I called to remembrance your feruent zeale which you haue euer born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indeuour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life thereafter: Briefly, when I remembered your maruailous humilitie & lowliness of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlenesse, and affability, your<sup>2</sup> rare continencie and integritie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembered these things, with many mo, I doe no lesse (hauing so fit an occasion giuen me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your<sup>3</sup> worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible testimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwil and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I haue not studied to be curious), it may seeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre vnworthy to bee<sup>4</sup> exhibited, to so wise, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heauenly and diuine, I most humbly beseech you to accept thereof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde vnder the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disdain. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest vnthankfull to you to the death) will not cease also to pray to God for you. And thus I most humbly take my leaue. From my*

*<sup>6</sup> Chamber, this present  
tenth of Aprill.*

1592.

Your Worthips in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

<sup>1</sup> sign. ¶ 5.

<sup>4</sup> sign. ¶ 6, back.

<sup>2</sup> sign. ¶ 5, back.

<sup>5</sup> sign. ¶ 7.

<sup>3</sup> sign. ¶ 6.

<sup>6</sup> sign. ¶ 7, back.

<sup>1</sup>Precepts at thy going forth  
*of thy Chamber.*



WHEN thou goest forth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou hast anie), giuing him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for ciuillitie requireth it). And when thou comcest into the preface of thy Parents, not onely salute them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, <sup>2</sup>and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou hast so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

Meditations in the washing  
*of ones face and hands.*



AS y<sup>e</sup> filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by y<sup>e</sup> element of water; so is my <sup>3</sup>bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghost, but also am sealed vp to eternall saluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

<sup>4</sup>A praier to be said at the wa-  
*shing of ones face & hands.*



Most gracious God, and louing Father, who hast giuen thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to suffer death vpon the Crosse for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee, for his sake, that as this my bodie is now washed

<sup>1</sup> sign. C 4.

<sup>2</sup> C 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> C 5.

<sup>4</sup> C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, so my body and foule maie both bee purified & purged from all vnclenneffe and filthinesse of sinne, thorow the efficacie of thy sonne his most precious blood. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren. . . . .

Directions how a Christian  
*should behaue himselfe at*  
the Table.

**W**hen thou comcest to the Table, shew all obeyfance and curtesie, behauing thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much insatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee seasoned with salt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie giue grace to the hearers, remembering that wee must giue accounts at the daie of iudgement for euerie idle word. Use not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or <sup>1</sup>detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor giue either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, giue God thanks as followeth.

A Thank-giuing to God  
*after dinner.*

**M**ost holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thanks in <sup>2</sup>the name of Iesus Christ for all thy benefites and blessings in mercy bestowed vpon mee euer since I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praise thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, so now presentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beseeching thee to feede my soule likewise with the

<sup>1</sup> sign. D.

<sup>2</sup> sign. D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou hast giuen vnto mee the vse of these <sup>1</sup>earthly creatures in great meafure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to giue vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. . . . .

<sup>2</sup>A Thanks-giuing to God  
*before Supper.*



**A**ther of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heavenly palace vpon vs thy humble seruants, albeit most wretched and miserable sinners: sanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strength to nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seest to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praie thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall *Manna* of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or excesse. Remember that nature is satisfied with a little; and what is more then will suffice nature is superfluous; and one daie thou shalt be accomptable for it to the great Iudge of all the earth. Thy body beeing satisfied, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesse thee, & multiplie thy store. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwise, as the spirit of God shall illuminate thy heart.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sign. D 2.

<sup>2</sup> sign. D 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> Ends D 6, front.

<sup>1</sup>A Thank-giuing to God  
*after Supper.*



H Lord our God, most gracious & holy father, we render all praise & thank-giuing to thy soueraigne maiesty, for all thy benefites and blessinges so plentifully bestowed vpon vs. And namelie<sup>2</sup> we thanke thee (holy father) for these thy good creatures, which thou hast at this present in full measure giuen vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankfull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulnesse, for Iesus Christ his sake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithfull seruants, and bring vs to euerlasting life in thy good time, for thy great mercies sake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behai-  
*our after supper.*



THe rest of the time after Supper, vntill thou goest to bedde, <sup>3</sup>spend with thy familie, either in singing of Psalmes and spirituall songs, singing and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conferring, reasoning, disputing, and talking of the word of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the same. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole housholde together in some conuenient place, make publike confession of your sinnes to God the Father, craue <sup>4</sup>pardon and forgiuenesse for Iesus Christs sake, and praie for grace to bee able to resist sin hereafter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, reuoluing with thy selfe these and the like things following.

<sup>1</sup> D 6, back.    <sup>2</sup> especially.    <sup>3</sup> D 7, back.    <sup>4</sup> sign. D 8.

Meditations when thou comest  
into thy chamber.



When thou art come into thy chamber, call to <sup>1</sup>thy remembrance what euill thou hast committed that daie past, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and hast not done. If thou hast seene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praie for grace to follow it. If againe thou hast seene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy selfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele <sup>2</sup>downe by thy bed side, confesse thy sins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, and praie to him to protect thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghostly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy selfe. 'Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglesome carkaffe doe I beare about with me, that for very shame <sup>3</sup>had neede to bee couered with garments!' Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignitie (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were giuen thee for verie necessitties sake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason hast thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou <sup>4</sup>canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righteoufnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou puttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, so shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou risest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy <sup>5</sup>body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When sleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

<sup>1</sup> D 8, back.

<sup>2</sup> sign. E.

<sup>3</sup> sign. E 1, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. E 2.

<sup>5</sup> sign. E 2, back.

A Prayer when sleepe com-  
meth vpon one.



Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of change, seeing thou hast appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the <sup>1</sup>night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my bodie hath beene occupyed and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receiue by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I haue to liue, to the praise and glorie of thy blessed name: and in this my sleepe defend mee, I beseech thee, from all perilles <sup>2</sup>and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleasure to make my soule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare sonne Iesus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phanta<sup>3</sup>sticall apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemie, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie suggestions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my soule, resting vnder thy diuine protection, may be safe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoever, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iesus Christ, my onelie Sauour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com<sup>4</sup>mitting both thy bodie and soule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets<sup>5</sup> closetts and priuie chambers of thine heart, search euery place, and ransacke euerie corner; and if thou findest anie filthinesse or vncleannesse therein (as indeed thou shalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus <sup>6</sup>with thy selfe; ‘ My bed dooth represent vnto me my

<sup>1</sup> sign. E 3.

<sup>2</sup> sign. E 3, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. E 4.

<sup>4</sup> secretest? or secret

<sup>5</sup> E 4, back.

<sup>6</sup> E 5.

graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, where-withall I shall shortlie be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eat and consume the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare, <sup>1</sup>thinke thus; 'As now the morning cometh on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselfe at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the founding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoeuer, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell found, saying, 'Arise, you dead <sup>2</sup>and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praie to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes  
*out of sleepe.*



Mercifull father, grant that as thou hast now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall sleepe, so thou wilt also vouchsafe to raise me vp from the sleep of sin, and in the general resurrection of all <sup>3</sup>flesh, to eternall life, thorow Iesus Christ my only Sauour & Redeemer. . . . .

<sup>4</sup>Christian directions for the Morning.



When thou hast attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pomposly, nor proudly, goe forth of thy <sup>5</sup>chamber, and if thou beest a master of a househoulde, call thy familie together, confesse your finnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to resist sinne hereafter, praye God for all his benefites and blessings in mercie bestowed vppon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to proteçt you that day, and to blesse all your workes and labours. And finally, desire him

<sup>1</sup> E 5, back.

<sup>2</sup> E 6.

<sup>3</sup> E 6, back.

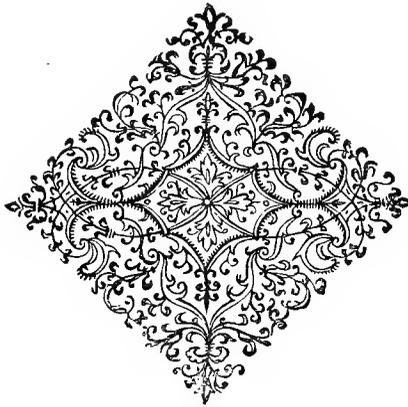
<sup>4</sup> on sign. F 3.

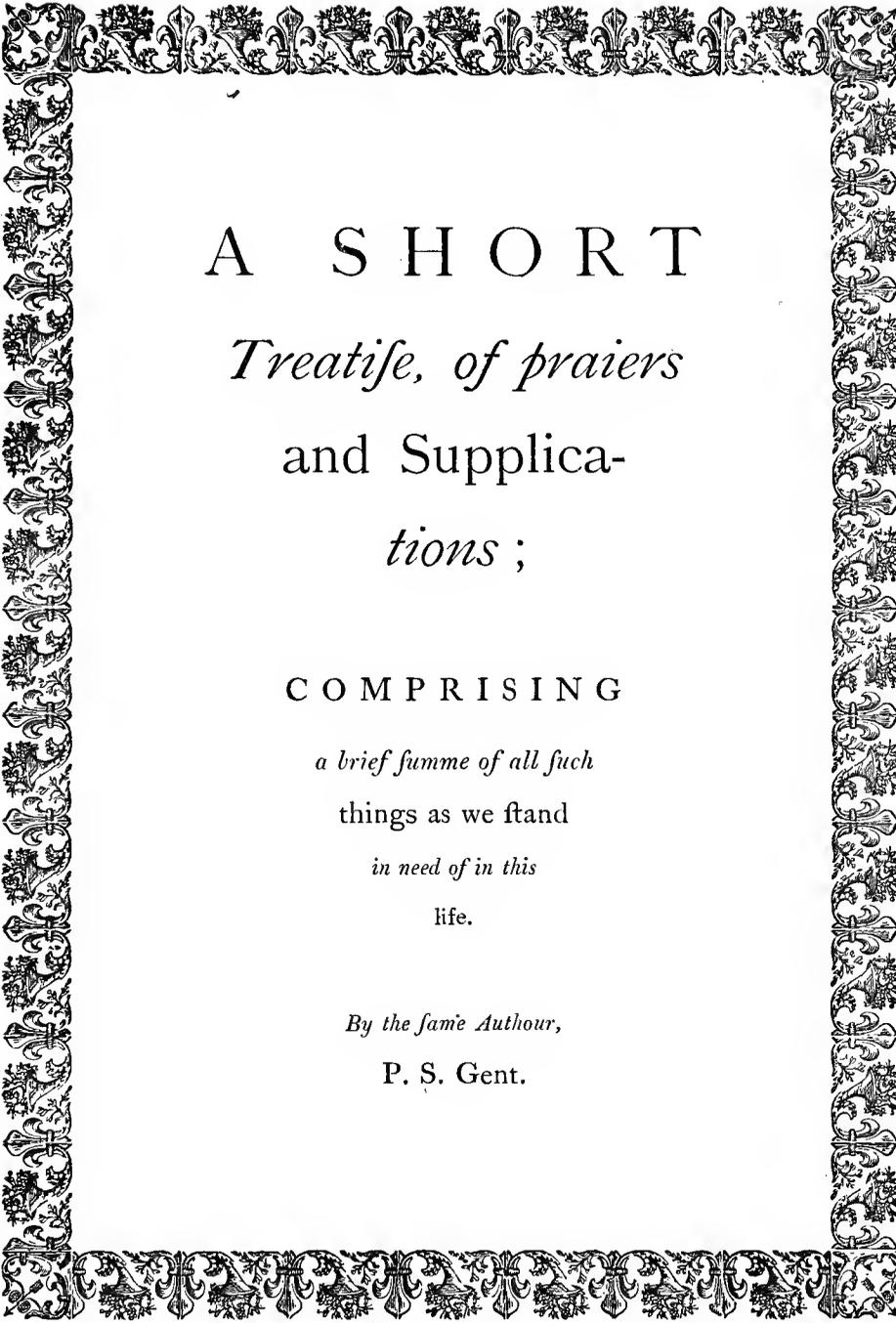
<sup>5</sup> F 3, back.

<sup>6</sup> sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghostly whatfoeuer, and to bring you to euerlasting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iesus Christ. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with single eie and good conscience, to the praise of him that made thee; being assured that as in mercie hee will not leaue the least <sup>1</sup> good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; so in iustice hee will not leaue the least euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iesus our Sauour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghost our Comforter and Sanctifier, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praise, dominion & thanksgiuing for euermore. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> F 4, back.





A S H O R T

*Treatise, of prayers*  
and Supplica-  
*tions ;*

C O M P R I S I N G

*a brief summe of all such*  
things as we stand  
*in need of in this*  
life.

*By the same Authour,*

P. S. Gent.

<sup>1</sup>A Praier for the Queenes  
Maiestie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh <sup>2</sup>king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchesafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the same thy seruant, our souereigne Ladie and gouerneffe. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy <sup>3</sup>holie spir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to y<sup>e</sup> setting forth of thy glorie, y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduancement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a seruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatsoeuer is defectiue or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the <sup>4</sup>true & sincere discipline & government of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papists, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatsoeuer. Giue her godlie, wise, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling according to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, <sup>5</sup>and we her subiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back.    <sup>2</sup> sign. G 7.    <sup>3</sup> G 7, back.  
<sup>4</sup> sign. G 8.    <sup>5</sup> G 8, back.

A Prayer for a Competent &  
*a necessary liuing.*

**O** Lord our GOD, most gracious & holie father, <sup>1</sup>whose loue towards men in Christ Iesus is infinite and vnspokeable, & whose tender care ouer him is such, that thou hast promised that whosoever beleueth in thee, dependeth vppon thy prouidence, and seeketh his reliefe at thy blessed handes, shall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for soule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy sielie creature, of my selfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse <sup>2</sup>it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iesus Christ his sake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a necessarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppressè mee not, nor that I be not drawn to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the maintenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) blessè my store, and replenish my basket with thy <sup>3</sup>blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my selfe in the exercise & practise of good workes, to the reliefe of them that haue neede, and the setting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen. . . .

<sup>4</sup>A praier to be said of those  
*that be vnmarried.*

**H** Lord our God, in as much as thou hast commaunded in thy blessed word, the word of truth, that wee, abstayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleannesse, should keepe our vesselles in holinesse, and not in y<sup>e</sup> filthy lusts of the flesh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee ther<sup>5</sup>fore to giue mee grace to perform this thy most holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleannesse. And because, O Lord, chastitie of the bodie

<sup>1</sup> sign. H 6.<sup>2</sup> sign. H 6, back.<sup>3</sup> sign. H 7.<sup>4</sup> sign. K 2, back.<sup>5</sup> K 3.

is nothing, without the continuencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I beseech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart; that I, banishing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of <sup>1</sup>my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & soule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & strength of the pretious blood of Iesus Christ, Amen.

A Prayer to bee said  
of those that be  
maried.

**H**oly Father, wee are taught by thy sacred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after <sup>2</sup>thou hadst created all things, the last of all other *thou* createdst man, & woman of a rib of his side, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy blessing, saying: 'Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth:' I giue thee most humble & hartly thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to call me to the honorable state of mariage. And I most heartily beseech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of <sup>3</sup>our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy sake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielouie, hatred, malice, and contention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate together, and become, as it were, but one bodie; so vouchsafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doues, we may liue together in chastitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, <sup>4</sup>without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to bleesse vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in such holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requirest of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy blessing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt <sup>5</sup>and

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 3, back.

<sup>2</sup> sign. K 4.

<sup>3</sup> sign. K 4, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. K 5.

<sup>5</sup> sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praife & glorie of thy blessed name, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, to whom be praife and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be said of  
*those that be masters*  
of houfholds.



Hou hast commanded (oh gracious Lord God) by thy blessed Apostle, *that* masters <sup>1</sup>hould intreate their seruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitternesse and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iustice, knowing *that* thou art our common master in heauen: graunt me grace, therefore (good Lord), so to order my seruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterpriſe anie vnrighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and <sup>2</sup>master of vs all, and respectest no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteoufnesse and holinesse in conuersation, that they and I together, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlasting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

<sup>3</sup>A Prayer to be said of  
*seruants.*



Lord our GOD, seeing thou hast ordayned fundry degrees and states of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed <sup>4</sup> mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beseech thee, to serue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy blessed will, not with eye seruice as <sup>5</sup> studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singlensse of heart, as seeking to glorifie thee: being thorowlie perswaded that in seruing them, I serue thee, and of thee shall receiue my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 6.

<sup>2</sup> K 6, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. K 7.

<sup>4</sup> Appointest, *orig.*

<sup>5</sup> sign. K 7, back.

my selfe faithfully, iustlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to enrich my selfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueying anie thing from anie man by any sinister practice <sup>1</sup>whatsoever; but so to behaue my selfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my saluation in Christ Iesus sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen. . . . .

<sup>2</sup>A Prayer in the time of  
Pestilence.

**IT** is no marueile, O most righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, sometime with earthquakes, sometime with tempests & lightnings, sometimes with ouerflowing <sup>3</sup>of Seas & Riuers, sometime with pestilent concourses of the heauenlie lights, and sometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that euen in this case also the creatures serue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect so oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from <sup>4</sup>the trust of this world with gentle correction, and drawest vs to the desire of the euerlasting life. We humbly beseech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and fauorable to withdrawe the afflictions which thou hast laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of y<sup>e</sup> pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our selues from the infection of sinne. But both those things are of thy gift, O <sup>5</sup>Father of mercie, namely, as well to haue our mindes free from the poyson of sinne, as to haue our bodies safe from y<sup>e</sup> infection of y<sup>e</sup> plague. Such as haue fastened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to such shifts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and some to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully persuaded that no <sup>6</sup>man can escape thy hand

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 8.

<sup>2</sup> On sign. T 5.

<sup>3</sup> sign. T 5, back.

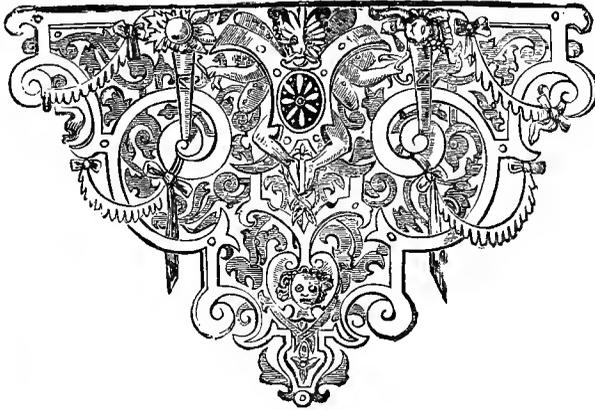
<sup>4</sup> sign. T 6.

<sup>5</sup> sign. T 6, back.

<sup>6</sup> sign. T 7.

beleue there is no such safetie as to resort to thy selfe, and to flie from thy iustice to thy mercie, as to the surest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forsakeest them that put their trust in thy goodnesse; vnder whose protection, euen they that dye are safe. To thee therefore bee praise for euermore, Amen.

FINIS.



<sup>1</sup>A praier to be faid of all fuch  
as be maieſtrates and rulers in  
the common wealth.



Orasmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternal God, ruler of all kinges and <sup>2</sup>kingdoms, to constitute and appoint me (though altogether unworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my foueraigne, I beseech thee, giue me grace, so to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may iudge iustly<sup>3</sup>, neither fauoring <sup>4</sup>the rich nor mightie for desire of gifts, nor yet dispising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the aduancement of thy holie word, and Gotpell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that sweete haruest song<sup>5</sup>, 'well, good seruant, thou hast bene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord'. Oh Lord, let it be so, for Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

<sup>2</sup> sign. H.

<sup>3</sup> Compare 2 *Henry IV*, Act V. sc. i. :—

*Davy.* I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

*Shal.* There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

*Davy.* I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir; but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

*Shal.* Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy.

[*Exit Davy.*]

<sup>4</sup> H 1, back.

<sup>5</sup> sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

## NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: *whose gawld backes are tuted.* "But what o' that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it *touches* vs not: let the *gall'd* iade winch: our withers are vnrunge." *Hamlet*, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, *Trag.* p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, *veluers*; p. 32, *velvet*.—Cotgrave distinguishes between *velvet* and *velure*: "*Velours*: m. Veluet . . . *Tripe de Velours*, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. *Tripe*: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;" and as Harrison says that wool was used for *vellures*, the stuff must have been a kind of 'velvet-pile cloth' like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. 'Velveteen' and 'cotton velvet' have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also *velours* in silk, cotton and wool (Littre):—

"In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath bene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, *vellures*, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie" (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

"at Westminster . . . the bragging *velure*-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o' the tilters had ridden 'em." 1607. Webster & Dekker's *Northward Ho*, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of *Webster's Works*, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On *Canions*, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of *velvet*, *velure*, Mr Henry Nicol says:—"The second *v* of *velvet* is an alteration of *w* (*velwet*, Promptorium), and this of *u* (*feluet* Launfal—misprinted in Stratmann *felvet*—*veluet*, Chaucer). That the *u* of Mid. E. *veluet* formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co|uered it | with *ve|tu-et|tes* blew|e

(*Squire's Tale*, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling *velowetys*. Mid. E. *veluet* comes from Old Fr. *veluet* (Roquefort—who misprints *velvet*), also spelt *velluet* (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as *velluetum*. *Veluet* corresponds to a hypothetical Latin *villütium*, being a diminutive of Fr. *velu*, hypothetic Lat. *villütum* (Ital. *velluto*, Span. *velludo*), which shows the usual Fr.

loss of Lat. single *t* between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. *villus*. Another diminutive of *velu* is Old Fr. *vellueau* (Roquefort, with quotation), later *veluau* and *veluyau*, latinised *velludellum*, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. *villütellum*.

"E. *vellure* (Shakspeare *velure*, Cotgrave—probably by misprint—*valure*) is probably Early Mod. Fr. *veleure* (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag'; so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either *velëure* (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villätüram*, with the common Fr. suffix, or *veloure* (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villöram*, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. *vellora* ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. *vellure* existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. *velëure*, as if from *veloure* it would have been *vellour* in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. *veloure* had become *veleure*, either F. form (with *eu* = Late Mod. F. *eu*, or *eu* = Late Mod. F. *u*) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. *vellure* comes from Mod. Fr. *velours*, as the *s* of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. *Velours* is a Mod. form for Old Fr. *velous*, which is Lat. *villösium* (Ital. *veloso*, Span. *veloso*); Froissart's *velus* is possibly influenced by *velu*, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with *Lus*. The Mod. Burgundian *veleur*, *velor*, quoted by Littré, is probably *velours* in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. *veleure*; an exactly parallel example of inserted *r* in the termination *ous* is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch *jaloersch* ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. *jalous* for *jalousx* (Lat. *vëlösium*)."

p. xii: *the inferiour* sorte onely. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. i. *Anatomic of Abuses*. Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie: Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayes to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoyckall austeritie." . . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. *Hazlitt's Handbook*. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of *No-Body and Some-Body*, 1606, printed in Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, purse-cutting, &c.

p. i. *Abuses*.—See in S. Rowlands's *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

"*Certaine common abuses*

**A** Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,  
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne:  
A common seller, and a common buyer,  
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made  
 A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade :  
 A<sup>1</sup> common Thiefe, in Newgate common Iayle,  
 Of Tyborne common hie-way cannot fayle :  
 A common Vag'rant, should by law be stript,  
 And by a common Beadle soundly whipt :  
 A common Scould, her furious heate must coole :  
 Wash'd by her dining in a Cucking stoole :  
 A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaue,  
 Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue ;  
 A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,  
 A common Companyon<sup>2</sup> for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his *Looke to it : for Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11 : *who so sitteth at home*. Cp. Shakspeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1 :

"Home-keeping-youth, haue ener homely wits.  
 Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes  
 To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,  
 I rather would entreat thy company  
 To see the wonders of the world abroad,  
 Then (liuing dully sluggardiz'd at home)  
 Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. *A plesant & famous Iland*. Cp. Shakspeare in *Rich. II*, "This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, *Hist.* p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c. ; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to *Harrison*, Parts I and II, and *Harrison*, I. p. 221, &c. ; my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour \* \* \* with his *Taratantara*. Extract from Luther's *Danger of delaying Repentance* quoted in the *Philobiblion*, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: *Poumerle poump ! poumerle poump ! pliz ! plus ! schmi ! schmir !*<sup>3</sup> This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, *poumerle poump !* This will be the war-cry and the *taratantara* of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: *Kir ! Kir ! poumerle poump !*" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2 : *two kindes of sinne*. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres : outhier it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne ; and venial synne is, if a

<sup>1</sup> *Orig.* Of. <sup>2</sup> Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on.

<sup>3</sup> *schmi, schmir !* in the *Philobiblion*. Perhaps it should be *schmi schmu !* like *poumerle poump l—S.*

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amensith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. *Pride . . . the verie efficient cause of all euils.* "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certain braunches: as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueitise, to commune vnderstandynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. *Pride is tripartite.* Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—1. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leafsel (*portico, verandah*) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the *Parson's Tale*, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. *Pride, &c.*—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical.'"—*Secondhand-book Catalogue*.

p. 29. *Dame Nature.* "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. *Other nations dress.* Compare in Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our apparel we were neuer nyce; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do neuer chaunge,' p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions,' p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashions to Englund I do bequeue; I am content with my meane aray,' p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable,' p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

p. 31. *Pride & Luxury in England.*

“Who can endure to see  
The fury of men's gullets and their groins?  
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?  
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?  
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,  
And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature  
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?  
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family  
To see her eat?”

1625.—Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III. ii. *Works*, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: *new fangles*:—“*Cilecchi*, iests, toyes, new fangles.” 1598 Florio. *Worlde of Wordes*.

p. 33. *English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles*: see *Harrison*, I. ? In *The Three Ladies of London*, by R. W., 1584, *Hazlitt's Dodsley*, vi. 276, Lucre speaks thus of English exports and imports there:—

“Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.

Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and everything:

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,  
As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets withal,

For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to stall:

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable  
That is slight, pretty, and pleasant: they care not to have it profitable.

And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree,  
You must say ‘jet will take up a straw: amber will make one fat:’

Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,’

So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware,  
And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear.”

\* \* \* \* \*

*Lucre*. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye  
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey;

Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,

For you know in this country 'tis their chiefest request.

*Mercatore*. Indeed, de gentlewomans here by so much vain toys,  
Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys.”

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, *Hazlitt's Dodsley*, vi. 306.

‘*Triquedondaines*: f. All kind of superfluons trifles vsed, or vsually bought, by women; hence, any trash, nifes, or paltrie stuffe.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer:—“The hard times are slowly and surely working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. *Fewer velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimcracks* are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact."—*Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States' Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: *farrefetcht and deare boughte is good for Ladies* :—*"Mendoza*. What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some *far-fet trick good for ladies*, some stale-toy or other, no matter so 't be of our devising."—Marston & Webster's *Malcontent*, V. ii., Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes *far-fet*, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, "*Far-fet is good for ladies*." So in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, Act IV. sc. i, "Marry, and this may be *good for us ladies*; for it seems 'tis *far-fet* by their stay." See my *Tell-Troth*, p. 6, l. 7, & *Stafford*, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 33, 'far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.' Again :—

"*Mineuer*. God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

*Sir Vaughan*. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

*Mineuer*. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath enery one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

*Sir Vaughan*. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

*Mineuer*. For I ha some things that were *fetcht* (I am sure) as *farre* as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were *good for Ladies*." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer's use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. *Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.*

The pride of England "And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too-late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The carter and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy <sup>ploughman exceed-</sup>eth in pride him that is not of the fashion; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness: the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein." 1596.—J. Norden, *Progress of Piety* (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?):—"where in those days [Henry VI's] Farmers and their wives were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere government, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altdred: the Husbandman will be equal to the Yoman, the Yoman to the Gentleman, the Gentleman to the Squire, the Squire [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, euery one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake." 1607.—John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue*, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: *his wife her perswasions*. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of *Tell Troth* New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: *some are so brasen faced & so impudent, &c.* Cf. *Two Gen. of Ver.*, II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia's round hose), and *Much Ado*, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: *in leather*. Compare *Edward III*, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspere, p. 1044, col. 1: "Since *leathern* Adam till this youngest hour."

p. 39, l. 7: *it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of*.

"Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them;  
 What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them;  
 For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,  
 He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.  
 In thy Apparell be something clenly,  
 Though in thy purse thou hast neu'r a penny:  
 Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,  
 And a farther grace happily gine thee.  
 Doe not seeme bace, though penillesse thou art;  
 But looke about, of whom to get a part."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: *what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c.* Compare Chancer's *Gentleness* in Scogan's Poem in Thynne's Chancer, lf. 380, bk. col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1; Morris's, vol. vi, p. 296.

"This firste stoke was ful of rightwisnesse,  
 Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free,  
 Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse,  
 Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste;

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he,  
 He nis not gentille, thouhe him riché seme,  
 Al were he mytre, corone, or diademe."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

ἀγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ  
 Κάν' Ἀιθιοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενῆς ἔφην

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—"Stemmata quid faciunt?" and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspeare's *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson's *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

p. 43, l. 14: *tagge and ragge*. Compare John Partridge in *The Worthie Historie of . . . Placidus*, 1566, "To walles they go, both *tagge and ragge*, Their cite to defende," and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.

p. 44. *Pride & Apparell*.—See Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (*Works*, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on *Pride*, as shown "in superfluite of clotheynge" in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particolour'd hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also *Piers Plowman*, Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, &c.

p. 49, l. 5: *abhorring the christian povertie, &c.*

"Be rich, I say; nay boy, be rich and wise!  
 Gold is an actious [so] mettle for the eyes.  
 Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,  
 And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare;  
 Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,  
 And many cheates, that come by many chances;  
 Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,  
 And twentie other such kind of matters.  
 While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,  
 May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,  
 And euery morning wash his face with teares,  
 And wipe his blubbered cheekes with sheualed heares.  
 It is a heaunie sence, where coyne is wanting;  
 At such a time of care, friends are scanting."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: *liquide matter which they call Starch*. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, "the first inventress of *yellow Starch* was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at *Tyburn*; and with her I believe that *yellow Starch*, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral."—*Epistolæ Ho-Eliaana*, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line : *if they stand uppon their pantoffles.* See notes in *Tell Troth* on p. 55, last line.—S.

MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; *Father Hubbard's Tales* at the end of Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.* Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his "*A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing vnto vs the enuied state of our flourishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreame vices of this present time, &c. &c.*" by W. A." he makes "The Bellie" say (sig. B. I & 2):—

"Why, had euer Premethheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion: to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, *O tempora, o mores!* To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for show of grautie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that cullour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatnes, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as strait as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men."

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs. 3. "Artificiall Allurements," p. 295 of edition 1676:—

"Women are bad, & men worse; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. *Good manners* (as *Seneca* complains) *are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hęc vir,* more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, 'Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiũ inseritur'; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed."

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and *Shakspeare*, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, 'many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,' &c. Also in *Histrio-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (*School of Shakspeare*, ii. 47):—

“*We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,  
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs.*”

See too in ‘A Supplycacyon to . . . Kynge Henry the Eyght,’ 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52): “Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and comfote of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hooode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon; than the Italian fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consuminge of substaunce . . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede.” See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: *one sute for the forenoone, &c.* See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: *hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.*

“Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)  
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,  
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,  
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:  
(All are become a stiffe-necked generation)  
Rose Hat-hands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:  
Great Cabbage-shoestrings (pray you bigge enough)  
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it:  
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it).  
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,  
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kills)  
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,  
This, *Harts* most humbly, and his fellowes, begs.”

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, *The Knaue of Harts* (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaynd is describd in Rowlands's *More Knaues yet?* (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5):—

“ . . . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,  
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,  
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,  
Which somewhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

<sup>1</sup> See the extract from Howes, in *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 31\*.

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech  
 For the great large abhominable breech  
 Like Brewers Hopsackes : yet, since new they be,  
 Each knave will haue them, and why should not wee?  
 Some Laundresse we also will entreate  
 For Bands and Ruffes . . . .  
 Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .  
 . . . . . hats of newest blocke” . .

p. 50. *Hat & feathers, &c.*

“His *hat*, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,  
 Faire outward show, and little wit within.  
 And all the band with *feathers* he doth fill,  
 Which is a signe of a fantastick still,  
 As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore  
 A goate<sup>1</sup> doth stand before a brothell dore.  
 His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,  
 His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared.”

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.* Works, 1856, iii. 223-4 : see p. 216 too.

p. 51: *feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs.* The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his *Father Hubbards Tales*, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. “At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut ; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,<sup>2</sup> according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep<sup>3</sup> as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

<sup>1</sup> The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v : T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604 : “apparelled in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the *wings* and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts.” ‘Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.’ Whalley's note on B. Jonson's *Works*, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

<sup>3</sup> ‘They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.’ 1604.—T. M., *Blacke Booke*. Dyce's *Middleton*, v. 524.

them; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would outreach a thousand acres: moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose<sup>1</sup> in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,<sup>2</sup> that his back-part seemed to us like a monster; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence,<sup>3</sup> stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,<sup>4</sup> which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embossed] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself: 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure; nor those no hangers for Derrick'; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration: upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand!' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle<sup>5</sup> that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accounted in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."—T. M. *The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubburds Tales, 1604.*

"Asper . . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,  
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,  
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

<sup>1</sup> breeches.    <sup>2</sup> galligaskins.    <sup>3</sup> See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.

<sup>4</sup> "There is no fool to the satin fool, the velvet fool, the perfumed fool; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—*Return from Parnassus*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 184.

<sup>5</sup> 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"*Fastidious Brisk*. . . my gray hobby . . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

*Carlo*. How! the sound of the spur?

*Fast*. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir: a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. i., *Works*, i. 80, col. 2; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2:

"*Fungoso*. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not gingers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour !  
O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599). Induction, *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "*A Pleasaunt Dialogue or Disputa|tion betweene the Cap,| and the Head.*" 1564, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxi.

p. 51, l. 3: *hats without bands ; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.*

" EPIGRAMS. Epig. 27.

Aske *Humors*, why a Feather he doth weare ?  
It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare.  
Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke ?  
Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke ?  
He hath a Humor doth determine so.  
Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go,  
With Scarfe about his necke ? *Hat without band ?*  
It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . .  
Obiect, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season ?  
His Humor answeres : Humor is the reason.  
If you perceiue his wittes in wetting shrunke,  
It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke.  
When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore,  
Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore :  
And euery thing that he doth vndertake,  
It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c. : *dress, & starcht ruffs & rabatos*.—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece<sup>1</sup>, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar : your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it<sup>2</sup> ; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Culs Hornbook*, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

<sup>1</sup> See *Coryat's Crudities* on this. Rowlands makes it Danish :—

"His faces chiefest ornament, is nose,  
Full furnishd with many a Clarret staine,  
As large as any *Codpiece of a Dane*,  
Embossed curious :"

1600.—S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> *Lobado en el cuerpo*, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, *Tuber struma*. 1591. R. Perciual. Spanish Dict. '*Lobado*, m. bunches in the flesh' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlarged *Perciuale*.

244 Notes on pp. 51, 52. *Men's Bands, &c.*

p. 51. *Ruff & Band, &c.* (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.,)

“Behold, at length in London streetes he shows.  
 His *ruffe* did eate more time in neatest setting,  
 Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;  
 It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,  
 When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.  
 Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck;  
 For under that fayre *ruffe* so sprucely set,  
 Appeares a *fall*, a *falling-band* forsooth!  
 O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth!  
 Jesu Maria! How his clothes appeare  
 Crost and recrost with lace! sure, for some feare  
 Least that some spirit with a tippet mace  
 Should with a gastly show affright his face.”

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.*, Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. “*Lambskin.* My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy<sup>1</sup> long together before they were married; then was I born.” 1632.—Wm. Rowley, *A Woman never vexed*, in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note: *Euery peasant hath his stately bands.* See Fairholt's capital quotations in *Hist. of Costume in England*, p. 216, from Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596, and *Euphuus Golden Legacie*, 1592. The first is, “The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit.” See too in *Harrison*, II, 36\*, what Howes says: “men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then fiue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates.” The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3: Greene, in his prose *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27: this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my *Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 101-2.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tear-sheet says of Pistol, in the *Second Part of Henry IV*, “These villains will make the word ‘captain’ as odious as the word *occupy*, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted.” See Nares, edit. 1859 in v.; and Percy Folio MS. *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 29.’

p. 53, l. 4-6: *result of extravagance in dress, &c* :—

“yet take . . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods un-timbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed : then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old.”<sup>1</sup> 1618.—N. Breton, *The Court and Country* (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting ‘Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen,’ by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt’s *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 95; also, *Quips upon Questions*, 1600, sign. G 2.

“*Carlo*.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, ’twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel.” 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. i., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: “Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens.” 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: *shirts*. When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, “I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt” [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: “The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history,” &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the *City Match*:

“Sir, she’s a Puritan at her needle too :  
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,  
And are so learned, that I feare in time  
All my apparell will be quoted by  
Some pure instructor.”

*Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (1590) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: “He again lights me here,—

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<sup>1</sup> “And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place :  
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,  
But let thy profit answer thy expence,  
Least want do proue a wofull patience,  
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,  
‘A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.’”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answers to the same*, p. 7.

246 Notes on pp. 54-6. *Men's Doublets, Canions, &c.*

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had,—cuts my hatband,—and yet it was massy goldsmith's work—cuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers<sup>1</sup> . . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels caught hold of the ruffle<sup>2</sup> of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,—being somewhat a raw morning,—a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

p. 54: *men tender now*.—Cp. *Harrison*, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie . . . altogither of straw," &c.

p. 55. *Dublets with great bellies*. "*Fungoso*. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, *belly* and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. i., *Works*, i. 101, col. 1.

p. 56. *With Canions annexed*.—See the Velure-canonied hobbyhorses, in *Northward Ho*, p. 231 above. "*Canons de Chausses*, Cannions. *Chausses à queue de merlus*. Round breeches with strait cannions; having in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "*Canions* were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and *canyons* to the same," &c.

p. 56: *gally-hosen*; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.

p. 56: *hosen of a Marke price*.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's *Chronicle*, quoted by Fairholt under *hose*, p. 512.

p. 56: *trunk hose*.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other *breeches* than such *sloppes* or *slivings* as now many gentlemen weare:

<sup>1</sup> "The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

<sup>2</sup> The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "*Ruffle* your brow like a new boot." *Ib.* I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackcloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not misliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in generall*. (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

“When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,  
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine  
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,  
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish *slop*.  
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,  
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:  
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,  
The swagg'ring *Sloppe*, is Tarltons clownish hose.”

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from *More Knaves Yet*, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—*Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii, *Works*, i. 18, col. 1.

“And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,  
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,  
And see which harbors most hypocrisie.”

1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 353.

“The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and 'apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes*, 1634, p. 146.

“In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion,  
Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion.”

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, first call'd *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: *nether-stockes*, the stockings, as distinguisht from the *hose*, when the latter became *breeches*. See the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—'The neatherstockes of pure Granada silke,' and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: *shoes*.—See Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 385-7. "*Pinsnet*, apparently the same as *Pinson*, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

248 Notes on p. 58. *Men's Boots and Coats.*

a shoo, *pinson*, socke.—*Withals' Dictionarie*, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. *Pinçon*, *pinçonnet* are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: *boots with wide tops*.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thoo that made any longe *pykys* passynge ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pon the Sondag, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sondag, uppon payne of cursynge. And the kyng grauntyd in a conselle and in the Parlement that hyt shulde be put in execussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe *pykys* whethyr Pope wyлле or nylle, for they sayde the Popy curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make long *pykys*, and causyd tho same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe *pykys* to be trobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of silner and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. *Annales*, p. 471.

p. 58. *Coats, &c.*

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another bnt faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his horse than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, and gave him clothe,<sup>1</sup> and bad him make it himself, for he changed his <sup>English</sup> apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

<sup>1</sup> See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, *Exp. upon Aggeus, Works* (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,  
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were,  
For now I wyl were thys, and now I wyl were that ;  
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—ANDREW BOORDE. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. *Cold charitie to the poore.*

“Wealthye Cittizens.

**Y**OU Cittizens that are of *Diuus* Wealth,  
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,  
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,  
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare :  
Your Dogges are not so kinde to licke their sores,  
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.  
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,  
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,  
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

' For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'  
 Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry :  
 You play with that, for which they pine and die.  
 Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Ile Stabbe ye*, B 2, back ; p. 12, ed. 1872. Compare the corn-hoarder Sordido, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 78 :

" O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.  
 Why, let 'em starve ; what's that to me ? Are bees  
 Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths ? No."

p. 59-61. *Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains.*

The madness of Englishmen in their apparel. " To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks : their cap must be of the French fashion ; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain<sup>1</sup> the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become ! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow ? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman : he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not ? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.*—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported :—

" Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,  
 That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,  
 Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,  
 In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose :

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<sup>1</sup> *Martin chain* : of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. " They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, *Essays*, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,  
Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made :  
Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes hee'le reuel,  
And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, ed. 1874, Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"*Col. Tipto.* . . . I would put on  
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff  
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,  
With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,  
The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set  
With Brabant buttons ; all my given pieces  
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. ii., *Works*, ii. 354, col. 1.

" . . . but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain and sumptuous apparel But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable case !

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Some-times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a Nova placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught : we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom ; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens : would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, *The Nosegay*, in *Early Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. *Cloaks*.—See Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 419.

p. 61. *Boot-hose*.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'foot-mantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has '*Triguhouse* : f. A boot-hose ; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. *Rapiers* : *silver hilts & velvet sheaths*.

"*Brainworm*. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.



*E. Knowell.* Ay, with a *velvet scabbard*, I think.

*Stephen.* Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a *velvet scabbard*, coz, that's flat : I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

*Brai.* At your worship's pleasure, sir : nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

*Stephen.* I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you for it? An it had a *silver hilt*."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx. ; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands :

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day?  
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse?  
Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play?  
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house?  
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,  
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes *Sir Reuell*, furnisht out with Fashion,  
From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe;  
That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation,  
Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so;

Drinke drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship ;  
Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

"*A Fantasticall Knaue.*

S Irra, come hither, I must send you straight  
To diners places, about things of waight :  
First to my Barber, at his Bason signe,  
Bid him be heere to morrow about nine :  
Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere  
About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere :  
My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make  
About the Russet Bootes that I bespake.  
Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand,  
First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band ;  
And point the Feather-maker not to faile  
To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . .  
Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade,  
And know if that my riding sword be made ;  
Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat,  
My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great" . . . .

1613.—S. Rowlands, *A Paire of Spy-Knaues*, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing*, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

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WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS,  
KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his *merualous Combat of Contrarieties*, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says :—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselues most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not ail, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfaying the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

“ Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

“ But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who coming into Syria, and seruing in y<sup>e</sup> Court woulde coure downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which y<sup>e</sup> Assrians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbitrer betweene Iupiter and Iuno,) that there were *In viro, tres amoris vnciae, in femina, nouem*, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discovering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their *bummes*, their great sleeues and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their culloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward showes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouocations, these are the fruites of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so freelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault.” Sign. B 1 & 2. See also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer’s address to his ‘sisters, the women,’ in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (*Sermons*, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): ‘Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that ‘a woman ought to have a power on her head’ . . . But this ‘power’ that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our ‘power’ from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; *far fetched, dear bought*; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the ‘power’ as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks

nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open . . . Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because . . . they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (Latimer's) *Remains*, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"*Tactus* . . . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoe-ties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), *Lingua*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's *Satiromastix*, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"*Sir Francis Ilford* . . . if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women<sup>1</sup> are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 475.

The apparel of women "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I have not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; . . . It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a Maids testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550.—Becon, *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referred to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: '*The Loathsomenesse of Long Haire*; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Steevens's note on *Othello*, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602. *Works*, by Dyce, i. 280.

256 Notes on p. 64. *Women's Face-painting, &c.*

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

“*Proud Gentlewomen.*

YOu gentle-puppets of the proudest size,  
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,  
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,  
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations,  
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade  
To *paint your face*, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe,  
The Moncky wast, the breeching like a Beare ;  
The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe,  
The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare ;  
You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy,  
That with your pride do all the world annoy,  
Ile Stabbe yee.”

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Look to it ; for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

“*The yong woman commeth, married to an old man.*

*The yong woman.* Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth hither : and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides : a faire haire, if it be her owne : a rare face, *if it be not painted* ; a white skinne, if it be not plastered : a full breast, if it be not bolstered : a straitte backe, if it be not helped ; a slender waste, if it be not pinched ; a likely leg, if it be not lined ; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoemakers stockes ; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest.” 1613.—Anthony Nixon, *A Straunge Foot-Post*, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. *Women's coquetry & dress.* — See *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed *Piers Plowman* and wrote the *Epigrams, &c.*, and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and “Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses” [which the writer of *The Pedlers Prophecie* does not].

“Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,  
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,  
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,  
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.  
Rich showes, strange funerals, precious abilliments,  
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,  
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,  
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Earing jewels, jemes, to set out their faces,  
 Chaunge of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine,  
 Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces,  
 With cullours curious, to make the face shine."

'In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire *Valeria of London*," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attyre not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his *non plus*, lost both his custome and the credit of his workmanship" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruccio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, *Bagford Ballads*.

p. 64. *Face-painting*.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspeare, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' 'tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [*Love's Labours Lost*], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his *Sonnets* also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.<sup>1</sup>"—My *Leopold Sh. Introd.* p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"*Maquerelle*. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprighting of eyes, dying of haire, sleeeking of skinnes, blushing of cheekes, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. iv. *Works*, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's *Muses' Elysium* (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., *Works*, 1793, p. 626, col. 1, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

"In which was painting, both for white and red;  
 And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies  
 For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

<sup>1</sup> *Two Gent.* II. i. 55-58: *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; *Hamlet*, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; *Ant. & Cleop.* I. ii. 18; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 101, &c.

p. 67. *women's hair and painted faces.*

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| <p>“These flaming heads with staring<br/>haire,<br/>These wyers turnde like hornes of<br/>ram :<br/>These painted faces which they<br/>weare :</p> | <p>Can any tell from whence they<br/>cam ?<br/>Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned<br/>lyes,<br/>All these new fangeles did<br/>devise.”</p> |
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1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68 : *false hair* :—See Shakspeare, *Love's Labours lost*, IV. iii. 259 ; *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 92-6 ; *Henry V*, III. vii. 60 ; *Sonnets* 68, l. 2-8.

“I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,  
Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire ;  
I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies,  
*The curl'd-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.*

Like Northerne blaste, I breathe my critick aire :  
I am noe Mimyck ape ; I loathe and hate  
Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate.”

? 1611.—W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3 : *cappe*.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine<sup>1</sup> ; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitley says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. 1 (see the note there) :

“Our great heads  
Within this city, never were in safety  
Since our wives wore these little *caps* : I'll change 'em.  
I'll change em straight in mine : mine shall no more  
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake.”

p. 69. *Cawles* :—

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                         |
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| <p>“These glittering cawles of golden<br/>plate,<br/>Wherewith their heads are richlie<br/>dect,<br/>Make them to seeme an angels mate</p> | <p>In judgement of the simple sect :<br/>To peacockes I compare them<br/>right,<br/>That glorieth in their feathers<br/>bright.” (See p. 259, 271.)</p> |
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1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. *Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses* : see the woodcuts above.

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| <p>“This starch, and these rebating props,<br/>As though ruffes<sup>2</sup> were some rotten<br/>house,<br/>All this new pelfe now sold in<br/>shops,</p> | <p>In value true not worth a louse ;<br/>They are his dogs [the Devil's],<br/>he, hunter sharp ;<br/>By them a thousand he doth<br/>warpe.”</p> |
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1595-6.—Stephen Gosson. *Pleasant Quippes*, iv. 253.

<sup>1</sup> “Why, this was moulded on a porringer ;  
A velvet dish : fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy :  
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,  
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap.”—64-7.

<sup>2</sup> See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbes's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by *poking-sticks* :—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
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| <p>‘What lack ye? What lack ye?<br/>         What is it you will buy?<br/>         Any points, pins, or laces,<br/>         Any laces, points or pins?<br/>         Fine gloves, fine glasses,<br/>         Any busks or masks?<br/>         Or any other pretty things?’</p> | <p>Come, cheap<sup>1</sup> for love, or buy for money.<br/>         Any coney, coney-skins,<br/>         For laces, points, or pins?<br/>         Fair maids, come choose or buy.<br/>         I have pretty <i>poking-sticks</i>,<br/>         And many other tricks;<br/>         Come, choose for love, or buy for money.”</p> |
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1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to *Captain Cox or Laneham's Letter*, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in *Harrison*, II, 34\*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: *wanton Sempronians*.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbes was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: '*libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sæpius peteret quam peteretur*.'—*Catalina*, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: *ruffs*.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"*Maquavelle*. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare *falling bands*; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane *fall* is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your *falling band* requires no poting stickes to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, V. iii. *Works*, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbes's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cooke.

" \* \* \* for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. *Women's fashions*.—"1611. Wm. Goddard. A| Satire|call Dialo|gve or a shar|plye-invectiue conference, be|tweene *Alexander* the great, and| that true|ye woman-hater *Diogy|nes*. *Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all| such*

<sup>1</sup> Bargain, deal: A. Sax. *ceapian*.

gentlewomen as are not alto[gether Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.)

[sign. E, back] "The gossiping vvives complaint  
against hir riche churlishe husband . . . .

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
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| <p>"Two things I loue; two vsuall thinges they are;<br/>The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue to weare,<br/>Newe tires, newe ruffes; I, and newe gesture too:<br/>In all newe fashions, I doe loue to goe.<br/>The second thing I loue, is this, I weene,<br/>To ride aboute to haue those newe cloathes seene:<br/>At cu'rye gossiping I am at, still,<br/>And ever wilbe, maie I haue my will,<br/>For, at ons owne howse, praie, who is't can see<br/>Howe fyne in newe-found fash'nd tires wee bee?<br/>Vnles our husbandes: faithe! but very fewe!<br/>And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbandes vvewe?<br/>Alas, we vvives doe take but smale delight<br/>Yf none (besides our husbandes) sees that sight.</p> | <p>It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man<br/>Praise this or that attire, that we weare on.<br/>Wee iocond are, and think our selues much graste<br/>Yf we heere some one saie 'faire wenche, faithe, in waste<br/>This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well;<br/>From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell.'<br/>Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes,<br/>Throwes-up the lure which wynnys our verye hartes.<br/>When we are stubbornst, then let men with skill<br/>Rubb'es well with th' oyle of praise; and bend we will,<br/>That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth soften vs soe,<br/>As what ist then, we will not yield vnto?<br/>Meetings and brauerye were my delight."</p> |
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p. 72: starch.—City Night Cap. *Old Plays*, vol. II, p. 309:—

"My chambermaid

Putting a little saffron in her starch,

I most unmercifully broke her head."—*Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.*

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

"Chloe . . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you?

*Cytheris.* O Juno! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puff-wings,<sup>1</sup> and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it? who starches you? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses<sup>2</sup> out of the city." 1601.—Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, IV. i. *Works*, i. 236, col. 2.

<sup>1</sup> "That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up." See p. 241 above.

<sup>2</sup> "This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tire-women, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his *Bartholomew Fair*; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his *Muses' Looking-Glass*. . ."

p. 73-5. *Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c.* The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denouced here, though they were by Latimer :

"I think Mary had not much fine linen ; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal ; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days ; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about ; they were not invented then ; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals ; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time : *Non tortis crinibus*, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially ;' *Non plicatura capillorum*, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. *Remains*, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew ; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, hackes of lathes, and stiffe humbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties ; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34\*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them :—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,  
These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;  
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,  
With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.  
He fisher is, they are his baytes,  
Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. p. 254.

*Fans.* Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,  
To flit away the flisking flies,  
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,  
When heat of summer doth arrise,  
The wit of women we might praise,  
For finding out so great an ease ;

But seeing they are stil in hand,  
In house, in field, in church, in street,

In summer, winter, water, land,  
 In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,  
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,  
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

*Busks.*

The baudie buske that keeps downe flat  
 The bed wherein the babe should breed,  
 What doth it els but point at that  
 Which faine would have somewhat to feede ;  
 Where bellie want might shadow vae,  
 The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,  
 Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,  
 And that by shot they take most harme,  
 When lustie gamesters come in field,  
 I guess buskes are but signes to tell  
 Where launderers for the campe do dwell."  
 1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, p. 255 6.

*Secret coats or stays.*—Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong  
 With bones,<sup>1</sup> with past, with such like ware,  
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,  
 And now they harness gallants are ;  
 Were they for use against the foe,  
 Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay  
 The course that nature doth intend,  
 And mothers often by them slay  
 Their daughters young, and worke their end,<sup>2</sup>  
 What are they els but armours stout,  
 Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout ?"

<sup>1</sup> "*Winifride* . . . Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), *Jacke Drum*, Act IV. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 182.

<sup>2</sup> John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since ; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

"Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernicious beyond imagination ; who thinking a *Slender-waste* a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. *By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath ; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone*

*hoops*, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

“These hoops, that hippes and haunch do hide,  
 And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,  
 As they are now in use for pride,  
 So did they first beginne of paine :  
 When whores in stewes had gotten poxe,  
 This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout  
 Might arses greate at first begin ;  
 And that when pannch of whore grew out,  
 These hoopcs did helpe to hide their sinne ;  
 And therefore tub-tailes all may rue,  
 That they came from so vile a crue.

---

*prison or little-ease ; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse. Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunuchos.*

*Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student ; Demissis humeris esse, vincito pectore, ut graciles fient.*

— *si qua est habitior paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, acaucunt cibum, Tamet si bona est natura, reddunt curvatura junceos.*

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that *Terence* lived. “Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time ; Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone ; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and indecent scituation of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them ; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked.”—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling*, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650

Bulwer also denounces the Absurd, tho’ now happily abandons custom of swathing children in tight bands :—

“We in *England* are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please ; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave.” 1650.—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transform’d ; or, the Artificial Changeling*, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

If barreld bums<sup>1</sup> were full of ale,  
They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne ;  
But yeelding nought but filth and stale,  
No losse it were, if they did burne . . .”

*Aprons.*

“ These aprones white of finest thrid,  
So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,  
So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,  
So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought ;  
Were they in worke to save their cotes,  
They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,  
They set up whites, and shew the pinne ;  
It may be, aprones are like tricks,  
To teach where rovers, game may winne.  
Brave archers soone will find the marke,  
But bunglers hit it in the darke.”

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*. Hazlitt's *E. E. Popular Poetry*, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. *Gown layed with lace, &c.*

“ *Girtred.* . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladie, and I praise God my mother must call me ‘Madam’. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake ! off with this gowne ! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand ! . . I tell you I cannot indure it ; I must bee a lady ! Doe you weare your quoffe with a London licket, your stamen peticoate with two guardes, the buffin *gowne* with the tuff-taffitie cape and the *velvet lace* ? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady ! I like some humors of the City dames well . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good ; to die rich scarlet, black, prety ; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable ; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your mising niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticotes, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it.”  
1605.—Jn. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. *Cost of dress.*—See Rowlands's “ *To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan,*” as to how woods are cut down, and tenants rackt, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his *Knaue of Spades*, ? 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

<sup>1</sup> An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

“ Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes,  
And theyr trappyng trinkets so vayne !  
A bounsing packesadel for the devyll to ryde on,  
To spurre theym to sorowe and payne.”—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. *Parents' neglect of Children, &c.* 265

p. 75. *Parents to blame.* "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behaiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and letting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see: and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to their children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [= Instfull] brutes, these will be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chasting them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spred about in enery quarter,—but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577.—Jn. Northbrooke, *Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c.* (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. *Nether stockes, corked shooes, &c.*

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
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| <p>"These worsted stockes of bravest die,<br/>And silken garters fring'd with gold;<br/>These corked shooes to beare them hie,<br/>Makes them to trip it on the molde:<br/>They mince it with a pace so<br/>strange,<br/>Like untam'd heifers, when they<br/>range.</p> | <p>To carrie all this pelfe and trash,<br/>Because their bodies are unfit,<br/>Our wantons now in coaches dash,<br/>From house to house, from street to<br/>street."</p> <p>1595-6.—St. Gosson, <i>Pleasant Quippes<br/>for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen</i>,<br/>Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.</p> |
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"*Crispinell.* Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

*Tissefew.* Dost not weare high corke shooes—chopines? [Cp. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447.]

*Crisp.* Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."—1605. Jn. Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, III. i. *Works*, 1856, ii. 147.

266 Notes on pp. 77, 78. *Women's Shoes, Scents, &c.*

p. 77, l. 2, *pinsnets*,<sup>7</sup> pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know *pinsnet* except in Stubbes. *Pinson* is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the *Promptorium*, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, *les eschapins*—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards *Pinsons* on her feete."—*Household Ordinances* (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson *hec* pedibromita.e. *dicitur* a per, -*dís*, & brico, & mitos gutta."—*Catholicon*. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"Pedibomita / te. anglice (a pynson)."—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] *Ortus Vocabulorum*. W. de Worde. 1532.

"*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, *osa*."—*Manipulus Vocab.* "Pynson, sho, *caffignon*."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "*Cassignon*: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "*Socatus*. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "*Detrahere soccos alicui*: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, or socke." *Calceo*. To put on shoes, socks, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. *Pomanders*.

"1st. *Boy*. Your only way to make a good *pomander*, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), *Lingua*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix, 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's *English Housewife*, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's *Works*, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—*Lingua*, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: *fragrant Pomanders*. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's *Webster*, ed. 1871, note on the *Malcontent*, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: *droye*.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. *North*.—See Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 42; Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 256."—*Halliwel's Dict.*—S.

p. 78, l. 3: *pussle*.—Compare "Pucelle or *puzzel*, dolphin or dogfish," 1 *Hen. VI*, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "*Puzel* or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish."—Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a *puzell* verie beautifull."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, iii. 545/ 152.—S. "Then, three prety *puzels* az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—*Laneham's Letter*, my ed. p. 23.

p. 78: *naked breasts*.—See *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his *The Devil is an Ass*, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . "since Love hath the honour to approach  
These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft  
And rosy hand."

"Here he grows more familiar in his courtship." "Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands," &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), "Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps."—P. A. D.

"*Bellula*. Let pinching city-dames orecloud their eyes :  
Our breasts lie forth, like conduits of delight,  
Able to tice the nicest appetite.  
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne ?

*Pink*. Madam, not this weake, do what I can."  
? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, *Histrion-Mastix*, Act III. R. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 50.

"Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,  
And call us Night Walkers and Faries,  
Go fumble old *Joan*, and let us alone,  
And never come near our canary's :  
We'll wear our breasts bare,<sup>1</sup> and curl up our hair,

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ebsworth's note is, "The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii. :—

"O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica ?  
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,  
Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica," etc.

'Thus rendered by H. F. Cary :—

"What wouldst thou have me say ? A time to come  
Stands full within my view, to which this hour  
Shall not be counted of an ancient date,  
When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd  
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare  
Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.\*  
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,  
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge  
Of spiritual or other discipline,  
To force them walk with covering on their limbs.  
But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven  
Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,  
Their mouths were op'd for howling : they shall taste  
Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here)."

<sup>1</sup> After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet "*Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders*."

\* On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people ;  
 But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more,  
 We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodos," To  
 the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collec-  
 tion, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housed in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nose-gays. Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts* (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and always the lesser, the more delicate and precious. . . There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones in *their own bosomes*, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, 1630, 4to, p. 28 :—

"But alas ; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne ? When that *Sex*, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foment of exposed loosenesse ; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even in *their naked Bosomes*, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toys of *Venus* and *Adonis* : which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

'So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii) :—

"These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,  
 and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought,  
 A tempting ware they are, you know,  
 wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc.  
 "These perriwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes,  
 these spangles, chaines and laces all ;  
*These naked paps, the Devils ginnes,*  
 to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall :  
 [He fowler is, they are his nets,  
 Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

'These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee ! I can tell what thou would'st do . . .  
 Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin :  
 For thou thyself hast been a libertine,  
 As sensual as the brutish sting itself :  
 And all the embossed sores and headed evils,  
 That thou with license of free foot hast caught,  
 Would'st thou disgorge into the general world."  
*As You Like It*, Act ii. sc. 7.'

p. 78, l. 7 : *kissing*.—"I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publiquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them." [In Spain they don't do it] "because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion." 1623.—J. Minshew, *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues*, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see *Lusty Iuuentus*, 1550, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii. 85 :—

|                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| "What a hurly-burly is here !<br>Smick smack, and all this gear !<br>You will to tick-tack, I fear,<br>If you had time : | Well, wanton, well :<br>I wis I can tell<br>That such smock-smell<br>Will set your nose out of tune." |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

See Beatrice's protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i ; *Works*, 1856, ii. 144. She's one of Sir Herbert's daughters, and says, "hobby a beautie ! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes ; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lipps as familiarly. Soft skins save us ! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes : I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe," &c. &c. A. D. 1792, "there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her ; the same is practised by the people in general ; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friendship are impressed alike on the lips." H. Meister (Swiss by birth). *Letters on England*, english 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. *Sweet smells of musks, &c.*

"Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,  
 Their waters made of seemely sent,  
 Are lnres of Luste, and farre unmeete,  
 Except where needes they must be spent."

1579.—W. A., *A speciall Remedie against . . lawlesse Love*. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 237.

"*Mercatore*.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack ;  
 For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .

*Gerontus* . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant per-  
 fumes, and many such toys,  
 Wherein I perceive consisteth that country['s] gentlewomen's joys.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196.

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."  
1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :—

“ *What smels sweete ?*

Muske, Cinet, Amber, and a thousand things  
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes :  
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,  
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.  
Faire Women that in bosoms nose-gays weare,  
Kisse bvt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,  
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,  
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well.”

1600.—*Quips upon Questions* . . . By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer : “Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume.”

p. 78-9. *Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.*

“ *Epigram.*

W<sup>H</sup>at feather'd fowle is this that doth approach  
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?  
Three yards of feather round about her hat,  
And in her hand a bable like to that :  
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose ;  
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose <sup>1</sup>,  
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there ?  
Light feather'd stufte befits you best to weare.” (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)

1608.—S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking-Glasse* (Hunterian Club, 1872)

“ **A** Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,  
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine :  
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,  
In her attire an angell of the light.  
Is she an Angell ? I : it may be well,  
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.  
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,  
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.  
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

<sup>1</sup> “ *Tailor.* Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown :

*Grumio.* Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred : I said a gowne.”  
—? 1596-7.—Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224, col. 2.

With branest feathers in the Estridge tayle,  
 She scornes to treade our former proud wiues traces,  
 That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces ;  
 In her conceit it is not faire enough,  
 She must reforme it with her painters stuffe ;  
 And she is neuer merry at the heart,  
 Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.  
 Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,  
 Then home againe ; birladie, she takes paines.  
 My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,  
 If he were loose, would lead a single life."

*The Humors that haunt a Wife* (ib. B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. *Looking-glasses : mirrors in hats, &c.*

"*Amorphus* . . . Where is your page ? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat,<sup>1</sup> as I told you : so !" 1600.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, II. i.

p. 79 : *bracelets, rings, &c.*

"and now, my honie Loue,  
 Will we returne vnto thy Fathers honse  
 And reuell it as brauely as the best,  
 With silken coats and caps, and golden *Rings*,  
 With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things ;  
 With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of bran'ry,  
 With Amber *Bracelets*, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. *Masks, face-painting, &c.*

"Peace, Cynick ; see, what yonder doth approach !  
 A cart ? a tumbrell ? No a badgèd coach.  
 What's in't ? Some man ? No, nor yet woman kinde,  
 But a celestiall angell, faire, refine.  
 The divell as soone ! Her *maske* so hinders me,  
 I cannot see her beanties deitie,  
 Now that is off, she is so vizarded,  
 So steept in lemons juyce, so surphuled,  
 I cannot see her face. Under one hoode  
 Two faces : but I never understood  
 Or saw one face under two hoods till now :  
 'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.  
 Her *maske*, her *vizard*, her loose-hanging gowne  
 (For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

<sup>1</sup> Both sexes wore them publicly ; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts ; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistresses's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall,  
Is all that makes her thus angelicall.

Alas ! her soule struts round about her neck ;

Her seate of sense is her rebato set ;

Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse,

Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse.

Out on these puppets, painted images,  
Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskeries,  
Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright  
That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light !

Away ! away ! hence ! coach-man, goe inshrine

Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline ! ”

599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie. Works*, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. *Visors made of velvet*: Of Masks, Gosson says, *Pleasant Quippes*, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254 :—

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| <p>“ . . on each wight, now are they seene,<br/>The tallow-pale, the browning-bay,<br/>The swarthie-hlacke, the grassie-greene,<br/>The pudding red, the dapple graie,<br/>So might we judge them toyes<br/>aright<br/>To keepe sweet beautie still in<br/>plight.</p> | <p>What else do maskes but maskers show?<br/>And maskers can both dance and play:<br/>Our masking dames can sport, you knowe,<br/>Sometime by night, some time by day:<br/>‘Can you hit it’<sup>1</sup> is oft their<br/>daunce,<br/>Deuse-ace<sup>2</sup> fals stil to be their<br/>chance.”</p> |
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“ *Higgen*. We stand here for an epilogue  
Ladies, your bounties first ! the rest will follow ;  
For women’s favours are a leading alms :  
If you be pleas’d, look cheerly, throw your eyes  
Out at your *masks*.

*Prigg*. And let your beauties sparkle ! ”

1622.—Fletcher. *The Beggars Bush*, Works, i. 231.

p. 81 : *makers of new fashions*.—Compare Massinger, in his *Picture*, 1629-30, Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. 1, Moxon’s ed.—

“ *Eubulus*. . . . There are some of you,  
Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads  
Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done  
More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery,  
Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war  
Or a long famine. All the treasure, by  
This foul excess, is got into the merchant,  
Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor’s hand,  
And the third part of the land too, the nobility  
Engrossing titles only.”

<sup>1</sup> Compare Rosaline: ‘Thou canst not hit it, my good man,’ *L. L. Lost*, IV. ii. ; Ritson’s *Robin Hood*, ii. 213 ; *Wily Beguil’d* (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> A male’s genitals.

p. 81. *Heathen women an example to Christian ones.*

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), *Works* (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. *In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.*—Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quòd superne nimium excautur."—S.

p. 87. *Women's dress: its motive:—*

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress,  
If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail,  
Put not forth ever and anon with your nets  
Abroad into the world? It is your fishing.  
There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady,  
Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters,  
Fetch answers, do you all the offices  
That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87.—*How the day's spent by Women:—*

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes,  
And then againe her Lady-ship<sup>1</sup> doth rise,  
Her Maid must make a fire, and attend  
To make her ready; then for wine sheele send,  
(A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake,  
And counterfeits as if shee could not speake,  
Vntill eleuen, or a little past,  
About which time, euer she breakes her fast;  
Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure,  
And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre.  
At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes,  
Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepees  
Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout;  
And when that lazie humour is worne out,  
She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap,  
Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap)  
Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale,  
Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale,  
Or walke a turne or two about the Hall,  
And so to supper and to bed: heeres all  
This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her!  
But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.<sup>2</sup> . . ."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry*, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

<sup>1</sup> Ironical. She has no title.

<sup>2</sup> See S. Rowlands's sketch of a *Jealous husband*, in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's *Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604, the *Idie-huswife*, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872 :—

“**F**ine, neate, and curious mistris Butter flie,  
 The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,  
 You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why ;  
 Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,  
 Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masseke, your Chaine,  
 Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.  
 You that will call your Husband 'Gull & Clowne,'  
 If he refuse to let you haue your Will :  
 You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,  
 Vnlesse his purse be lanish open still,  
 You that will haue it, get it how he can,  
 Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,  
 Ile Stabbe thee.”

Compare too an older complaint in *The Schole-House of Women*, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 111-112 :—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
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| <p>“ ¶ Wed them once, and then adue,<br/>         Farwel, all trust and huswifery ;<br/>         Keep their chambers, and them<br/>             self mew,<br/>         For staining of their fisnamy<br/>             [complexion],<br/>         And in their bed all day doo lye ;<br/>         Must, once or twise euery week,<br/>         Fain them self for to be sick.</p> <p>¶ Send for this, and send for that ;<br/>         Little or nothing may them please ;<br/>         Come in, good gossip, and keep<br/>             me chat,<br/>         I trust it shall do me great ease ;<br/>         Complain of many a sundry disease ;<br/>         A gossips cup between vs twain,<br/>         Til we be gotten vp again.</p> | <p>¶ Then must she haue maidens two or<br/>             three,<br/>         That may then gossips together<br/>             bring ;<br/>         Set them to labour to blere the eye ;<br/>         Them self wil neither wash ne wring,<br/>         Bake ne brue, ne any thing ;<br/>         Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot,<br/>         Brew of the best in a halfpenny pot.</p> <p>¶ Play who wil, the man must labour,<br/>         And bring to house all that he may ;<br/>         The wife again dooth nought but<br/>             glamour,<br/>         And holde him vp with yea and nay ;<br/>         But of her cup he shall not assay,<br/>         Other she saith, it is to thin,<br/>         Or els, iwis, there is nothing in.” &amp;c.</p> |
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p. 87, l. 10 from foot. *Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sitting at the doore.*—“They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.” Emmanuel van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands*, in Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 72; *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

“*Butler.* I am now going to their place of residence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see *Harrison*, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me ; but ask not for

276 Notes on p. 87. *Shopkeepers' Wives used.*

me, only walk to and fro; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with the *shopkeepers' wives*: they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607. — G. Wilkins, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistress Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress:—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him; and his wife is a proper woman; that she is! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wain-scot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant: her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All things with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable.  
He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,  
To be cald nigard, *cuckold*, cut-throat, knave!"

And in his Satyre I, 1598, *Works*, iii. 215, Marston says:—

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,  
To see such troupes of gallants still resort  
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause  
But chaste Brownetta, Sporo thether draws?"

Machiavelli's *Instructions to his Son* how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject:—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore,  
Let her stand like a picture at thy doore,  
Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends,  
Faire eies, fond lookes, will gaine a world of friends.  
Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie;  
Bid her forbear; her toyle makes thee pittie;  
Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines,  
With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines.  
Play at bo-peepe, see me and see me not;  
It comes off well, that is so closely got;  
And euermore say, 'aye! well fare the vent  
That paie the charges of the house, and rent!  
Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this,  
The finest Dames doth some times do amisse,  
Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede,  
And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede,  
And make great shew of deuoutest praier,  
When she only goes to meete her loue.

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text ;  
 Shee tels him any thing that cometh next ;  
 And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse,  
 Scarse for laughing, one word can rehearse,  
 But prettily turnes it off with some iest :  
 He beares with all ; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,  
 And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,  
 If by her sutors, siluer may be had,  
 Beare with small faults ; the good will help the bad.  
 Be not too seuer, time may mend their faults ;  
 He is a foole, before a cripple haults ;  
 Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,  
 Tis pittie but his cheekes should e're look thin :  
 What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all ;  
 Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall ?  
 This is no world for vertuous men to thrue ;  
 Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliuie.  
 Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie ;  
 Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-seruants be kinde-hearted wenches,  
 And closely make kinde bargins on the benches,  
 Let them haue libertie, lone and pleasure ;  
 All these are helps to bring in thy treasure ;  
 Let them laugh and be merrie ; it yeelds content ;  
 Thei'le humor all, till all their coyne is spent.  
 If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,  
 Winke at a wanton who hath not beene so."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, *ib.* sign. F 2, back :—

"An honest minde in euery trade doth well,  
 The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.  
 Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,  
 Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,  
 To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.  
 Winke at no faults ; it is but misery,  
 By bestiall meanes to releue necessity.  
 If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,  
 That her peenish meanes worke not thy strife ;  
 Giue her not too much lawe, to run before ;  
 Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow ;  
 Yet abridge her not too much by any meane ;  
 But let her still be thy companion.

278 Notes on p. 87. *Parents' Treatment of Children.*

And to thy daughter prone a better sire,  
Then [= than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.  
What a greenous case were this for thee,  
To extoll thy selfe to prosperity  
By such insatiate meanes ! a heauy sense  
Deseruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such marked contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*, in my *Adam Davie* (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my *Babees Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc.) :—

"Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare,  
Yet to outward view let not loue appeare,  
Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue,  
By audacious meanes doe audacious proue.  
Seeme not a companion in any case  
To thy children : learne them know who's in place,  
That due obedience to thee be done ;  
The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne.  
Thus may thy children be at thy commaund,  
With willing heart, still helpfull at thy hand.  
Familiarity, contempt doth breed ;  
By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede :  
Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list ;  
Once being growne, thei'll stubbornly resist,  
Caring not for parents nor their talking,  
Commending their owne wits ; age is doting.  
Looke well to youth and how their time is spent,  
Least thou by leasure afterwards repent . . .  
Vse no corrections in an angry vaine,  
Which will but vexee thee much, increase thy paine . . .  
The greefe is thine, when children goe astray ;  
Giue them not too much liberty to play,  
Least that they doe to a custome bring it,  
And euer after forbearre to leaue it."

\* \* \* \* \*  
[sign. G 2] "Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade ;  
Loue thou thy God ; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself :—

"Tell mistris minkes, shee that keeps the shop,  
Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top ;  
Shee is a Lady for her louely face,  
And her countenance hath a Princes grace,  
And that her beautie hath intraldd thee soe,

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe ;  
 Then cast thine eye vpon her beautilous cheekke,  
 Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like :  
 Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing ;  
 Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing ;  
 Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin ;  
 Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene ;  
 Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie,  
 Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely :  
 Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be,  
 Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see ;  
 Then she nods the head with smiling fauor,  
 That thou shouldst bestow such loue vpon her.  
 Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head,  
 And giue a sigh, as though thy heart were dead ;  
 And shew strange passions of affections sence,  
 That she may pittie loue sirreuerence,  
 Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor,  
 Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her.  
 Thus let the issue of this cunning be,  
 That from her purse, some profit come to thee,  
 A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stuffe,  
 A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe ;  
 A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring,  
 Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing,  
 Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine  
 That still inuention giues his sweetest vaine."

1615.—*The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8: *thei haue Gardens, &c.*—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's *Bondman*, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to proue fatall to such as followe the *Garden Alleyes*, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leaue Harlotte-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3, back.

In *Skialetheia*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

"who, comming from the  
 Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in  
 To some odde garden noted house of sinne ;"

and West, in a rare poem, *The Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,

"Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

The garden alleys paled on either side ;  
 Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, *No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 352 :—

"*Somebody* doth maintaine a common strumpet  
 Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. *Harlots & Brothels*.—See S. Rowlands's *Doctor Merrie-Man*, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in :—

"I am a profest Courtezan,  
 That liue by peoples sinne :  
 With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe,  
 I haue great comming in.  
 Such store of Traders haunt my house,  
 To finde a lusty Wench,  
 That twentie Gallants in a weeke,  
 Doe entertaine the *French* ;  
 Your Courtier, and your Citizen,  
 Your very rustique Clowne,  
 Will spend an Angell on the Foxe,  
 Euen ready mony downe.  
 I striue to liue most Lady-like,  
 And scorne those foolish Queanes,  
 That doe not rattle in their Silkes  
 And yet haue able meanes  
 I haue my Coach, as if I were  
 A Countesse, I protest,  
 I haue my daintie Musicke playes  
 When I would take my rest.  
 I haue my Seruing-men that waite  
 Vpon mee in blew Coates ;

I haue my Oares that [do] attend  
 My pleasure, with their boates :  
 I haue my Champions that will fight,  
 My Louers that do fawne :  
 I haue my Hat, my Hood<sup>1</sup>, my Maske,  
 My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne ;  
 To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull,  
 Is mighty fauour found,  
 When for the wearing of the same,  
 It costs him twentie pound.  
 My Garter, as a gracious thing,  
 Another takes away :  
 And for the same, a silken Goune  
 The Prodigall doth pay. . . .  
 Another lowly-minded youth,  
 Forsooth my Shooe-string craues,  
 And that he putteth through his eare,  
 Calling the rest, bace slanes.  
 Thus fit I Fooles in humours still,  
 That come to me for game,  
 I punish them for Venerie,  
 Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies :

"What, do you sigh? this it is to *kiss the hand of a countess*, to *have her coach sent for you*, to *hang poniards in ladies' garters*, to *wear braceletts of their hair*, and for every one of these great favours, to *give some slight jewel of five*

<sup>1</sup> "*Alice*. The poor common whores can have no traffic for the priuy rich ones; your *caps and hoods of velvet* call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ii. 192, col. 1.

*hundred crowns or so* : why, 'tis nothing ! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery : well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii. ; *Works*, i. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13 : *huggle*, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,

And *huggle* me from the cold."

*Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*, ll. 61-2. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.—S.

p. 97. *Cottages in every lane end*. Against this evil was passit, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniencs whiche are founde by experience to growe by the erectinge and buyldinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme : Be it enacted . . . That . . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect . . . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge . . . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grownde at the least . . . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. *Whoredom to be punished*.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) yon shall see what . . . inconuenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Curtizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto : is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat v man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed : idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, *Greenes Ghost haunting Coniccatchers*, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's *Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's *E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 233 :

|                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| <p>"Take no example by shyre townes,<br/>Nor of the Cytie of London :<br/>For therein dwell proude wycked<br/>ones,<br/>The poyson of all this region.</p> | <p>For a stewde strumpet can not so soone<br/>Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon,<br/>But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it<br/>well,<br/>And catch it up anon."</p> |
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And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI. : "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London ; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common ! . . . It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, 'Immunity, impunity : ' what should I call it ! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there ; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it ; and the quest, they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the "manifolde Enormities" in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590 :

"XXV. Sundrie notoriowse vises abowndinge, by meanes of y<sup>e</sup> former confusion in y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiasticall state.

1. Vnlawfull and vnreasonable vsurie, in no Cuntre more Common.

2. *ffornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted.* [ ? practist. ]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnreasonable strength of Ale soule with owte sise of Statute : a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton's *Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne.*)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talking vpon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continnall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore ; no way punished or punishable."

*Remains, Hist. & Lit.* Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99 : *punishment for Whoredom.* Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550 :—"I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244 : and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves : I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. *There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.*—"On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue beene the burning of old shooes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppress the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and rooffe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench : which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60—15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed's account is, as usual, from Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I haue,  
The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue.  
He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues,  
I am beholding more to others loues  
Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [*irony*]  
And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so.—  
There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three,  
And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be,  
Which will not see me want, I know it, I:  
Two of them at my house in Terme time lye,  
And comfort me with iests and odde denice,  
When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice.  
For if I were without a merry friend,  
I could not liue a twelue-month to an end;  
One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,—  
It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,—  
Do y' thinke my husband would haue bin so free?  
Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. *Wives live by whoredom.*

"*Knockem.* . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

*Mrs. Littlewit.* But do you think you can get one?

*Knockem.* O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every pettifogger's wife has 'em; for first he buys a coach that he

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

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GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102: *glutton*.—"What good can the great gloton do w<sup>t</sup> his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in y<sup>e</sup> middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but y<sup>e</sup> the body dilicately fed, maketh, as y<sup>e</sup> rumour saith, an vnchast bed." d. 1535, Sir T. More, *Works* (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

"London, look on, this matter nips thee near:  
 Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;  
*Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,*  
*But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;*  
 Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,  
 Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness."

Lodge & Greene's *Looking-Glass for London & England*,  
 pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. *Gluttony*: see the 'Glutton' in Rowlands's *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, 'To a Gormandizing Glutton', in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:—

"What should I speake of your two greatest Gods *πολυφασια* and *πολυποσια*, gluttonous feeding and excessiue drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that haue their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

"I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choise in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syrropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talke not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant *with* wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subject to, and most readie to accomplish?

"Besides, howe doth your gluttonie change Natures *comlines* into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkenenes? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomach is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnrule Lord, doo lay him in y<sup>e</sup> durt like an ouer ruled slaue ; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vppe the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were neuer knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these meanes it may be saide, that a glutonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardes."—*A meruailous combat of contrarieties*, by W.[illiam] A.[verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. *Drunkard*: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604, C 3, p. 21; *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8); also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8); and his praise of good liquor in *Letting, &c.*, p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health*, 1608. Compare also the Act:—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressing the odious and loathsome synne of Drunkenes. Whereas the loathsome and odyous Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundation of many other enormous Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusievely wasting the good Creatures of God: Be it therefore enacted . . . That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges . . . to be paid within one week next after bis her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accompable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parische. "

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tipping, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's *Sivquila* (Aliquis), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in *Nusquam* or *Nowhere*, Lupton's 'Utopia':—

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine! for though sometimes they drine their fellowes from the meat, and eate by themselves, yet when they haue filled themselves sufficiently, they goe away, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungrie brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heauen, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therefore, because thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy

A good iudgement giuen vpon a drunkarde. of; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, that thou shalt giue yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend to a goodly learned man, for his better maintenance; who shall

[1. To pay a Preacher to preach to him 3 times a week,] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, perswading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also shall preache three dayes euery weeke in the parishe Church where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: '*This is the Drunkarde that spent as muche dayly at the Tauernes and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghbours did spende daylye in their houses.*' And this being ended, thou shalt remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for

[& 3 times a week in his parish church.]

[2. to sit for 3 market days with a pot in his hand, & "Drunkard" on his forehead.]

3. go to prison for half a yeare.

euery dinner thou shalt be allowed not aboute a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalt be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboute the value of a pennye." The poor man who is a drunkard is to "sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knowen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoever he shall be out of his owne house. . . and euery Sondaye during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to auoyde drunkennesse." Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, *Sivquila* says "And the poorer sort, though they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaye at the furthest they wyl be euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyl so tittle almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantly paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunketwo and a halfe of the same.)"

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babes Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde's *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

"And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasrable Boalling [bowl-ing] . . . For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratious benefits." 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. *Perambulation of Kent*, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

"Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German's upsy-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer's stoop of rhenish, the Italian's parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o' th' coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609. T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, Præmium, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of *Le Débat des Hérvants d'Armes* (ab. 1546), and John Coke's Answer to it (1550), for his *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that *Anglia potat*<sup>1</sup>, or *Li mielldre buveor en Angleterre*,<sup>2</sup> though William of Normandy says in his *Besant*<sup>3</sup> that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, *Drunkenness*. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being *Anglici caudati*, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article *caudati* in Du Cange; A de Montaignon, *Anciennes Poesies Françaises* VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*.

p. 103. *England better in old times.*—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's '*Twas a merry world in the old time*' in his *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: *rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c.* Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's *Vision*, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise* (Starkey's *Life & Letters*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herrtage):—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 61 (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

“So, for that Oxen whiche hathe beene the like solded,  
for ffortie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :  
yea, seaun is more, I haue herde it so tolde :  
hee cannot els lyue ; so deere is his grownde.  
Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde,  
suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,  
that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beef) hee cannot haue serued,  
other in Mutton, the price is so hye :  
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :  
so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrelye,  
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie,  
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englich skyn,  
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Where they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [lf 61, back.]  
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannyes feate :  
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,  
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate ;

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii). *Archives des Missions*, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

<sup>2</sup> Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281.

<sup>3</sup> ed. Martin, l. 2000-3 : cp. the editor's note on this passage.

if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,  
I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende,  
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

**Owre** Engliche nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,  
by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage,  
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis ·  
geeue Engliche men meate, after their olde vsage,  
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;  
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :  
they shall defende this owre noble Englande.'

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TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. *Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.*—"The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselues happy, if they mighte haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of  
The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hilling  
cruel vsing of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to  
the poore. goe by their poore pitiful brethren and giue them nothing, but  
they will moste vcharitably and vchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being checkt of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquilla*, p. 28-9.

p. 116. *Neglect of the poor.*—See Robert Copland's most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne'er-do-weels, and Unthrifts of Henry VIII's time in his *Hye Way to the Spytell Houe* (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-1 :—

' . . . I haue sene at sondry hospytalles  
That many haue lyme dead without the walles,  
And for lacke of socour haue dyed wretchedly,  
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.  
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng ;  
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,  
That in the nyght so many lodge without :  
For in the whatche whan that we go about,  
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,  
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoeres,  
But surely,) euery nyght ther is found  
One or other lyeng by the pound,  
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft ;  
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

And enen here by this brycke wall  
 We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall ;  
 And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,  
 Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,  
 And in many corners wher that we go,  
 Wherof I wondre greatly why they do so,  
 But oftymes when they vs se,  
 They do renne a great deal faster than we.”

p. 116. *Inclosures.* See the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from MSS.*, Part I, Ballad Society; the *Supplications* edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's Time*, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspeare, before he died, “told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe”, the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (*Leop. Sh. Introd.*, p. cix.)

“Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd  
 The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,  
 The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws  
 Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws  
 Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,  
 Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,  
 And, by th' inclosure of old common land,  
 Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand ;  
 Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,  
 Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones . . .  
 . . . . . and when he can no more,  
 The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,  
 And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,  
 A bond-slave to the miserable jail.”

1604.—M. Drayton, *The Owl.* Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. *Lawyers.*—See *Harrison*, Part I. p. 204-7; *Father Hubbard's Tales* (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's *Middleton*, &c. The complaint starts from long before *Piers Plowman* (Text B, Prol. l. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

“Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotylytes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil neuer spye, because of their priuate luces sake ; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth.” Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. *Dearth* (deariness, cost).—See my Stafford's *Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints*, 1581. New Shakspeare Soc. 1876.

“What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shoes,  
 Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch ?  
It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—*The Vncasings of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. *Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &c.*—"Sivgila. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretiship, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruell Creditors, who hauing not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to giue them all that he hadde, and to leaue himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make Dice of his bones, if they hadde nothing else."—Thomas Lupton's *Sivgila*, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. *Covetous men buying up poor men's land.*

"Cormerauntes, gredye gullies, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition ! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our groundes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens ! . . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and labourer tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them." 1550.—R. Crowley, *The Way to Wealth*. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:—"The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredy Gentrymen, whyche Shepmongers. are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde *Philip. ii. [22]* true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage, and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroyers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y<sup>e</sup> final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

fal to the ground. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouderished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse *Gene. iiii.* man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y<sup>t</sup> *Eccle. xxxiii.* defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things neces- Bread what it sary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciabie couetousnes sel signifieth. al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friars, *Marke well.* Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." Becon, *Jewel of Joy. Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.—S. J. Herriage.

'*Les gros poissons mangent les petis*: Pro. Justly applied to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mightie the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: *misers, or rich men, adding land to land.*—"Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs: for if they did not, thei would not so greedily gather their goods together, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke euery day to die, (being of such extreame age) haue so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquila*, p. 70-1.

"What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad?  
 What mischief is it thereby is not wrought?  
 What earthly thing is not therefore to be had?  
 What hath been so loved, but money hath bought?  
 What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought?  
 'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say.  
 How many for money have been robbed and murdered?  
 How many false witnesses, and for money perjured?  
 How many wives from their husbands have been enticed?  
 How many maydens to folly for money allured?  
 How many for money have spirits and divells coniured?  
 How many friends, for money have beene mortall foes?  
 Mo mischieves for money then I can disclose!  
 How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned?  
 How many betrayers of their country for money every day?  
 How many for money from true iudgment are led?  
 Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money?  
 Did not Indas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c.

1578.—T. Lupton, *All for Money*, in Halliwell's *Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries*, p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question:

"*Pleasure.* In what case were the worlde, were it not for money?  
 Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliuie:

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie ?  
 To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive,  
 But I conteyne them at this time and hower,  
 Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing,  
 Eating and drinking, dysing and carding,  
 Riding and running, swimming and singing,  
 Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playing,  
 Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes,  
 Dallying with faier women, with other kinde of sportes :  
 All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.  
 With muscalle instruments, both with man and boye.  
 Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace,  
 But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe.”  
 1578.—T. Lupton. *All for money*, sign. B. j.

p. 123. *Usury*. See *Harrison*, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, ‘To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer’ in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26 ; and his sketch of Usury in his *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9 :

“Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe ?  
 ¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedlere hath of cattes,  
 Þat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myȝte, for coveitise of here  
 skynnes.”

“*Simplicity*. O that vild Usury ! he lent my father a little money ; and for  
 breaking one day,  
 He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away ;  
 And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost ;  
 But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste,  
 So he kill’d my father with sorrow, and undoeed me quite.”

1584.—*The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vi. 259.

See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of *N. & Q.*, s. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. *Every Begger almost is called Maister*.—See Lancelot’s “MAISTER Launcelet” in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith’s *Commonwealth of England*, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on *Harrison*, I, 133, 137), which I printed in *New Sh. Soc.’s Trans.* 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspeare getting his “yeoman” father arms, and making him a “gentleman” in 1596 (*Leopold Shakspeare Introduction*, p. ciii) ; and p. 237, above.

p. 124. *Usury allowed by Law*. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revivd the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20—authorized the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mortgage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. *Prisoners for debt*.

“*Fallace* . . . if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you ! you are in for one, half-a-score year ; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii., *Works*, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 307. In *The Play of Stucley*, 1605, *ib.* p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentioūd :

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers  
As to oppress them with the prison stink<sup>1</sup>?  
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.  
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison . . . is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron : It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smells, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . . when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischiefes and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.—Wm. Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voiage made to an Infernall Iland long since discovered by many Captaines, &c.*, Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was call'd *Miseries of a Jaile*, or *A True Description of a Prison.*)

p. 127. *I will make dice of his bones*. The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands :

"Greedy Vsurer.

THOU Fur-gown'd slaue, exceeding rich and olde,  
Ready to be deuowred of the Graue :  
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,  
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue :  
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,  
Whome Hell gapes for ; the Deuill comes to fetch.  
Thou that wilt not forbear an howers time,  
But wilt a forfayture seueerely take :  
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,  
And threatnest, *Dice, of poor mens bones to make,*  
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,  
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,  
He stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, He Stabbe ye*, sign. B 3 ; p. 13, ed. 1872.

<sup>1</sup> "See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

“Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes,  
 Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes.  
 Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch  
 from thy distressed friendles needy wretch,  
 Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head,  
 Turne him and's children out to begge their bread.  
 Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt,  
 And let them at thy handes no fauour get,  
 Send them to Prison; there in all distresse,  
 To taste the mercie of the merciesse.  
 Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete,  
 Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheete.”—*Ib.* p. 43-4.

“Thou that vauntest, and wilt make *dice of thy debtor's bones*; be these the words of a man?”—Of Creditors, Minshul's *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. *Scriveners.* See T. M.'s *Father Hubbard's Tales* in Dyce's *Middleton's Works*, vol. v.

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#### SWEARING.

p. 129. *Swearing.* On this in 1303, see my *Roberde of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's *Epigrams*, p. 19. On the *hunting oaths*, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in *Four Supplications*, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53: “What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearing by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne *huntinge othes*) extorcyon / pryde / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /”

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, “in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearyng as is vsed in Englande, specially amonge youth & chyldren, which is a detestable thynge to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punyssh it.”

p. 131. *Swearing.* It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 73, “be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [= vulgar]: study their carriage and behaviour in all; learn to play at primero and passage; and even [when you lose] *have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears.*” And in *Every Man in his Humour*, I. iii, Cob says: “Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, *by the foot of Pharaoh!* There's an oath! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me—he does swear the legiblest of any man christened: ‘By St. George! the foot of Pharaoh! the body of me! as I am a gentleman and a soldier!’ such dainty oaths!” Ben Jonson's *Works*, i. 12.

‘*Il iure comme vn Gentilhomme.* He swears after a thousand pound a yeare.’ *Il iure comme vn Abbé* [viz. extremely], *chartier*; *gentilhomme*; *prelat* [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

“Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get  
 A faire rich sute, though fouly run in debt?  
 Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,  
 Keepe whores, fee bauds, *belch impious blasphemies*,  
 Wallow along in swaggering disguise,  
 Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,  
 Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die  
 With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?  
*Canst thunder common oathes*, like th' rattling  
 Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?  
 Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,  
 And call them brothers.”

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281:—

“What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops  
 Wallowes unbracēd, all along the streete? . . .  
 . . . . . What! that ringo roote!  
 Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?  
 What, he that's drawne and quarterēd with lace;  
 That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?  
 Why, he is nought but *huge blaspheming othes*,  
 Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.  
 Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,  
 And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;  
 Infeebing riot, all vices' confluence,  
 Hath eaten out that sacred influence  
 Which made him man.”

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. *Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.*

“Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere.”

CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale*, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 43:—

“And there they reuell as vnthryfty braggers,  
 With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]  
 Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,  
 Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,  
 With all other wordes of blasphemy,  
 Bostynge them all in dedes of theyr myschefe,  
 And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, thefe.  
 The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,  
 For none other ways they do not pretende.”

p. 135, l. 9. *There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, &c.*  
 —A copy of Stubbes's poem here referd to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my *Forewords* above.

296 Notes on p. 136. *Sunday bearbaiting, &c.*

p. 136, l. 13. *There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol [= Londinum], &c.*—"The 11. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a litle money that she should haue paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete  
<sup>1576.</sup> of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her  
 God punish-eth periury. mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died : a terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother."—Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. *Keeping of Sunday* (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-plays, see the extract from Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, *Harrison*, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his *Crowley's Select Works*, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :—

"Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powrying forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (ed. 1872, p. 9) :—

"How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende  
 In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende, 128  
 Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe,  
 Or pitcheth vp the shenes from the carte to the mowe." 132

And at p. 16-17 "of Bearbaytynge," he writes :—

"What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger  
 A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule onglye beare? 376  
 And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght  
 Wyth terrible tearynge: a full ougly syght. 380  
 And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,  
 Whose store of money is but verye smale, 384  
 And yet *euerye Sondaye* they will surely spende  
 One peny or two, the bearwardes luyng to mende. 388  
 At Paryse garden, *eche Sundaye*, a man shall not fayle  
 To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes vaile. 392  
 One halpenye a peece they vse for to giue,  
 When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue." 396

Notes on p. 136-7. *Sunday Dancing and Baiting.* 297

So too Arthur Golding, in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580: "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . . speciall occupyng of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (From Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118, and my *Captain Cox*, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth's countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester's entertainment of the Queen there:

"On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruiss & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in *dauncing of Lordes and Ladies*, and oother woorschipfull degrees, vttered with such liuely agilltee & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more strange too the eye, or pleazant too the minde, for my part indeed I coold not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both." P. 12 of my edition of *Captain Cox*, or *Laneham's Letter*, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Laneham's capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (*ib.* p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker's lifting of part of it—"It waz a sport very pleazant" to "a goodly releef"—bodily into his continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. 1, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. *Beare bayting on the Saboth day.*

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>"What else but gaine and Money gote<br/>maintaines each Saboth day<br/>The bayting of the Beare and Bull?<br/>What brings this brutish play?<br/>What is the cause that it is borne,</p> | <p>and not controlled ought,<br/>Although the same of custome be<br/>on holy Saboth wrought?<br/>Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite<br/>gainst good and godly lyfe."</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1569, E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe's Sermon at Blandford, 1570, "the multitude call their revelyng day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicyng, cardyng, daunsynges, drunkennes and whoredome . . . in so much as men could not keepe their servauntes from lyinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night." Hazlitt's *Brand*, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. *What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting.*—

"Of sayeng seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whan much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouerwhelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, 'lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytynge.' How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wrought."—*Sir T. More* (died 1535), *Works*, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch's *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):—

"And the 'keeping holy the Sabbath-day,' said the Chief [Bismarck], that

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. 'Pray, sir, do not whistle!' 'Why not; is whistling forbidden here?' 'No,' said he, 'it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!' This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to.'

p. 137. *Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.*—See the Act 1 Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch. I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. "Forasmuch as . . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes uppon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconueniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetings assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoever; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillings foure pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . ." (This Act was confirmed and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. *Prophanation of the Saboth.*

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, "the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke." The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566—22 July 1567.

laeye Recevyd of Alexandre laeye for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett *the abuse of ye sabooth of the lorde &c* . . . . iiij<sup>d</sup>  
Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Jhon hynde Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton *concerning thabuse of the Sabothe Daye*. thother *the lamentacon of a synner troubled in conscyence* . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>  
(*Ib.* ii. 348.)

“For further proof wherof, I call to wisse the Theaters [Burbage’s], Curtines [in Shoreditch] Heaning<sup>1</sup> houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth.” 1579.—T. F., *Newes from the North*, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne’s *Animadversions*, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the *Newes* to Francis Thynne.)

*God worst served on the Sabbath daies* “And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is neuer so ill serued as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to haue their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such gouernment haue they of themselues, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they learne at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from virtue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare.” 1580.—*A second and third blast of reitrait from plaies and Theaters* (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

*Fairs.* Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the “paltre fairs . . . tendeth to the corruption of youth . . . whereby they often spend, not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot.” See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

*Fairs & Markets on Sundays.* Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). “Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assistens in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . . and on Good Friday accustomedly and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Iyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . . King . . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . .”

*Sabbath Doings.* See in 1579, T. F.’s *Newes from the North*. Cap. 14. . . “For I haue partely shewed you heer, what leaue and libertie the common people, namely<sup>2</sup> youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dissolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to wisse the Theaters,

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<sup>1</sup> Robbing: “to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth].” 1567.—J. Harman, *Caueat*: Rogues, their pelting Speche: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.  
<sup>2</sup> specially.

300 Notes on pp. 139, 141. *Keeping of Sunday.*

Curtines<sup>1</sup>, Heaving houses, Rifling bootches, Bowling alleys, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely<sup>2</sup> the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,  
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford,  
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some  
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. *The Three Ladies of London*. Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. *it chanced that a certaine Jewe.*—"In this yere [43 Hen. III.] fell that hadde of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vpon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondag, and so kept hym there tyl Monday, at which season he was found dede."—*Fabyan*. Quoted in *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternberg, "Judæis multum fuit infestus," who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. *Theopompus mingled Moyses law with his writings.*—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction."—Whiston's *Josephus*, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

<sup>1</sup> See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

<sup>2</sup> specially.

## PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &amp;c.

p. 140, &c. *Stage-Plays, Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.*

"The Sabbath days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tipping, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—*Liturgical Services*, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. *Theaters & curtens.* James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see *Harrison*, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the *Curtain*, built before 1579, in or near the present *Curtain Road* close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), *English Drama and Stage*, 1543-1664.

"A second and third blast<sup>1</sup> of retrait from plaies| and Theatres:| the one whereof was sounded by a re-/uerend Byshop dead long since<sup>2</sup>;| the other by a worshipful and| zealous Gentleman| now aliue:| One showing the filthiness of plaies in| times past; the other the abomination of| Theaters in the time present:| both expresly prouing that the Common-weale is| nigh vnto the curse of God; where-|in either plaiers be made of, or| Theaters main-|stained.| Set forth by Anglo-philie Eutheo. | Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16.| Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not| as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time,| because the daies are euil.| Allowed by auctoritie| 1580

"*Evils of travelling players.*—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers[Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes they wil not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, passing from countrie to countrie,<sup>3</sup> from one Gentlemans house to another, offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them draw the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse; poore men

<sup>1</sup> Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* was the first.

<sup>2</sup> Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. *De Gubernatione Dei*, bk. vi.

<sup>3</sup> county to county.

living on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftnes ; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

" Thus the people are robbed ; youth corrupted ; the Sabbath prophaned : and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right *Traiane the Emperour.* should establish the lawe of the *Roman Traiane*, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subiects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselves in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of *Rome*. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as reteiners, are priuiledged to roaue abroad, and permitted to publish their *Temples profhaned with plaies.* mametree<sup>1</sup> in euerie Temple of God, and that throughout England, vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeues and adulterers." p. 75-8. *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters*, 1580.

" Whosoever shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde *Theaters the chappels of Satan.* there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vtterlic past al shame : who presse to the fore-front of the scaffoldes, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies.<sup>2</sup> Yea, such is their open shameles behavior, as euerie man may perceaue by their wanton gestures, wherevnto they are giuen ; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of *The open wickednes of harlots at plaies.* the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to be done in secret ; as if whatsoever they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them " (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

(p. 110.) " As I haue had a saieing to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, *Against training vp of boies to plaies.* so must I likewise deale with shameles inactors. When I see by them yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Schoolemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and griefe of hart lament.

" O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes, & trained vp to impudencie ! How proane are they of themselves, and apt to receiue instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the *Plaiers the schoolemaisters of sin in the schoole of abuse.* Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse ! what do they teach them, I praie you, but to foster mischief in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel ?

" And as for those stagers themselves, are they not commonlie such kind of men *Disposition of plaiers for the most part.* variable in hart, as they are in profession ? Are they not as variable in hart, as they are in their partes ? are they (p. 112) not good practisers of Bawderie as inactors ? Liue they not in such sort

<sup>1</sup> maumetrie, idolatry.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the ironical *Actors Remonstrance* in 1643 : " we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-rooms those unwholesome inticing Harlots that sit there meerey to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, *ib.* p. 65.)

themselves, as they giue precepts vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what euerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceedes in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaier, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor vertue? . . .

“If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posteritie? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroade, as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They are infamous men.” (End of the *Blast* extracts.)

“Those also haue offended in wantonnesse, that giue themselues libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as *stage-playes*, which serue for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is clothed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemmeth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belying of the sexe.” 1615. [R. Cleaver] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 299.

On the ‘light-taylde huswiues’ at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my *Tell-Troth* volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

“as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperour, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition.” 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

“Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idleness, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in

their choyses for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Year*, C 3. "There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall haue the greatest *Auditory*, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B 2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 (old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays :

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering, to sytte by women ; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on ; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes lighte in them ; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte : suche masking in their eares, I know not what ; suche geving them pippins<sup>1</sup> to passe the time ; such playing at foote saunt without cardes ; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

"If this were as well noted as il scene, or as openly punished as secretly practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets very cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth, flocke too theaters, and there keepe a general market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the merchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abroad, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. *playhouse*.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's *Guls Hornboock*, 1609, "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

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#### LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. *Lords of Misrule*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281 : the latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. *Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard*.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

<sup>1</sup> See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxx : 'they give them pippines ; they dally with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [= specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, *Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains*, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

" . . . that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that *no folks be suffered to dance* in the same."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. *Maie games.* See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming, marke  
How each field turns a street; each street a parke  
Made green, and trimm'd with trees: see how  
Devotion gives each house a bough,  
Or branch: each porch, each doore, ere this,  
An arke, a tabernacle is  
Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove;  
As if here were those cooler shades of love.  
Can such delights be in the street,  
And open fields, and we not see't?  
Come, we'll abroad; and let's obey  
The proclamation made for May:  
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;  
But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.  
There's not a budding boy, or girl, this day,  
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.  
A deale of youth, ere this, is come  
Back, and with White-thorn laden home.  
Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,  
Before that we have left to dreame:  
And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth,  
And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth:  
Many a green-gown has been given;  
Many a kisse, both odde and even;  
Many a glance too has been sent  
From out the eye, love's firmament:  
Many a jest told of the keyes betraying  
This night, and locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

*Herrick's Hesperides* (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

p. 149. *Maygames*. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"*Littlewit*. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions; he has given over his trade.

*Quarlous*. I remember that too: out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, I. i.; *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely *morisdauns*,<sup>1</sup> according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarrion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's *Letter*, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. *Church-Ales*, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's *Pop. Antiq.* i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Alcs, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see *Archæologia*, xii. 11-17.'

*Church-Ales on Sundays*: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's 'Saboth,' the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncying, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games,' &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.—A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *It.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shaelings . . . preache muche holynes and Gods service to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy ashes / hal-

<sup>1</sup> See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblynge of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of *church ales*, in the whiche, with leappynge / daunsynge / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their church (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke).” 1544.—*A Supplicacion to . . . Kynge Henry the Eyght.* E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. *Ale sold in Churches, &c.*

“Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place.” ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Injunctions* (?) in his *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

“Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.” ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

“Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tipping-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine.” . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130, Parker Society.

“The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching.” 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. *Hufcap*.—See *Harrison*, I. 295: “there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called *huffecap*, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag.”

I thought at first that the *huffie-tuffie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this *Huf-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Haue with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, “jolly,” or the like. “Who’s the Foole now?” asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robbd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch:

“My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,  
With *huffie-tuffie*, let vs all be merrie,  
Forgetting how the time did passe away:  
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.  
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,  
How my friends follie he could scarce digest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle  
Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe,  
Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tippel,

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come.  
Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,  
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,  
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling ;  
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see  
My friend disguise thus without sense or feeling.  
Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,  
Backward and forward staggring like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,  
I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—  
Begins to looke into this goodly toy,  
And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure showes :  
Into his pocket diues, and being alone,  
Purse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone.”  
1600.—*Quips upon Questions*, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

*huffy tuffy*, adv. bravely, finely.

“I hane a tale at my tungs end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse reuelling & dominerig at Audley-end, when the Qaeene was there : to which place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling it out *huffy tuffy* in his suite of veluet.” 1596.—T. Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. *Church-ales*. “There were no rates for the poor in my grandfather's days<sup>1</sup> ; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This church-ale is doubtless derived from the *ἀγάμαι*, or love-feast, mentioned in the New Testament.”—Aubrey's *Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire*, in his *Miscellanies* (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. *Church-Ales & Dancing*. Compare the Bride-Ales :

“Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to excede in superfluous eating & drinkeyng | wherof they spytte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And when they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether | therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all maner of pompe and pryde | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

<sup>1</sup> Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

Notes on pp. 150, 152. *Bride-Ales and Wakes.* 309

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and vayne wantonnesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a vayne | madd | and vnmanerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynging amonge them | then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoveringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the denels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles soeuer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen tyll supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce againe of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconuenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they haue no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vtermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delayes in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fiddlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Renels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many . . . Other petty <sup>Abuses</sup> things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. *Wakes and Feasts*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

'*Wakes*: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is: "ye ought not to make mery over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and thear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to *Old English Ditties*, p. 81.)'

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

p. 152. *wakes, &c.* See *The Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The *Athenæum Review*, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1590.<sup>1</sup> . . . . The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenses, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawfull gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y<sup>e</sup> Sabboth,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,<sup>2</sup> while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

<sup>1</sup> "The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590] . . . .

"V. Faïres and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vppon the Sabboth: by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenses, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vppon y<sup>e</sup> Sabboth."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the *Irreverent behaviour at Prayer* in his Popish day: he died in 1535. *Works* (1557), p. 1359. 'Out of al, most true is y<sup>e</sup> old said saw, *that* the outward behauior & continuance is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of y<sup>e</sup> minde, in asmuche as by y<sup>e</sup> eyes, by y<sup>e</sup> chekes, by y<sup>e</sup> eye liddes, by y<sup>e</sup> browes, by y<sup>e</sup> handes, by y<sup>e</sup> fete, & finally by y<sup>e</sup> gesture of y<sup>e</sup> whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly y<sup>e</sup> minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray *wit*hal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeoultli we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it seme, y<sup>t</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> holye daies we go more gorgeously apparelled then at other times onely for y<sup>e</sup> honor of god, yet y<sup>e</sup> negligent fashion y<sup>t</sup> we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in y<sup>e</sup> time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knowen & apparaunte to the world) y<sup>t</sup> we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in y<sup>e</sup> church somewhiles solemnly iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon y<sup>e</sup> tone knee, & lene vpon y<sup>e</sup> tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten ruynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we eury way discour,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon 'the leades of the churche.'<sup>1</sup>

"The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a *Pater Noster* or a *De Profundis*. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals 'they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devoutly, on their knees, make prayers for the dead.'

"This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. 'The Obsequy of faire Phillida,' a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

"The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to 'overtreat the minister to omit the service,' and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

"Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

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how far wide our mind is *wandering* from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailles, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vsaid both hauing cleane forgotten, we be fain at al aduentures to ayme what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selves both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardon of so many horrible offences, & ouer y<sup>t</sup> in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from parpetuall damnacion? so y<sup>t</sup> this one offence so vnreuerently to approach to y<sup>e</sup> high maiesty of God, al had we neuer offended him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished."—R. Roberts.

<sup>1</sup> The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York :—‘Secret marriage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.’ The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies ; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

“In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . . .

“Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald’s College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed ; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls ‘poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,’ to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees ; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul’s Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not.”

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note :—“It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that ‘thair be na mercats upon the sabouth day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandeis on pain of viij<sup>s</sup>.’ Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the *dies dominica*. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—'Hospitabat frumentum . . . die Sabbati.' (Poulson's Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

"We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens' accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia :—

"On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town appeared before the session in answer to their citation ; and record bears, " Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon, [they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured." "—*Athenæum*, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay's *Hist. of Arbroath*.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woolcombe's *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter*, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord's Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punished with the stocks ; and a barber was brought up for " trying a man on the Lords Day, about ten o'clock in the forenoon in sermon time."—*Athenæum*, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. *Dancing*.—See p. 297 ; T. F.'s *News from the North*, 1597, as to the Dancing School ; and Northbrooke's Treatise [against] Dicing, Darning, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113-148.

p. 155 : *kissing*. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155 : *dancing*.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I's Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King :—*Quart Rev.* Oct. 1857, p. 424. *Harrison*, Part II., p. 58\*. "The masque began. [Ben Jonson's *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, ' chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady ; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, " Why don't they dance ? What did you make me come here for ? Devil take you all ; dance ! " On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. *Dancing. Bawdy Songs.*

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground.”

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library: “A Treatise of Daunces wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or things annexed) to whoredome; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit together in a rancke or rowe with them . . . Anno 1581.” Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, p. 137. Also “A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing: wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582.” 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, p. 195.

“*Age.* What woulde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toys shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid’s desire?—truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens have been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men’s grounde, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women together, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue 1 Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp,” &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc.*, ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171: *bawdy songs.*

“He hath all that to villany belongs,  
The hugest number of such bawdy songs,  
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)  
That any man could beare them in his braine.  
He hath a song cald, *Mistris, will you do?*<sup>1</sup> [1]  
And *My man Thomas did me promise to*, [to is too] [2]

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs:—

|                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(2) “My man Thomas<br/>Did me promise<br/>He would visit me this night.<br/><i>Thomas.</i>] ‘I am here, love;<br/>Tell me, dear love;<br/>How I may obtain thy sight.</p> | <p><i>Maid.</i>] Come up to my window, love;<br/>Come, come, come!<br/>Come to my window, my dear;<br/>The wind nor the rain<br/>Shall trouble thee again,<br/>But thou shalt be lodged here.”</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

He hath the *Pinnacle rigd with silken saile,* [3]  
 And *pretty Birds,* with *Garden Nightingale,* [4, 5]  
*He tye my Mare in thy ground* a new way, [6]  
 Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play]  
*Besse for abuses,* and a number more, [7]  
 That you and I haue neuer heard before.  
 And these among those wenches he doth learne,  
 Which by actinity their liuings earne.  
 His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes,  
 Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A Crew of kind Gossips*, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:—"See my *Popular Music*, p. 738, for *My Man Thomas, A Pinnacle riggd*, and *I'll tie my mare* :—

' A pinnacle rigg'd with silken sail,  
 What is more lovely than to see?  
 But still to see, is small avail ;  
 I must aboard, as thinketh me.'

It is full of double meanings." In *Pop. Mus.*, p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung by Old Merrythought :

"Go from my window, love, go ;  
 Go from my window, my dear :  
 The wind and the rain  
 Will drive you back again,  
 You cannot be lodged here.

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,  
 Begone, my love, my dear !  
 The weather is warm  
 'Twill do thee no harm ;  
 Thou can'st not be lodged here."

(3). "A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile" is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in *The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems*, for the Ballad Society.

"A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile,  
 What is more lovely then to see?  
 But still to see is small avails:  
 I must aboard, as thinketh mee.  
 To see is well,  
 But more to tell  
 Lacks more then sight, you will agree."  
 (etc. four other verses.)

(6) I have the Catch "I'll tye my Mare in thy ground." There is also another,

"Tye the Mare, Tom, boy !" of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) "Mistress, since you so much desire ;" probably resembling "Mistress will you do?" (7) I believe that "Besse for abuses" I also have a clue to ; and I know of one "Pretty Nightingale," of date 1575,

"Litle pretty nightingale,  
 Among the braunches greene,  
 Gene us of your Christmasse ale,  
 In the honour of Saint Steven."

But *this* is a "Mock" to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus :—

"The lytyll prety nyghtyngale,  
 Among the levys grene,  
 I wolde I were with hur all nyght,  
 But yet ye wot not whome I mene,"  
 etc., etc.

(4) I have also one song beginning "Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing ;" but its date is much later in the 17th century :—the author was not scrupulous in availing himself of elder suggestions, and occasionally would "convey, the wise it call !"—J. W. Ebsworth.

*My man Thomas*, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s *Works*, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancelled entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

|                                                                         |                                                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Thomas Gosson                                                           | Entred for his copie a ballad of a yonge man that went a woaying &c. Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded |
| Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentues of it in Diuerse verses. | always, that before the publishing hereof the vndecentnes be reformed . . . . . vjd                                 |

### GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: *games and sports*. Here is a list of them in 1600:—

“Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,  
To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,  
To wrastle, play at stoeleball, or to runne,  
To pitch the barre, or to shoote off a gunne:  
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,  
To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes;  
At Ticktacke, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe;  
At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe;  
To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne;  
To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan:  
To daunce the Morris, play at barly-breake:  
At all employtes a man can thinke or speake:  
At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile:  
At beshrow him that's last at yonder style.”

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's *Brand*, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: “noe manner of person . . shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyse, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlauffull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day keepinge . . or sufferinge any suche Game to be . . playde . . fourtie shillinges . . .” By § 11 “noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy craft or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, *servaunte* at husbandrye, jorneyman or *servaunte* of artyficer, mariners, fysshermen, watermen, or any *servyngman*, shall . . playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashes, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under payne of twentye shillinges to be forfeyt for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence : and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viij*d.*'

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tennys.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. *Dicing.* "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dicyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomyntation : they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discover." 1586. —Geo. Whetstone, *The Enemy to Vnchryfinesse . . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates*, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vsufferable Abuses now raining in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrift ; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting ; but now it is turned into [bolling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies ; but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. *Football.* Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle : the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football,' p. 27. "*Fatal Accident at a Football Match.*—An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Heuniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances :—Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park, and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollected being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—*Daily News*, March 19, 1875.

"*Shocking Football Accident at Derby.*—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebræ were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—*Daily News*, March 20, 1876.

"*Football and the Rugby Rules.*—The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebræ. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone :—'1. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle : sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—*Daily News*, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the *Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1:—

"*Killed at Football.*—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14; also his Satyres, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. *Bearbaiting.*—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. *Accident at the Bear-Garden.* Stowe says—*Annales*, *Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the Bear garden.* 1605, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffold round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, on the Southside of the riuer of Thamis ouer against the cite of London, ouercharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their liues. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabboth daies exercise."

p. 184: *wrestling* in the City of London:—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sheriffes, are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sheriffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service performed as upon Bartholomew day; but if it bee Sunday, the Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633. Continuation of Stowe's *Suruay*, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: *bawdy songs, &c.* (See p. 314-16, above.)

"... our own children . . . the first words  
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests:  
Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it!

A witty child ! can't swear ? The father's darling !  
 Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn  
 No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it !"

1598-1601.—B. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. iii. *Works*, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. *Babblers, &c.* " & in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money ? What wyl they not faine for gaine ? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euery rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euery ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse ; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our COUNTRY, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood." 1590.—T. Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, B 4.

p. 186 : *putting good Laws into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.*

*Queene E.* "Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse ; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

"If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshippe, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reiected and cast oute of thys common wealthe ; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swingebacklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, feencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruauntes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are ; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes*, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

APPENDIX.



POPULAR AND POPISH  
SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days

IN GERMANY  
AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A. D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

“**The Popish Kingdome**, or *reigne of Antichrist*, written in Latine  
verse by Thomas NAOGEORGUS (or KIRCHMAIER), and  
englyshed by Barnabe GOOGE. . . Anno 1570.”

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos—two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. *Trag. nova, Pammachius*, Wittenberg, 1538, in 8° of 81 leaves. II. *Tragedia nova, Mercator seu Judicium*<sup>1</sup> (Bâle, 1540), in 8° of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: *Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif représentées*, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the "*Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin*" (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the "*Marchand Converti*" is attributed to J. Crespin. III. *Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora*, Wittenberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the '*Politica imperialia*' of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. *Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis* (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. *Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta* (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. *Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjuncta sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediæ, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versæ* (Stuttgart), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. *Agriculturæ sacræ libri V.*, ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. *Regnum papisticum*, 1553, small 8° of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the *Errata* and *Index* (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. *Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti*, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. *Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli*, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. *De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa*, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. *Annotationes in canonicam Joannis primam epistolam*, 1544, in 8°; XIII. *Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scazonibus*; XIV. *De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," etc. Conclusiones*, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. *Eptiome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroïca*. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's "*Discourses*" from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plintarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the *letters of Synesius* (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the *Deliciæ poetarum Germanorum*, vol. 4.—*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd edition.]

<sup>1</sup> Tragedia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.

## APPENDIX.

## The Popish Kingdome.

*The fourth booke.*[*The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.*]

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>A</b>S Papiſtes doe beleue and teach the vayneſt things that bee,<br/>So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump<br/>agree.</p>                                                                                                                   | <p>[leaf 44]</p>                                                                                                            |
| <p>Their feaſts &amp; all their holidayes they kepe throughout the<br/>year</p>                                                                                                                                                                                           | <p>Papiſts' Feaſts<br/>and Holidayes are<br/>Idolatrous and<br/>heathenlike.</p>                                            |
| <p>Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare :</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <p>4</p>                                                                                                                    |
| <p>Whereby though they do nothing teach, but ſhould their doctrine hide,<br/>(Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be ſpide)<br/>Thou eaſily mayſt knowe whether true Catholikes they bee,<br/>And onely truſt in Chriſt, and keepe th'affured veritee.</p>     | <p>8 They don't truſt<br/>in Chriſt alone.</p>                                                                              |
| <p>Be therefore here a perſite Iudge, and all things warely way,<br/>With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay<br/>Moſt plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,<br/>But ſuch as beſt are knowne to vs in <i>Germanie</i> that dwell.</p> | <p>12</p>                                                                                                                   |
| <p>And firſt betwixt the dayes they make no little difference,<br/>For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminece.<br/>But ſome of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardie,<br/>And ſome againe beſide the reſt, both good and luckie bee.</p>                      | <p>16</p>                                                                                                                   |
| <p>Like difference of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king,<br/>That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing.<br/>Beſide they giue attentue eare to blinde Aſtronomars,<br/>About th'aspects in euery howre of fundrie ſhining ſtars :</p>       | <p>20 They attend to<br/>the Aspects of<br/>the Stars, and<br/>think folk's for-<br/>tunes are ruld by<br/>the Planets.</p> |
| <p>And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred,<br/>What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer euery hed.<br/>Hereby they thinke affuredly to know what ſhall befall,<br/>As men that haue no perſite fayth nor truſt in God at all :</p>                       | <p>24</p>                                                                                                                   |
| <p>But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholly guided here,<br/>By moouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare.<br/>No vaine they pearſe nor enter in the bathes at any day,<br/>Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away :</p>   | <p>28 They'll not be<br/>bled, bathe, or</p>                                                                                |
| <p>They alſo put no childe to nurſe, nor mend with dounge their ground,<br/>Nor medicine do receyue to make their craſed bodies ſound,</p>                                                                                                                                | <p>take medicine,</p>                                                                                                       |

324 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

without looking  
to the Moon's  
place.

[leaf 44, back]

*Aduent.*

On Christmas  
eve, boys and  
girls knock at  
every door, wish  
the inmates a  
happy year, and  
get fruit and  
pence from them.

Wanton girls try  
to find out their  
husbands' names  
by Onions,

and their  
husbands' natures  
by Faggots.

*Christmasse  
daye.*

Some think all  
[leaf 45]  
the wine is turnd  
to water, and  
back again.  
Others watch for  
altar-money.

3 Masses are  
sung ;

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before  
They marke the Moone how she is placde, and standeth euermore : 32  
And every planet howe they rise, and set in eche degree,  
Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.  
Which first I showe, least in my course I should be driuen plaine,  
To call to minde these foolish toyes, now to my theame againe. 36  
Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace,  
And on the Thursday Boyes and Girles do runne in every place,  
And bounce and beate at every doore, with blowes and lustie snaps,  
And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. 40  
And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houses dwell,  
A happie yeare, and every thing to spring and prosper well :  
Here haue they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee,  
For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee : 44  
Wherein they are afrayde of sprites, and cankred witches spight,  
And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then haue chieftest might.  
In these same dayes yong wanton Gyrls that meete for mariage bee,  
Doe search to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee.  
Foure Onyons, fiue, or eight, they take and make in every one, 49  
Such names as they do fanfie most, and best do thinke vpon.  
Thus neere the Chimney them they set, and that same Onyon than,  
That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man.  
Their husbandes nature eke they seeke to know, and all his guise, 53  
When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skies,  
Unto some woodstake do they go, and while they there do stande,  
Eche one drawes out a faggot ficke, the next that commes to hande,  
Which if it streight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, 57  
A gentle husband then they thinke shall surely to them fall.  
But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and there  
A crabbed churlish husband then, they earnestly do feare. 60  
These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly,  
Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruites of faith espie :  
And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,  
Than truely God to know, and in him here alone to trust. 64  
Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to passe,  
Whereas at midnight vp they rise, and every man to Masse.  
This time so holy counted is, that diners earnestly  
Do thinke the waters all to wine are changed sodainly : 68  
In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light,  
And vnto water streight againe, transformde and altdred quight.  
There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch,  
That first to altar commes, which then they priuily do snatch. 72  
The Priestes least other should it haue, takes oft the same away,  
Whereby they thinke throughout the yeare to haue good lucke in play,  
And not to lose : then fraight at game till daylight do they friue,  
To make some present prooffe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue.  
Three Masses every Priest doth sing vpon that solemne day, 77  
With offrings vnto every one, that so the more may play.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 325

|                                                                                            |  |                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This done, a wooden childe in clowtes is on the aultar set                                 |  | and a wooden Child drest up, set on the altar.                    |
| About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trynly iet, 80                         |  | Boys and Girls daunce and sing round it,                          |
| And Carrols sing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them heare,                         |  | the Priests roar, and the Parents clap.                           |
| The Organs aunfwere euery verfe, with sweete and solemne cheare.                           |  |                                                                   |
| The Priestes doe rore aloude, and round about the parentes stande,                         |  |                                                                   |
| To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.                      |  |                                                                   |
| Thus woont the <i>Coribants</i> perhaps vpon the mountaine <i>Ide</i> , 85                 |  |                                                                   |
| The crying noyfe of <i>Iupiter</i> new borne with song to hide,                            |  |                                                                   |
| To daunce about him round, and on their brafen pannes to beate,                            |  |                                                                   |
| Least that his father finding him, should him destroy and eate. 88                         |  |                                                                   |
| Then followeth <i>Saint Stephens</i> day, whereon doth euery man,                          |  | <i>Saint Steuen.</i>                                              |
| His horses iaunt and course abrode, as swiftly as he can.                                  |  | Dec. 26.                                                          |
| Untill they doe extremely sweate, and than they let them blood,                            |  | Horses are gallopt till they sweat, to keep em well all the year. |
| For this being done vpon this day, they say doth do them good, 92                          |  |                                                                   |
| And keepes them from all maladies and sicknesse through the yeare,                         |  |                                                                   |
| As if that <i>Steu</i> en any time tooke charge of horses heare.                           |  |                                                                   |
| Next <i>Iohn</i> the sonne of <i>Zebedee</i> hath his appoynted day,                       |  | <i>Saint Iohn.</i>                                                |
| Who once by cruell tyrants will, constraigned was they say 96                              |  | Dec. 27.                                                          |
| Strong poyson vp to drinke, therefore the Papistes doe beleuee,                            |  |                                                                   |
| That whoſo puts their trust in him, no poyson them can greuee.                             |  |                                                                   |
| The wine beside that halowed is, in worship of his name,                                   |  | Priests hallow wine, and sell it,                                 |
| The Priestes doe giue the people that bring money for the fame. 100                        |  | and make Manchets with it, against storms.                        |
| And after with the selfe same wine are little manchets made,                               |  |                                                                   |
| Agaynst the boystrous winter stormes, and sundrie such like trade.                         |  |                                                                   |
| The men vpon this solemne day, do take this holy wine, 103                                 |  |                                                                   |
| To make them strong, so do the maydes to make them faire and fine.                         |  |                                                                   |
| Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell <i>Herodes</i> strife,                  |  | [leaf 45, back]                                                   |
| Who seeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life,                                  |  | <i>Childermasse.</i>                                              |
| Destroyde the little infants yong, a beast vnmercileſſe,                                   |  | Dec. 28.                                                          |
| And put to death all such as were of two yeares age or lesse. 108                          |  |                                                                   |
| To them the sinfull wretcheſſe crie, and earnestly do pray,                                |  |                                                                   |
| To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away.                          |  |                                                                   |
| The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all,                         |  | Parents beat their children, servants and Monks beat one another. |
| (Though nothing they deserue) and seruauants all to beating fall, 112                      |  |                                                                   |
| And Monkes do whip eche other well, or else their Prior great,                             |  |                                                                   |
| Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat :                              |  |                                                                   |
| In worship of these Innocents, or rather as we see,                                        |  |                                                                   |
| In honour of the curſed king, that did this crueltee. 116                                  |  |                                                                   |
| The next to this is <i>Newyeares</i> day, whereon to euery frende,                         |  | <i>Newyeares day.</i>                                             |
| They cosly presents in do bring, and <i>Newyeares</i> giftes do sende.                     |  | Gifts are made to every one.                                      |
| These giftes the husband giues his wife, and father eke the childe,                        |  |                                                                   |
| And maister on his men bestowes the like, with fauour milde. 120                           |  |                                                                   |
| And good beginning of the yeare they wishe and wishe againe,                               |  |                                                                   |
| According to the auncient guise of heathen people vaine.                                   |  |                                                                   |
| These eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man,                               |  | For 8 days no man asks a debt.                                    |
| Their tables do they furnish out with all the meate they can : 124                         |  | Great feasting goes on.                                           |
| With <i>Marchpaynes</i> , <i>Tartes</i> , & <i>Custards</i> great, they drink with staring |  |                                                                   |
| They rowte and reuell, feede and feast, as merry all as <i>Pyes</i> : [eyes,               |  |                                                                   |

326 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

|                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                             | As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die,<br>Yet would they haue theyr bellies full, and auncient friendes allie. 128                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>Twelſe day.</i><br>January 6.                                                                                                            | The wife mens day here foloweth, who out from <i>Perſia</i> farre,<br>Brought gifts and preſents vnto Chriſt, conducted by a ſtarre.<br>The Papiſtes do beleeuē that theſe were kings, and ſo them call,<br>And do affirme that of the ſame there were but three in all. 132                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Every ſet of<br>friends chooſes a<br>King, and has a<br>feaſt.                                                                              | Here fundrie friendes together come, and meete in companie,<br>And make a king amongſt themſelues by voyce or deſtinie :<br>Who after princely guiſe appoyntes, his officers alway,<br>Then vnto feaſting doe they go, and long time after play : 136                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Children chooſe<br>a Prince too.                                                                                                            | Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie diſhes ſtande,<br>Till that their purſes emptie be, and creditors at hande.<br>Their children herein follow them, and chooſing princes here,<br>With pompe and great ſolemnitie, they meete and make good chere :                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| [leaf 46]                                                                                                                                   | With money eyther got by ſtealth, or of their parents eſt, 141<br>That ſo they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.<br>Then alſo euery houſholder, to his abilitie,<br>Doth make a mightie Cake, that may ſuffice his companie : 144                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Every houſe-<br>holder makes a<br>big cake, and<br>puts a penny in<br>it. It's cut up,                                                      | Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire,<br>This he deuides according as his houſholde doth require,<br>And euery peece diſtributeth, as round about they ſtand,<br>Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand : 148                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| and the man who<br>gets the penny,<br>is King, and is<br>lifted up to the<br>roof to make<br>croſſes on the<br>rafters, againſt<br>ſpirits. | But who ſo chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies,<br>Is counted king amongſt them all, and is with ſhowtes and cries<br>Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,<br>Doth make a croſſe on euery beame, and rafters as they ſtande: 152<br>Great force and powre haue theſe agaynſt all iniuries and harmes<br>Of curſed deuils, ſprites, and bugges, of coniuings and charmes.<br>So much this king can do, ſo much the Croſſes brings to paſſe,<br>Made by ſome ſeruant, maide, or childe, or by ſome fooliſh aſſe. 156                 |
| At night,<br>Frankincenſe is<br>burnt, and all the<br>family ſmoke<br>their noſes and<br>eyes in it, to keep<br>'em ſound.                  | Twife fixe nightes then from Chriſtmaffe, they do count with diligence,<br>Wherein eche maiſter in his houſe doth burne vp Franckenſence :<br>And on the Table ſettes a loafe, when night approacheth nere,<br>Before the Coles, and Franckenſence to be perfumed there : 160<br>Firſt bowing downe his heade he ſtandes, and noſe and eares, and eyes<br>He ſmokes, and with his mouth receyue the fume that doth ariſe :<br>Whom followeth ſtreight his wife, and doth the ſame full ſolemly,<br>And of their children euery one, and all their family : 164 |
| Then they carry<br>the pan in pro-<br>ceſſion round<br>the houſe, to<br>keep witches off.                                                   | Which doth preferue they ſay their teeth, and noſe, and eyes, and eare,<br>From euery kind of maladie, and ſickneſſe all the yeare.<br>When euery one receyued hath this odour great and ſmall,<br>Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckenſence and all,<br>An other takes the loafe, whom all the reaſt do follow here, 169<br>And round about the houſe they go, with torch or taper clere,<br>That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme,<br>Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172      |
| They foretell the<br>year's weather<br>too.                                                                                                 | There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this fooliſh geare,<br>To this intent, and thinke themſelues in ſafetie all the yeare.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 327

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside,  
 They iudge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176  
 Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time,  
 The youth in every place doe flocke, and all appareld fine,  
 With Pypars through the freetes they runne, and sing at every dore,  
 In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180  
 Which on themfelues they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though  
 The people were not plagude with Roges and begging Friers enough.  
 There Cities are, where boyes and gyrles together fill do runne,  
 About the freete with like, as soone as night beginnes to come, 184  
 And bring abrode their wassell bowles, who well rewarded bee,  
 With Cakes and Cheefe, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.  
 Then commes in place saint *Agnes* day, which here in Germanie, *Saint Agnes.*  
 Is not so much esteemde, nor kept with such solemnitie: 188 *Jan. 21.*  
 But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree, *Is kept at Rome*  
 As spring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee. *solemnly.*  
 For in faint *Agnes* Church vpon this day while Masse they sing,  
 Two Lambes as white as snowe, the Nonnes do yearely vse to bring: 2 snow-white  
 And when the *Agnes* chaunted is, vpon the altair hie, 193 *lambes are offered*  
 (For in this thing there hidden is a solemne mysterie) *on the altar,*  
 They offer them. The seruants of the Pope when this is done,  
 Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196 *then put to grass*  
 Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeces twaine, *and shorn; and*  
 Whereof being sponne and drest, are made the Pals of passing gaine: *their wooll is*  
 Three fingers commonly in bredth, and wrought in compasse so, *made into narrow*  
 As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. 200 *Palls,*  
 These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest,  
 Haue labels hanging something lowe, the endes whereof are drest, *with labels tipt*  
 And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vesture blacke arayde, *with lead.*  
 And last of all to make an ende, with knots are surely stayde. 204  
 O ioyfull day of *Agnes*, and to Papistes full of gaine,  
 O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe.  
 O happie they that spin and weaue the same, whose handes may touch  
 This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. 208  
 For by the same the Bishops haue their full auctoritie,  
 And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie.  
 Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes,  
 Ere halfe the yeare be full expirde, for these same pelting gownes. 212  
 Ne can they vse the Pall that was their predecessors late, *[leaf 47]*  
 Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate,  
 Till that he get one of his owne: with such like subtiltie,  
 The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. 216  
 Perchaunce such force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine,  
 Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine,  
 As these same powlers seeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought,  
 Are freight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought, *The Palls are*  
 And vnderneath the altair all the night they buryed lie, 221 *put under the*  
 Among faint Peters reliques and faint Paules his fellow bie. *altar in St.*  
*Peter's, among*  
*his relics, for one*  
*night, and thence*

are thought to draw heavenly power.

From hence the sacred iuyce they draw, and powre celestiall,  
As if the holy ghoſt ſhould giue theſe Clarkes his vertue all. 224

ſtraunge Reliques ſure, and bodies eke of paſſing ſanctitie,  
That to ſuch lowſie clokes can giue ſo great authoritie.

Who would not more eſteeme you nowe then when you here did liue,  
When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Biſhops giue, 228

Foul deceits !

Nor fed ſo many paunches great, nor ſhauen companies,  
With foule illuſions and deceytes and ſhameleſſe futtelties ?

Now filuer do you giue and heapes of golde together rake  
From euery realme, and for a denne of theeues prouiſion make. 232

What holy thing hav'n't the Papiſts turnd to gain ?

Farre be it from me that I ſhould thus of you beleeeue or fay :  
But what ſo holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day,

That this ſame wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine ?  
Th'almightie Lord himſelfe aboue in ſafetie cannot raigne. 236

Now here the Papiſtes do declare from whom at firſt did ſpring,  
The uſe of this ſame pelting Pall, and this vnſeemely thing.

And here a thouſand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde,  
They ſay the firſt inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde 240

To burthen Peter with the ſame, for feare they faint in prooſe,  
But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of alooſe.

Such folly and ambicion great, whereat you wonder may.  
For *Linus* he that Peter firſt ſucceeded as they fay, 244

They ſay theſe Palls were inſtituted by St. Peter's ſucceſſor.

And guded next the ſea of Rome, firſt tooke this ſame in hande,  
That woollen garment might in ſteede of linnen *Ephod* ſtande.

But where was *Agnes* at this tyme ? who offered vp and how,  
The two white Lambes ? where then was Maſſe as it is uſed now ?

[leaf 47, back]

Yea where was then the popiſh ſtate, and dreadfull Monarchie ?  
Sure in ſaint *Auſtens* time, there were no Palles at *Rome* to ſee : 249

When Biſhops all had equall powre, although as ſtorie tell,  
The romiſhe Biſhop did the reaſt in worthineſſe excell. 252

Thus Papiſtes neuer count it ſhame, nor any fault to lie,  
So they may get great ſummes of golde, and rayſe their kingdome hie.

*Candelmaſſe.*  
Feb. 2.

Then comes the day wherein the virgin offered Chriſt vnto  
The father chiefe, as *Moyſes* law commaunded hir to do. 256

Big Tapers are bleſt in Church, then lighted, put out, and kept to light againſt thunder, devils, and ſpirits that walk by night.

Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare  
To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadfull words to heare.

This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefeſt ſeemeth hee,  
Whoſe taper greateſt may be ſeene, and fortunate to bee : 260

Whoſe Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might  
Doth in theſe Candel lie, which if at any time they light,

They ſure beleue that neyther ſorme nor tempeſt dare abide,  
Nor thunder in the ſkies be heard, nor any deuils ſpide, 264

Nor fearefull ſprites that walke by night, nor hurts of froſt or haile,  
How eaſily can theſe fellowes all theſe hurly burlyes quaile ?

That needleſſe is it nowe to put their truſt in Chriſt alone,  
Or to commit all things to him that ſittes in chiefeſt throne. 268

*Blawe.* Feb. 3.  
The Holy-Water man.

Then followeth good ſir *Blawe*, who doth a waxen Candell giue,  
And holy water to his men, whereby they ſafely liue.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 329

I diuers Barrels oft haue seene, drawne out of water cleare,  
 Through one small blessed bone of this fame holy martyr heare : 272  
 And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away,  
 Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play :  
 But in the meane time no man seekes for Chrif and God aboue,  
 Nor dare content themfelues to haue his fauour and his loue. 276

Now when at length the pleasant time of Shrouetide comes in place,  
 And cruell fasting dayes at hande approach with solemne grace :  
 Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of *Bacchus* feaft,  
 And foure dayes long they tipples square, and feede and neuer reaft.  
 Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings euery wheare  
 Do swarme: the Dice are shakte and toft, and Cardes apace they teare :  
 In euery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route,  
 And daintie tables spred, and all be fet with ghestes aboute : 284

With fundrie playes and Chrifmasse games, & feare and shame away,  
 The tongue is fet at libertie, and hath no kinde of ftay.  
 All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,  
 That in their mindes they can deuife, as if they then should die : 288

The chiefeft man is he, and one that most deserueth prayfe,  
 Among the rest that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes.  
 On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with lustie cheare,  
 Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and such like other geare. 292

He in the meane time thinkes himselfe a wondrous worthie man,  
 Not moued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatsoener they can.  
 Some fort there are that runne with staues, or fight in armour fine,  
 Or shew the people foolishhe toys, for some small peece of wine. 296

Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe,  
 That readie are to turne themfelues, as fortune list to bowe.  
 But some againe the dreadfull shape of deuils on them take,  
 And chafe such as they meete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake.  
 Some naked runne about the strettes, their faces hid alone, 301

With visars clofe, that so disguifde, they might be knowne of none.  
 Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes aray,  
 And wanton wenchies drest like men, doe trauell by the way, 304

And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best,  
 Perhaps vnto some auncient friend or olde acquainted ghest,  
 Unknownne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,  
 That is before them fet, and cleane they fwinge of euery cup. 308

Some runne about the strettes attyrde like Monks, and some like kings,  
 Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other stately thinges.  
 Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and speedie lucke,  
 Or as the Goose doth vse to do, or as the quacking duccke. 312

Some like wilde beastes doe runne abroad in skinnes that diuers bee  
 Arayde, and eke with lothsome shapes, that dreadfull are to see :  
 They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight,  
 And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & filts vpriht.  
 Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and some like fooles are drest,  
 Which best befeeme these Papistes all, that thus keepe *Bacchus* feaft.

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one of his bones.

*Shrouetide*  
 (Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9).

Is a regular Carnival. Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

[leaf 48]

Every one does as he likes,

and the best man is he who finds out the silliest games.

Some men get up fights ;

some dress like Devils ;

some run about naked.

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

Some folk dress up like wild beasts, or

cranes or apes.

Some carry  
about a turd on  
a cushion.  
[leaf 48, back]

But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,  
And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320  
I would there might an other be an officer of those,  
Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose.

Some make a  
Guy, and toss  
him in a blanket.

Some others make a man all stufte with fraw or ragges within,  
Apparayled in dublet faire, and hoseu passing trim : 324

They dance  
lewdly.

Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,  
In blanket hid they beare about, and freightwayes with the same  
They lurle him vp into the ayre, not suffring him to fall,  
And this they doe at diuers tymes the Citie ouer all. 328

They tie folk's  
hands behind  
their backs, and  
dance before  
them, jingling  
basins.

I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,  
Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had.  
There places are where such as hap to come within this dore,  
Though olde acquainted friends they be, or neuer seene before 332

And say not first here by your leaue, both in and out I go,  
They binde their handes behinde their backs, nor any difference tho  
Of man or woman is there made, but Bafons ringing great,  
Before them do they daunce with ioy, and sport in euery treat. 336

If there's snow,  
they pelt one  
another with  
snowballs.

There are that certaine prayers haue that on the Tuesday fall,  
Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.

But others than sowe Onyon seede, the greater to be seene,  
And Perfley eke, and Lettys both, to haue them alwayes greene. 340  
Of truth I loth for to declare the foolish toyes and trickes,  
That in these dayes are done by these same popish Catholicikes :

Rich men and  
their families, in  
waggons with  
fast horses, and  
roo jingling bells  
round their  
necks, gallop  
madly thro the  
streets.

If snowe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee,  
Then fooles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see : 344  
For balles of snow they make, and them one at another cast,  
Till that the conquerde part doth yeelde and run away at last.

No Matrone olde nor sober man can freely by them come,  
At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. 348

[leaf 49]

Besides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,  
Least they with common people should not seeme so mad to bee,  
There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,  
And lustie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete 352

They put therein, about whose necke and euery place before,  
A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.  
Their wiues and children therein set, behinde themselues do stande,  
Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande,

With all their force throughout the freetes and market place they ron,  
As if some whirlwinde mad, or tempest great from skies should come.  
As fast as may be from the st[r]eates, th' amazed people flye,  
And giues them place while they about doe runne continually. 360

Yea sometyme legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all  
They ouerthrow, with such a force, they in their course doe fall.  
Much lesse they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye,  
Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye : 364

This madness  
goes on up to  
midnight.

But euen till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,  
Whereby they hinder men of sleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

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- But all this same they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare,  
 So they may haue their pleasure fill, and foolish wanton geare. 368
- The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go,  
 To sponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed fo,  
 They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay,  
 And with his holy water wafeth all their finnes away : 372
- In woondrous sort against the veniall finnes doth profite this,  
 Yet here no stay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is,  
 With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe,  
 And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightish fonde araye. 376
- Some fort there are that mourning go, with lanternes in their hande,  
 While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skies doth stande :  
 And seeke their shroftide *Bachanals*, still crying euery where,  
 Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell faistes appere. 380
- Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore,  
 Herrings, herrings, fincking herrings, puddings now no more.  
 And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes,  
 And what befide they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384
- Some other beare vpon a staffe their fellowes horfed hie,  
 And carie them vnto some ponde, or running riuier nie,  
 That what fo of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,  
 May vnderneath the fould be plungde, and washt away againe. 388
- Some children doe intise with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play,  
 And finging through the towne they go, before them all the way.  
 In some place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire,  
 And out of euery house they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392
- And them to plough they fraitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit,  
 Another holdes the plough in hande, the Minstrell here doth sit  
 Amidde the same, and drounken songes, with gaping mouth he sings,  
 Whome foloweth one that fowes out sande, or ashes fondely flings. 396
- When thus they through the freetes haue plaide, the man *that* guideth  
 all and drive em  
 thro the streets
- Doth driue both plough & maydens through some ponde or riuier  
 small : and some stream ;
- And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee,  
 To supper calles, and after that to daunting lustilee. 400
- The follie that these dayes is vside, can no man well declare,  
 Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare.  
 On Sunday at the length they leaue, their mad and foolish game,  
 And yet not fo, but that they drinke, and dice away the fame. 404
- Thus at the last to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare,  
 Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approaching doe appeare : *Lent.*
- In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate,  
 And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a treipasse great : 408
- Both Ling and saltfishe they deuoure, and fishe of euery sorte,  
 Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte :  
 But onyans, browne bread, leekes and salt, must poore men dayly gnaw  
 And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuifde this law 412
- onions, brown  
 bread and leeks  
 are eaten.
- Ashwednesday*  
 (varies from Feb.  
 4 to March 10).  
 Priests lay ashes  
 on folk's heads,  
 and wash all  
 their sins away  
 with holy water.  
 But still they go  
 on with their  
 larks.
- They carry about  
 a herring on a  
 staff, and sing  
 doggrel rymes ;  
 or horse a man,  
 and heave him  
 into a pond.
- Others pull girls  
 [leaf 49, back]  
 out, harness em  
 in a plough,
- and drive em  
 thro the streets  
 and some stream ;
- and then sup  
 and dance.
- Even on Sunday  
 they drink and  
 dice.
- Lent.*  
 For 40 days  
 (Ash-Wensday  
 the 1st) only salt-  
 fish,

|                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                     | For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull,<br>Beleenuing not that all their finnes, were earft forgiuen full.<br>Yet here thefe wofull foules he helpes, and taking money faft,<br>Doth all things fet at libertie, both egges and flefh at laft. 416                                                                                    |
| The Images in Churches are coverd up, and painted cloths shown declaring God's wrath.               | The Images and pictures now are couerde fecretlie,<br>In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie<br>Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,<br>The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fafted are. 420                                                                                                     |
| <i>Care Sunday.</i><br>Passion or Carle Sunday, the 5th in Lent.                                    | Then all men are conftreinde their finnes, by cruell law to tell,<br>And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.<br>From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth still arife,<br>And of the Pope the fhambles doth appeare in beaftly wife. 424                                                                                     |
| [leaf 50]<br>All folk are absolvd.<br>The boys draw a gny of Death into the country.                | Now comes the funday forth, of this fame great and holy faft,<br>Here doth the Pope the fhriuen blesse, abfoluing them at laft,<br>From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow,<br>As if the power of God had not fufficient bene till now. 428                                                                                                |
|                                                                                                     | Or that the law of Moyfes here, were still of force and might,<br>In these fame happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne w <sup>t</sup> heavenly light.<br>The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here,<br>And call him death, whom from the towne, with prowde & solemne chere<br>To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby, 433 |
| They have 2 guys of Summer and Winter, and make Summer beat Winter.                                 | From whence they fragling doe returne, well beaten commonly.<br>Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,<br>And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout : 436                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                                                                                     | Apparalde all in greene, and drest in youthfull fine araye,<br>The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye :<br>These two together fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get,<br>From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whistles wet.<br>The other toys that in this time, of holly fastes appeare, 441                        |
| <i>Palme Sunday</i><br>(varies from March 15 to April 18).                                          | I loth to tell, nor order like, is vsed euery wheare.<br>Here comes that worthie day wherein, our fauour Christ is thought,<br>To come vnto Ierusalem, on asses shoulders brought : 444                                                                                                                                                                         |
| They set a wooden Ass, ridden by an image, on wheels, before the Church door.<br>Folk bring boughs. | When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue,<br>With pompe and great solemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue.<br>A wooden Ass they haue, and Image great that on him rides,<br>But vnderneath the Asses feete, a table broade there slides, 448                                                                                        |
|                                                                                                     | Being borne on wheelles, which ready drest, and al things meete therefore<br>The Ass is brought abroade and set before the Churches doore :<br>The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere,<br>Which things against the tempest great, the Parson coniures there,<br>And straitwayes downe before the Ass, vpon his face he lies, 453        |
| Two lobbors sing that the Image is Christ, and                                                      | Whome there an other Priest doth strike with rodde of largest size :<br>He rising vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall,<br>In straunge attire and lothsomely, with filthie tune they ball : 456                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                     | Who when againe they risen are, with stretching out their hande,<br>They poynt vnto the wooden knight, and singing as they stande<br>Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to saue,<br>And to redeeme such as in him their hope assured haue : 460                                                                                                 |

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 333

And euen the same that long agoe while in the freathe he roade,  
 The people mette, and Oline bowes so thicke before hym frowade.  
 This being foug, the people cast the braunches as they passe,  
 Some part vpon the Image, and some part vpon the Ass. 464  
 Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly,  
 This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemly :  
 The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast,  
 Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast: 468  
 For falsely they beleue that these, haue force and vertue great,  
 Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flashing heate.  
 Are Idoles worshipt otherwise, are these not wicked things?  
 Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472  
 Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees haue kneelde,  
 Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yeelde.  
 In some place wealthie Citizens, and men of sober chere  
 For no small summe doe hire this Ass, with them about to bere, 476  
 And manerly they vse the same, not suffering any by,  
 To touch this Ass, nor to presume vnto his presence ny :  
 For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue,  
 And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deserue. 480  
 If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this,  
 I sure beleue he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis.  
 When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport,  
 The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church resort : 484  
 The Sixten please with price, and looking well no harme be done,  
 They take the Ass, and through the freetes, & crooked lanes they rone,  
 Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise,  
 The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largest cise. 488  
 Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue,  
 Least he alone without his portion of the Ass shoulde liue.  
 From Thursheday then till Easter come, the fondest toys haue place  
 Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace  
 First three dayes space the belles are wilde, in silence for to lie, 493  
 When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie.  
 The boyes in euery freat doe runne, and noyses great they make,  
 While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake, 496  
 Thre nightes at midnight vp they rise, their Mattens for to heare,  
 Appoynted well with clubbes and staues, and stonnes in order there :  
 The Sixten fraightwayes putteth out the candles speedely,  
 And fraight the Priest with rustie throte, alowde begins to cry. 500  
 Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rise,  
 On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise:  
 Thou wouldst suppose they were posselt, with sprightes and denills all,  
 Or fury such as forcheth them, that vpon *Baccus* call. 504  
 Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly  
 And others almost brainde with stonnes, or wounded mortally.  
 Well serues the darckenesse for these deedes, and thereto doth agree,  
 The fashions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee. 508

the people cast their boughs on the Image.

[leaf 50, back]  
 The Ass is drawn into the church, and folk pick up the boughs to protect them from storms.

(Some rich men hire this Ass and take it about with em.)

After dinner boys drag the Ass about the streets, and get money and eggs for it; half of which goes to the Priest.

*Mauudy Thursday* (Day before Good Friday).  
 For 3 days the bells are still, and then rung lowdly. 3 Mid-night services are held in Church, the lights are put out, and a regular shindy follows,  
 [leaf 51]

men being beaten and wounded.

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Here wicked *Iudas* all to torne, with vile reproches lies,  
 And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries.  
 That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee,  
 And through hir powre deliuer them, from hurt and miseree. 512

Then candles are  
 lighted, and a  
 lantern's hung  
 round an  
 image's neck.

These things vnto these feastes belongs, the candles being light,  
 An Image fastned to a crosse is caried all vpright :  
 A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to shew the way,  
 Are not these popish foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play ? 516

The Bishop's oil  
 and glasses are  
 blest, and the  
 altar-cloths  
 washt.

This day the oyle and glasse of the Bishop hallowed bee,  
 And twise three times saluting them, he lowly bendes his knee.  
 The Cannons after doe the same, with laughter wouldst thou faint,  
 And woonder farre to see them make, their specheleffe glasse a faint.  
 Their dinner done, from th'altar all their costly clothes they take,  
 And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make :  
 Then water on they powre and wine crosswise there on they lay,  
 And to the patron of ech altar, humbly doe they pray, 524  
 That they vouchsafe to looke vpon theyr seruants worshipping,  
 And to aswage the furie great, of *Ioue* the thundring King.

The Monks  
 make their  
 Maundy, and  
 wash each other's  
 feet.

And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie solemne rights  
 And signes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleasaunt fights. 528  
 Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie,  
 With hatefull minde, and secret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye  
 As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require,  
 And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free desire, 532  
 Ech one supplying others want, in all things that they may,  
 As he himselfe a seruant made, to serue vs euery way.

Then they take  
 to loaf and pot.

Then frait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in euery place they skinke  
 Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleasaunt damfels drinke, 536  
 [leaf 5r, back] And sure with no dissembling heart, for true as feele they bee,  
 And often times they put in prooffe their great fidelitee.

*Good friday*  
 (varies from  
 March 22 to  
 April 25).

2 Priests lay the  
 Image of the  
 Crucifix on  
 Turkey carpets,  
 and worship this  
 wooden God.

Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders beare,  
 The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare : 540  
 Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing  
 At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they straight him bring,  
 And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly,  
 With cushions vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie : 544  
 Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kisse both hande and feete,  
 And worship so this woodden God, with honour farre vnmeete.  
 Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,  
 As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin : 548

The simple folk  
 bring gifts, sweet  
 to the poll-shorn  
 crew.

And after them the simple foules, the common people come,  
 And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some :  
 And others corne or egges againe, to poulishorne persons sweete,  
 And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship meete. 552  
 How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here  
 Be Catholike, and like the spowes of Christ accounted dere ?  
 Befides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.  
 And Christ that euery where doth raigne, a laughing stocke to make,

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 335

|                                                                           |     |                                                                                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade,                    | 557 | The Priests dress and bring an image of Christ.                                  |
| With legges fretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body spreade:      |     |                                                                                  |
| And him with pompe and facred song, they beare vnto his graue,            |     |                                                                                  |
| His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farcenet braue,        | 560 |                                                                                  |
| The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyfes make,               |     | Boys make noises with clappers                                                   |
| The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take:            |     |                                                                                  |
| And downe they kneele, or kiffe the grounde, their handes helde vp abroad |     |                                                                                  |
| And knocking on their breastes they make, this wooden blocke a God.       |     |                                                                                  |
| And leaft in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie,             | 565 |                                                                                  |
| The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie:                  |     | Singing bread is laid with the image in the grave:                               |
| The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne,             |     |                                                                                  |
| And franckenfence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne:      |     |                                                                                  |
| With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriars stay,               | 569 |                                                                                  |
| Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray:      |     |                                                                                  |
| And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue                    |     | flowers are strewn about it and Dirges                                           |
| They fraw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they haue.    |     | [leaf 52]                                                                        |
| The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule             |     | sung.                                                                            |
| Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule.           | 574 | <i>Easter eue.</i>                                                               |
| On Eafter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place,                    |     | All fires are put out; and a brand blest, to keep off storms.                    |
| And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemue grace:        |     |                                                                                  |
| The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one,               |     |                                                                                  |
| A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home,             | 578 |                                                                                  |
| That when the fearefull storme appears, or tempest blacke arise,          |     |                                                                                  |
| By lighting this he safe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skies:           |     |                                                                                  |
| A Taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse,         |     | The Paschal Taper is burnt day and night.                                        |
| And franckenfence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse:              | 582 |                                                                                  |
| This burneth night and day as signe, of Christ that conquerde hell,       |     |                                                                                  |
| As if so be this foolish toy, suffiseth this to tell.                     |     |                                                                                  |
| Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow fraight,              |     | Water is made holy for next year's baptisms.                                     |
| That for their baptisme is referude: for now no more of waight            | 586 |                                                                                  |
| Is that they vfe the yeare before, nor can they any more,                 |     |                                                                                  |
| Yong children christen with the same, as they haue done before.           |     |                                                                                  |
| With woondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,              |     |                                                                                  |
| With candles, crosses, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho:          | 590 |                                                                                  |
| Nine times about the font they marche, and on the faintes doe call,       |     | A Procession marches 9 times round the font, and the Priest hallows the Water, . |
| Then still at length they stande, and fraight the Priest begins withall,  |     |                                                                                  |
| And thrise the water doth he touche, and crosses thereon make,            |     |                                                                                  |
| Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake:      |     |                                                                                  |
| And holfome waters coniureth, and foolishly doth dresse,                  | 595 |                                                                                  |
| Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did blesse:               |     |                                                                                  |
| And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the flood,                |     |                                                                                  |
| And thrise he breathes thereon with breath, that sinkes of former foode:  |     |                                                                                  |
| And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon,                | 599 | pouring his Chrism on it.                                                        |
| The people staring hereat stande, amazed euery one:                       |     |                                                                                  |
| Beleeuing that great powre is giuen to this water here,                   |     |                                                                                  |
| By gaping of these learned men, and such like trifling gere.              |     |                                                                                  |
| Therefore in vessels brought they draw, and home they carie some,         |     | Folk carry some home, and                                                        |
| Against the grieues that to themfelues, or to their beastes may come.     |     |                                                                                  |

|                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fasting is over.                                                 | Then Clappers ceasse, and belles are set againe at libertee, 605<br>And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Easter day.</i>                                               | At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| [leaf 52, back]                                                  | The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies: 608                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| They take the buried Image out of the grave,                     | The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)<br>They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white,<br>And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| put another on the Altar, and sing 'Christ is risen.'            | Sawe onely that the watchmen there, amazed seeme to ly. 612<br>But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer see,<br>Nor of the heauenly messenger, the flaming maiestie.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Pageants are playd by maskers: as the 3 Maries at the Sepulchre. | An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,<br>And on the aultar place, and then, they lustily doe sing, 616<br>That Gates of hell a funder burft, and Sathan ouerthrowne,<br>Christ from his graue is risen vp, and now aliue is knowne.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Feasting begins at midnight.                                     | Which yet they thinke not so to be, as plainly doth appeere,<br>By their Religion, doubtles, and feare, and by their doings here. 620<br>In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,<br>With fundrie sortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,<br>As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,<br>And <i>John</i> with <i>Peter</i> swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 624                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Friars and Priests get fees.                                     | These things are done with iesture such, and with so pleasaunt game,<br>That euen the grauest men that liue, woulde laugh to see the fame. 627<br>At midnight frait, not tarying till the daylight doe appeere,<br>Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.<br>They rost their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store,<br>And trifles, clouted creame, and cheese, and whatsoeuer more<br>At first they list to eate, they bring into the temple fraight, 631<br>That so the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrous waight.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Radishes are eaten against the quartan ague.                     | The Friers besides, & pelting Priestes, from houle to houle doe roame,<br>Receyuing gaine of euery man that this will haue at home.<br>Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate,<br>Against the quartan ague and such other sicknesse great. 636<br>What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrisie,<br>When as of Chist they doe receyue the dredfull miserie?<br>Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,<br>For none of them beleueeth here, nor none of them doth hope 640<br>That they receyue eternall life, and euerlasting feate,<br>By death of Iesus Christ, and by his crosse and triumph great.<br>For who should teache to them the same, since euery Popes decree,<br>Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644 |
| Papists don't believe in life by Christ alone.                   | Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,<br>And to their wonted life they fall, and bid the reast adewe:<br>Go nowe and laugh the Iewes to scorne, and all the Turkes that bee,<br>For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree. 648<br>Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare<br>Them with these doltish Papistes here, that blinde and beaftly are.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| [leaf 53]<br>Then folk fall to their old life again.             | Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abroad, with crosse in hande,<br>To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>Procession weeke.</i><br>(Rogation)                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

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- And as they go, they sing and pray to euery faint aboute, 653  
 But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue.  
 When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in,  
 And looke what faint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him,  
 That he preferue both corne and fruite, from storme and tempest great,  
 And them defend from harme, and fend them fore of drinke and meat.  
 This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, 659  
 Where downe they sit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine,  
 So much that oftentimes without the Croffe they come away,  
 And miserably they reele, till as their stomacke vp they lay.  
 These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport,  
 With many Croffes often they vnto some Church resort, 664  
 Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there freight doth spring,  
 A bawling noyse, while euery man seekes hygheft for to sing :  
 The Priestes giue eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content,  
 And wine to them that passe the reaft, is from the Parson sent. 668
- Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate,  
 Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate.  
 Then euery man some birde must eate, I know not to what ende,  
 And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. 672  
 The blocke that on the aultar still, till then was feene to stande,  
 Is drawne vp hie aboute the roofe, by ropes, and force of hande :  
 The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie,  
 For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676  
 Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw,  
 Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho,  
 The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall,  
 And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces small. 680  
 This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while,  
 With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile.  
 With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let  
 Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet.  
 And thus this solemne holiday, and hye renowned feast, 685  
 And all their whole deuotion here, is ended with a ieast.
- On Whitfunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in frings from heauen flie,  
 And one that framed is of wood, still hangeth in the skie. 688  
 Thou seest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to,  
 None otherwise then little gyrles with Puppets vse to do.
- Then doth ensue the solemne feast of *Corpus Christi* day,  
 Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play?  
 The hallowed bread with worship great, in filner Pix they beare 693  
 About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and there.  
 His armes that beares the same, two of the welthieft men do holde,  
 And ouer him a Canopey of filke and cloth of golde 696  
 Foure others vse to beare aloufe, leaft that some filthie thing  
 Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should fling.  
 Christes passion here derided is, with sundrie maskes and playes,  
 Faire Urfiley with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes : 700

Sunday is the  
5th after Easter  
Day.)  
Bounds are  
beaten,

Then folk dine  
and drink at the  
tavern or in the  
fields.

This lasts 3 days.

*Ascension day*  
(varies from April  
30 to June 3).

Birds are eaten  
(as ascenders).  
The Image on  
the Altar (p.  
336), is heaved  
above the roof.

One of Satana is  
thrown down,  
and broken to  
pieces.

[leaf 53, back]

Water is let fall  
on people below.

*Whitsunday*  
(varies from May  
10 to June 13).  
White Pigeons  
are flown.

*Corpus Christi  
day*  
(Thursday after  
Trinity Sunday,  
May 17 to June  
20).  
Hallowd bread  
is borne about  
the Church under  
a canopy.

Plays of Christ's  
Passion are  
acted; of Ursula

|                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| and her Virgins ;<br>St. George and<br>the Dragon,                               | And valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here ;<br>The deuils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere<br>A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke ;<br>Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke : |            |
| St. Sebastian,<br>St. Katherine,<br>St. Barbara,<br>and other<br>Pageants.       | Sebastian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele ;<br>There walketh Kathren with hir sworde in hande, and cruell wheele :<br>The Challis and the finging Cake, with Barbara is led,<br>And fundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred,                      | 705<br>708 |
| St. John walks<br>before the<br>Hallowd Bread.                                   | That pleate the foolish people well : what should I stande vpon,<br>Their Banners, Croffes, Candlestickes, and reliques many on,<br>Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Priestes with countnance hie,<br>Or rude and common people beare about full solemlie ?                       | 712        |
| [leaf 54]                                                                        | Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towards him,<br>Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne :<br>On whome two clad in Angels shape, do fundrie flowres fling,<br>A number great of facring Belles, with pleasant founde doe ring.                  | 710        |
| Strangers fall on<br>their knees to it.                                          | The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and euery streete beside,<br>And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and branches tide.<br>The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are sent,<br>The Priestes and schoolemen lowde do rore, some vse the instrument.    | 721        |
| Armd men keep<br>order, and look<br>out for thieves.                             | The straunger passing through the streete, vpon his knees doe fall :<br>And earnestly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call.<br>For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take<br>The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake.                 | 724        |
| Organs play,<br>folk fall on their<br>faces, the Bread<br>is lifted up, &c.      | A number great of armed men here all this while doe stande,<br>To looke that no disorder be, nor any filching hande :<br>For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee<br>A bootie good, if euery man might haue his libertee.                                 | 728        |
| Priests ride<br>thro' the corn,<br>and read the<br>Gospel to keep<br>off storms. | This bread eight dayes together they in prefence out do bring,<br>The Organs all do then resound, and priestes alowde do sing :<br>The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie,<br>Beleeuing that they see their God, and soueraigne maiestie.                        | 732        |
| <i>Saint Vrban</i><br>(May 25).                                                  | The like at Masse they doe, while as the bread is lifted well,<br>And Challys shewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell.<br>O blessed God, why suffrest thou such wickednesse to raigne,<br>And bringst them not into the steppes of fathers olde againe,                       | 736        |
|                                                                                  | Whereof they do so often boast ? yet so vnlike them be,<br>That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree.<br>In Villages the husbandmen about their corne doe ride,<br>With many Croffes, Banners, and fir Iohn their Priest beside :                               | 740        |
|                                                                                  | Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the blessed breade,<br>And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Gospell lowde doth read.<br>This surely keeps the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blast :<br>Such fayth the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papistes holde it fast :      | 745        |
|                                                                                  | Not taken from the Gospell, nor the worthie doctors olde,<br>But from the minde of man, and from blinde reason mistresse bolde.                                                                                                                                                       |            |
|                                                                                  | Straight after this comes <i>Vrban</i> in, the Vintners God deuine,<br>Whose day if that it pleasant be, and Sunne abrode do shine,                                                                                                                                                   | 748        |

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 339

Good lucke to them they count it then, and *Bacchus* holinesse,  
 His Image and his Church they decke, and curiously do dresse,  
 About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde,  
 And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. 752  
 Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to some tipling house,  
 With lustie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carrouse:  
 Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie,  
 In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handsomly, 756  
 Till mystes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake,  
 Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & scarce a word they speake.  
 But if the day be clowdie nowe, or giuen vnto raine,  
 On him they lift not to bestow such honour, nor such paine, 760  
 Poore knaue into some ryuer than, they cast him cruellie,  
 And all to-soufe him in the streame, or durtie let him lie.  
 And if this madnesse be not fuch, as may be laught at well,  
 What thing should moue vs for to laugh, I furely can not tell. 764  
 The next is *Vitus* sodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,  
 Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire:  
 The cause whereof I doe not know, I thinke for some diseafe,  
 Which he is thought to driue away from such as him do please. 768  
 Then doth the ioyfull feaft of Iohn the Baptist take his turne,  
 When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in euery towne doe burne:  
 And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery streete,  
 With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or else with Veruain sweete,  
 And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, 773  
 Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whofoeuer standes,  
 And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.  
 When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine  
 With striuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therin,  
 And then with wordes deuout and prayers, they solemnelly begin, 778  
 Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed be,  
 Whereby they thinke through all that yeare, from Agues to be free.  
 Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,  
 Which couered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide:  
 And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783  
 They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appears the night:  
 Refembling much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe should fal,  
 A strange and monstrous sight it seemes, and fearefull to them all:  
 But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell,  
 And that from harmes and daungers now, in safetie here they dwell.  
 Wherefoeuer *Huldryche* hath his place, the people there brings in,  
 Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mulletts fat, his fauour here to win. 790  
 Amid the Church there sitteth one, and to the aultar nie,  
 That selleth fish, and so good cheepe, that euery man may buie:  
 Nor any thing he loseth here, bestowing thus his paine,  
 For when it hath bene offred once, t'is brought him all againe, 794  
 That twife or thrife he selles the same: vngodlinesse such gaine  
 Doth fill bring in, and plentifully the kitchin doth maintaine.

He's the Vintners' God, and has cups and bowles hung round his neck. They drink [leaf 54, back] to him till they're drunk.

But if it's a bad day, they shy him into the river.

*Vitus* (June 15). Hens are offered to him. Why?

*John Baptist* (June 24). Bonfires burn; youths and girls dance all day with flowers in their hands.

At night they run thro the fires.

Others run a wheel stufft with blazing straw and tow, down a mountain.

[leaf 55] *Saint Huldryche* (Ulric, July 4). Fish are offered to him.

A man sits near the altar, and sells the same fish over and over again to the offerers.

Whence comes this fame religion newe? what kind of God is this  
 Same *Huldryche* here, that so desires, and so delightes in fishe? 798  
 Which neuer any heathen God, in offering did receaue,  
 Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leaue.  
 Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,  
 But we the chiefest will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

*Assumption of  
 the Virgin  
 Marie*  
 (Aug. 15).  
 Folk bring  
 bundles of Herbs  
 to Church, to be  
 blest by the  
 priest. These  
 serue as charms.

The blessed virgin *Maries* feast, hath here his place and time,  
 Wherein departing from the earth, she did the heauens clime:  
 Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare,  
 The which against all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare.  
 Thus kindle they and nourish still, the peoples wickednesse, 807  
 And vainely make them to beleuee, whatsoeuer they expresse:  
 For fundrie witchcrafts, by these hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes,  
 And cast into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810  
 And euery painefull grieffe from man, or beast, for to expell,  
 Farre otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

*Martyn*  
 (Nov. 11).  
 Roast geese are  
 eaten, and wine  
 drunk.

To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline,  
 Whom all the people worshippeth, with roasted Geese and wine: 814  
 Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes  
 His vessels all, and of the Must oft times the last he takes,  
 Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,  
 Therefore they him vnto the skies extoll, with prayfe deuine: 818  
 And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compasse wide,  
 Yea by these fees the Schoolemaisters haue profite great beside:

Schoolmasters go  
 about singing  
 with their boys.

For with his scholers euery one, about do finging go,  
 Not praying Martyn much, but at the Goofe reioyceing tho, 822  
 Whereof they oftentymes haue part, and money therewithall,  
 For which they celebrate this feast, with song and musicke all.

[leaf 55, back]  
*Nicholas*  
 (Nov. 13).  
 Mothers hide  
 gifts in their  
 children's shoes,  
 &c., and say St.  
 Nicholas brought  
 em.

Saint Nicholas money vfe to giue to Maydens secretlie,  
 Who, that he still may vse his woonted liberalitie 826  
 The mothers all their children on the eeue doe cause to fast,  
 And when they euery one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast:  
 Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beside,  
 As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which secretly they hide, 830  
 And in the morning found, they say, that this saint Nicholas brought:  
 Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught.

*Catheryn*  
 (Nov. 25).

What should I tell what Sophisters, on Cathrins day denise?  
 Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercife. 834

*Andrew*  
 (Nov. 30).  
 All Lovers court  
 him.

To Andrew all the louers, and the lustie wooers come,  
 Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonies done,  
 (While as to him they presentes bring, and coniure all the night)  
 To haue good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and sweete delight.

*Church holyday.*  
 The anniversary  
 of each church's  
 dedication.

The dedication of the Church is yerely had in minde, 839  
 With worship passing Catholicke, and in a wondrous kinde:  
 From out the steeple hie is hangde, a Crosse and banner fayre,  
 The pauement of the temple frowde, with hearbes of pleasant ayre,  
 The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are seene, 843  
 And euery pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is  
 deckt with  
 boughs.

Appendix. *Popish and Popular Customs*, A.D. 1553. 341

|                                                                                                                                                 |     |                                                                                               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The tabernacles opned are, and Images are drest,<br>But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine above the rest :                                  |     |                                                                                               |
| A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thicke they lay,<br>That giuen are to euery one that keeps this holy day :                | 848 | A board stands full of Pardons                                                                |
| The Idoll of the Patron eke, without the doore doth fande,<br>And beggeth fast of euery man, with pardons in his hande :                        |     | for every one                                                                                 |
| Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill<br>In common peoples languages, when they speake well or ill :                 | 852 |                                                                                               |
| He hath his owne interpretor, that alwayes standeth by,<br>And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry :                                 |     | who'll buy em.                                                                                |
| Desiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde,<br>And Popishe pardons for to buie, releafe of sinnes to finde.                  | 856 |                                                                                               |
| The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue,<br>His harlot for to bring, and all the swarme of Bastards that they haue :    |     | Harlots and their Bastards come; and all the neighbours armd; trin                            |
| On euery side the neighbours come, and such as dwell not nere,<br>Come of their owne good willes, and some required to be there.                | 860 | [leaf 56]                                                                                     |
| And euery man his weapon hath, their fwordes, and launces long,<br>Their axes, curriars, pyftolets, with pykes and darts among.                 |     | youths and maidens, jesters, pedlers, and pots of drink.                                      |
| The yong men in their best array, and trimmest maydes appeare,<br>Both Ieasters, Roges, and minstrels with their instruments are heare.         |     |                                                                                               |
| The Pedler doth his packe vntrusse, the Host his pots doth fill,<br>And on the table bread and drinke doth fet for all that will :              | 865 |                                                                                               |
| Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all,<br>To them th'aduantage of this feast, and gaine, doth chiefly fall.            | 868 |                                                                                               |
| The seruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie,<br>Or to their neighbours house, whereas they feede vnreasonable :                  |     | After service, grand feasting and suppers go on.                                              |
| For fixe or seuen courses, they vnto the table bring,<br>And for their suppers may compare with any heathen king.                               | 872 |                                                                                               |
| The table taken vp, they rise, and all the youth apace,<br>The Minstrell with them called go to some conuenient place :                         |     | Then the young folk dance,                                                                    |
| Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Musicke fine,<br>And vnto such as are preparede to daunce hath giuen signe,                   | 876 |                                                                                               |
| Comes thither streight both boyes and gyrles, and men that aged bee,<br>And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to see,               |     | and old hags too,                                                                             |
| Old wrinckled haggis, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft,<br>Then fundrie passimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft :             | 880 | the Drunkardes leading and fighting.                                                          |
| When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight,<br>That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plight : |     |                                                                                               |
| The streames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is seene<br>The carkasse of some ruffian slaine, is left vpon the greene.           | 884 |                                                                                               |
| Here many for their louers sweete, some daintie thing doe buie,<br>And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for compaigne,                        |     | Lovers buy their sweethearts fairings.                                                        |
| Whereas they foolish songs do sing, and noyses great do make :                                                                                  |     |                                                                                               |
| Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and some the Dice do shake.<br>Their custome also is, the Priest into the house to pull :               | 889 | Cards and Dice are playd. The Priest is head reueller, and looks after the spewing Drunkards. |
| Whom when they haue, they thinke their game accomplished at full :                                                                              |     |                                                                                               |
| He farre in noyse exceedes them all, and eke in drinking drie<br>The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their heades that speew'ing lie,        |     |                                                                                               |

And that with such attendaunce good, that often therewithall 893  
 His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all :  
 Whom if the lyquor that he tastes doe hap to handle so,  
 As on his feeble legges vnto his house he can not go :  
 But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentimes is seene,  
 They friendly set him on a horse, and home they cary him cleene :  
 To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray, 899  
 Is alwayes vide vpon this feast, and venerable day.

When the Priest  
 can't walk,  
 [leaf 56, back]  
 he's carrid  
 home on horse-  
 back.

*All soules day*  
 (Nov. 2).

For soules departed from this life, they also carefull bee,  
 The shauen fort in numbers great, thou shalt assembled see, 902  
 Where as their seruice with such speede, they mumble out of hande,  
 That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande,  
 But soberly they sing, while as the people offering bee,  
 For to releaue their Parents soules that lie in miseriee. 906

Folk give fees to  
 free their  
 parents' souls ;

For they beleaue the shauen fort, with dolefull harmonie,  
 Do draw the damned soules from hell, and bring them to the skie :  
 Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine,  
 And neuer troubled are with care of any soule in paine. 910  
 Their seruice thus in order sing, and payde for Masse and all,  
 They to the Tauerne streightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,  
 Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke,  
 Whereas these Catholike fathers haue such lewde and beafty talke,  
 As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes, 915  
 And such as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vse.

then drink in the  
 tavern, or the  
 Parson's hall,  
 where he talks  
 beastliness.

These are their chiefe solemnitie, and orders all the yeare,  
 Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare : 918  
 And doth declare thou seest the mindes of these same holy men,  
 What vertues great they haue, and what religion lyes in them.

*Churches.*

The like their temples teach, drest vp in more than Pagan guise,  
 That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies, 922  
 As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane,  
 And Banners, Crosses, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame  
 Before the Virgins Inage fayre, and bread in secret put,  
 That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut : 926

They have Idols,  
 always-flaming  
 lights, &c.

The Turkes  
 rightly call em  
 Idolaters.

That surely not vnworthily the Turkes beleaue and fay,  
 The Papiſtes are Idolaters, and haue no perfitte way  
 In seruing God, who yet account themselves assuredly,  
 The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry. 930

*Funerals.*

Seest thou how in their life they doe beleaue, and when they die,  
 How doubtfull they ? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie,  
 Regarding not what happe vnto the simple people falles :  
 For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, 934  
 Their singing and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit  
 Himselfe to God, his heyre should be constrainde to furnish it,  
 And punisht sore if any thing herein shall wanting bee,  
 Of all the toyes that doth belong, to such solemnitiee. 938

[leaf 57]  
 The rites are  
 held only for  
 Shauelings'  
 gain.

Thinkt thou they carefull are that soules, the heauens doe attaine,  
 And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine ?

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 343

|                                                                                                                                               |     |                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse,<br>For to be iust, and innocent, and dye in blessednesse :                   | 942 | Even for innocent children parents are forced to pay.              |
| Their parentes for their funeralles, conftroynd are to pay,<br>Leaft of the Popifh tyranny, fhould any part decay.                            |     |                                                                    |
| No fayth nor perfitt godlineffe doth any where appeare,<br>But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and fuch deceitfull geare.                    | 946 |                                                                    |
| Beholde againe their prayers and the bookes they occupie,<br>Wherewith to God, and to the faintes, they pray continually :                    |     | <i>Prayers.</i>                                                    |
| And to the Angells vfe the like : which fuperftitious kinde,<br>They doe not reade with any fprite, or zealousnesse of minde :                | 950 | Are not prayd with zeal, only babbled                              |
| No caufe prouoketh them to praye, this onely them affinde,<br>To babble much, for otherwife woulde want no wordes nor minde,                  |     |                                                                    |
| Ne fhoulde they neede fo many prayers, appoynted them to fay,<br>Nor thus to tire their weered tongue, with mumbling all the day.             |     | and mumbled                                                        |
| Likewife before the heapes of bones, prepared for the fame                                                                                    | 955 |                                                                    |
| They ftande, and to the fpirits and foules in graue, they prayers frame :                                                                     |     |                                                                    |
| And for their good eftate they pray, that meafure none they know,<br>Of foolifhnesse, nor wicked deedes doe euer ceaffe to flow :             | 958 |                                                                    |
| To Church they come with beades of bone, or of fome other thing,<br>Whofe middles pierced through are tide, and ioyned with a ftring :        |     | Papists have Rosaries of bone-beads on a string,                   |
| Thus faftned, fiftie <i>Rofaries</i> , they fill account the fame,<br>And thirfe fo many <i>Pfalters</i> they accuftomde are to name.         | 962 |                                                                    |
| With thefe vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his faintes,<br>They number all their babling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes.           |     | and count their babblings by em.                                   |
| So that they number onely feeke, not caring for the minde :                                                                                   |     |                                                                    |
| That woman holyeft is by much, and of deuouteft kinde,                                                                                        | 966 | The holiest woman is she who has beads to her foot.                |
| Whofe beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whofe maydens fo<br>Drest vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Church doe go.                 |     | [leaf 57, back] <i>Charmes.</i>                                    |
| Befides for Charmes and Sorseries, in all things they excell,<br>Both <i>Dardan</i> and the Witches foule, that by <i>Mæotis</i> dwell.       | 970 |                                                                    |
| The reason is, that yet to trust in God they haue no skill,<br>Nor will commit themfelues vnto th'almightie fathers will.                     |     |                                                                    |
| If any woman brought abed, amongft them haps to lie,<br>Then every place enchaunter lyke, they clenfe and purifie :                           | 974 | When a woman's brought to bed, they purify the place from spirits. |
| For feare of fprightes leaft harme she take, or caried cleane away,<br>Be ftolne from thence, as though she than in greateft daunger lay,     |     |                                                                    |
| When as hir trauailes ouerpast, and ended well hir paine,<br>With reft and sleepe she feeke to get, hir ftrengh decayde againe.               |     |                                                                    |
| The like in trauailes harde they vfe, and mariages afwell,                                                                                    | 979 |                                                                    |
| And eke in all things that they buy, and euery thing they fell.                                                                               |     |                                                                    |
| About thefe Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes,<br>That ferue againft all miferies, and all vnhappie harmes :              | 982 | Charmes hang about every Papist's neck.                            |
| Amongft the which, the threatning writ of <i>Michael</i> maketh one,<br>And alfo the beginning of the Goppell of Saint <i>Iohn</i> :          |     |                                                                    |
| But thefe alone they doe not trust, but with this fame they haue,<br>Theyr barbrous wordes, & crosse drawne with bloud, or painted braue.     |     | Crosses drawn with blood, &c.,                                     |
| They fwordes enchaunt, and horfes frong, and flefh of men they make<br>So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take |     |                                                                    |

344 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

|                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| keep men from hurt by bows.                                                  | And vsing Necromancie thus, them selues they safely keepe, 989<br>From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe:<br>No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare;                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| They shut up spirits in crystal as charms.                                   | Besides in glistering glasse fayre, or else in chrifall cleare<br>They sprighthes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the fame<br>They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame, 994<br>And when theyr Kine doe giue no milke, or hurt, or bitten fore,<br>Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Holydayes.</i><br>Folk dress fine, and walk in the streets or the fields. | Now laft behold how they do keepe, their fabboth daies throughout,<br>First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about: 998<br>With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace,<br>And rapyres long about them girt, their great and chiefest grace.<br>Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate,<br>They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate. 1002                                                                                                                                         |
| Others drink as long as they can stand. [leaf 58]                            | An other fort together come, and drinking hande to hande,<br>They quaffe so long, till none of them be able for to stande:<br>Yea oftentimes they in their seates, with drinke are strangled quight,<br>And yeelding vp their dronken ghoftes, doe bid their mates godnight.<br>But few of them doe care for Masse, though euery one doe faye,<br>And thinke it holieft is, nor to the Church they go to praye: 1008<br>But cyther breakefastes long they make, at home when they arise,<br>Or drinke vntill the euening starre, begin to shine in skies. |
| Few go to church.                                                            | Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketted.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| After dinner they play at ball, and wrestle,<br><br>or fence.                | Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well haue fed,<br>To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoote, 1013<br>To tosse the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote:<br>Some others trie their skill in gonnas, some wrestle all the day,<br>And some to schooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play:                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Others play cards, or backbite.                                              | An other fort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame,<br>But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame: 1018<br>Some vse to sit before their doores, and backbite euery man,<br>Or newes deuise, or some debate, and frife whereas they can.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| All drink.                                                                   | The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sports and play,<br>Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away,<br>Of euery worde arifeth blowes, their manhoode to assay, 1023                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| No Sunday is without a drunken fray.                                         | So that no funday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray.<br>And thus of custome endeth fill, this solemne festiuall,<br>With dronkenesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all.<br>To Enfong are they called fraight, by towling of the bell, 1027<br>But from their place they list nor stirre, being occupied so well:<br>They forward with their game doe go, and Church and seruice all,<br>Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.                                                                                               |
| Some court girls, dance, and go further.                                     | Some others to their Ladies fues, being amorous all the while,<br>Or frame deceytes or subtilties, yong maydens to beguile, 1032<br>The wanton youth to dauning goes, and wickedly doe draw,<br>The maydes in ring, and wantonnesse hath neyther bondes nor law.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>Stewes.</i><br>The Papist Priests keep                                    | And leaft the youth their pleasure full of whoredome should not take,<br>In euery Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 345

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| And Bawdes they suffer openly, and cherish them withall,<br>Of whome no slender price doe here receyue nor profit small : 1038                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Brothels and<br>Bawds, in every<br>city.                                                                                                          |
| These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie,<br>The same that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks destroy.<br>To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes,<br>Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042                                                                                                                                                                    | To these<br>Brothels come all<br>unmarrid folk.                                                                                                   |
| Whatsoever they be that haue not yet, the yoake of mariage tride,<br>No kinde of shame doth drine them hence, nor any care beside.<br>For lawfull here they doe it see, and not to be dispisde,<br>But with the Popish sort to be, an exercise deuise. 1046                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                   |
| Sometime it also haps, that married men doe here resort,<br>But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull sort<br>Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay,<br>And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away . 1050                                                                                                                                                                                 | If any marrid<br>ones are caught<br>there, they get<br>thrashit.                                                                                  |
| But at this same the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye,<br>For Papistes, whordome doe alow, and count it but a playe.<br>For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow fill,<br>That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill : 1054                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                   |
| The lawe <i>Scatinian</i> is extinct, and <i>Iulian</i> laugh at now,<br>The Papistes, euery kinde of vice, and wickednesse alow :<br>And not alonely in themselues, they doe the same permit,<br>But also vnto all that list, with Golde to purchase it. 1058                                                                                                                                                                               | Papistes allow<br>euery kind of<br>vice.                                                                                                          |
| But here I faine woulde vnderstaunde, what straunge Apostle hee,<br>That gaue vnto the Christian sort, this wanton libertee?<br>That where they freely might enioye, and haue them openlye,<br>And they themselues to take the hier of beaflly letcherye ? 1062                                                                                                                                                                              | What Apostle<br>said they could<br>take the hire of<br>whores, and yet<br>be seruants of<br>God ?                                                 |
| And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine,<br>The perfitt seruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine ?<br>Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full,<br>That they with emptie shadow thee not into errour pull. 1066                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                   |
| This was the guise of <i>Corynth</i> great, and <i>Cyprus</i> eke of olde,<br>While darcknesse raine, and Sathan foule, his scepture there did holde :<br>But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vile,<br>Least that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile.<br>Who would not muse to see the witte of these fame catholickes,<br>Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes ? 1072 | Their excuse is,<br>that men 'ud<br>otherwise rape<br>maidens.                                                                                    |
| This thing coulede <i>Moyfes</i> not perceyue, that all things else did see,<br>Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee :<br>And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise,<br>Nor <i>Paule</i> it saw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skies : 1076                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Deut.</i> 23.<br><i>1. Cor.</i> 5. 6.<br>7. 10.<br><i>Heb.</i> 13. [ <i>lf.</i> 59]<br><i>Gal.</i> 5.<br><i>Ephe.</i> 5.<br><i>1. Thes.</i> 4. |
| Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right,<br>To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright :<br>Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be,<br>The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he<br>To be excluded farre from faintes, and such as christned be. } 1080                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                   |
| But they haue nothing for to doe, with <i>Moyfes</i> nor with <i>Paule</i> ,<br>Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all.<br>Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispenfing wondrouslye,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Papistes don't care<br>for Moses or<br>Paul :<br>they pardon<br>themselves.                                                                       |

As men that onely here posselt the keyes of heauen hie. 1084

In many things doe ouer passe, nor haue they euery where,  
 Their customes like, for euery realme hath his deuised gere :  
 Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,  
 There are that doe such doltish dreames, defende maliciously, 1088  
 That quight contrary are to Christ, and to religion right,  
 Which neyther canst thou easly knowe, nor well in verse resight.

But if we say  
 these Papists are  
 not members of  
 Christ,

Now when these Popish lothsome limmes, by no meanes we can see  
 In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Christ to bee, 1092  
 Nor can in anye wise imbrace, the fonde religion vaine,  
 And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine,  
 Nor doctrine of so wicked fayth, to Christian people giue,  
 But rather as the Apostles teach, doe simply seeke to liue, 1096  
 Reiecting toyes and mans deuice, as which we surely know,

we're calld  
 Heretics, and  
 punisht or  
 banisht,

To be detested of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw :  
 We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,  
 Of halter, fworde, consuming fire, and ech extremittee. 1100  
 We punisht are, our houfes sealde, or from our countrie farre  
 We banisht be, or else opprest at home with ciuill warre :

and lose our  
 goods.

Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth consume, and cleane deuours,  
 The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.  
 These things these Catholikes attempt, when in so many yeares,  
 By scriptures sure they cannot plant, this foolish fayth of theirs :  
 Nor ours with scriptures ouerthrow, that now they seeke to make  
 The Prince of hell and Christ to ioyne in one, and partes to take.

Tho' they see  
 they can't stand  
 against God's  
 word and light,

For (all ashamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot stande,  
 With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, 1110  
 The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe shine,  
 The twelue Apostles doctrine, and that blessed court deuine.

[leaf 59, back]

they won't con-  
 fess they've  
 erred,

Nor good it seemeth yet to them (such is their wisdome hie,)  
 To graunt that they haue erd in any thing or gone awrie. 1114  
 For shame it is that learned men, and such as famous bee,  
 For Mitars and for Crofiar staues, amongst the Christiantee  
 Christ nor the Apostles fayth to know, that perfit is and iust,  
 But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may safely trust.

but hate us Re-  
 formers, and  
 pour out our  
 blood,

From hence proceedeth all their grieft, and all their cruell hate,  
 That with effusion of our blood, they stablish their estate : 1120  
 And will not here be pacified by any other meanes,  
 Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monstrous dreames :  
 And altogither runne in one, like flockes for company,  
 To false and wicked worshipping, and vile idolatry : 1124  
 And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,  
 Although they teache no doctrine of the King celestiall.

It's often been  
 agreed that  
 Papist and  
 Protestant  
 should keep his  
 own faith, but

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part shoulde freely vse  
 Their owne religion, seruing God as best they list to chuse : 1128  
 And neyther part the other for to trouble or molest,  
 With warres or bookes, that Germany might liue in peace or rest.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 347

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |      |                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write,<br>And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite :<br>Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endure,<br>But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here affurde.                                                              | 1134 | the Papists<br>won't be true to<br>this compact.                                                                                   |
| If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado,<br>Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therevnto,<br>And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie,<br>And take the pillage of their foes, immediately they crie :                                                                             | 1138 | If we take arms<br>to protect our-<br>selves, the<br>Papists say it's<br>the Gospell's<br>fault, declare the<br>Gospell's Turkish, |
| The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight<br>These fellows liue, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light :<br>It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago :<br>And spightfully they slaunder it, with many raylings mo :                                                       | 1142 |                                                                                                                                    |
| As if that any Preacher here, did euer this allow,<br>Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow.<br>They know full well themfelues that none of ours did euer teache,<br>To vse such violence, nor this vnto the people preache :                                                                             | 1146 |                                                                                                                                    |
| Yet with their vile infectiue tongues, and mouthes enuenemde tho,<br>With poyson that in hellish lakes, and <i>Stygian</i> streames doth flo,<br>The Gospell of the Lorde they doe, most spightfully defame,<br>And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same.                                              | 1150 | and they hell-<br>ishly defame its<br>Preachers.<br>[leaf 60]                                                                      |
| But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise,<br>To keepe them in, from vsing force against their enimies ?<br>Why doe they not as well diswade their Catholikes, and blame<br>Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very same ?                                                                  | 1154 | The Papists                                                                                                                        |
| And boldely euery where destroy, and euery man molest,<br>Yea euen their very friendes at home, that faine woulde liue at rest.<br>What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that euen openly<br>With bitter wordes and bookes perswade men to such cruelty ?<br>Are these to any man vnknowne ? doth Fraunce and Italy | 1159 | persuade men to<br>persecute us.<br>The Pope<br>pardons those<br>who fight us.                                                     |
| Not openly declare the same, and plainly testify ?<br>Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perswade this martiall might,<br>And pardons euery man hys sinnes that in their quarrell fight ?                                                                                                                              | 1162 |                                                                                                                                    |
| But sure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe,<br>And better others faultes they see, than what themfelues doe lacke :<br>Accounting here for catholickes, themfelues and all their traine,<br>And others all as heritickes, and wicked people plaine :                                          | 1166 |                                                                                                                                    |
| Wherefore the chiefeft members of this holy popish state,<br>Their cerimonies and their dayes, they yearely consecrate.<br>Their foolish fayth and beaftly life, I openly doe showe,<br>That all the worlde may vnderstande, and euery man may know,<br>That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way,  | 1172 | They don't care<br>for Christ, but<br>only to claim<br>that they are<br>holy, and we<br>cursed heretics.                           |
| But onely seeke to looke aloft, and boldely for to say,<br>That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes,<br>And we vnhappy castawayes, and cursed heritickes.<br>But wherein are they Catholickes ? bicause they folow here<br>The truth ? but what they folow and beleue, doth plaine appere.              | 1177 | If they are<br>Catholicks, so<br>are Turks and<br>Moors.                                                                           |
| So it is that in number they and countries vs excell,<br>So mayft thou both the <i>Turkes</i> and <i>Mores</i> , call Catholickes as well.                                                                                                                                                                            |      |                                                                                                                                    |

Let all true men  
see how right  
we've been in  
giving up this  
monstrous  
Popish faith!

Herewith I iudge that euery man, that hath an vpright heart,  
Doth vnderfande how iust our cause hath bene for to depart  
From this their monstrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatreie,  
And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree: 1182  
As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde,  
Nor suffer such as woulde, but keepe them still in darcknesse blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

*Superstitions about Storms.* Compare part of *The thirde Booke*,  
leaf 41, bk, 42 :--

*Belles*

are rung against  
storms and  
thunder.

If that the thunder chauce to rore, and stormie tempest shake,  
A woonder is it for to see the wretches howe they quake,  
Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor trust in any thing.  
The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, 4  
With wondrous found, and deeper farre, than he was woont before,  
Till in the loftie heauens darke, the thunder bray no more.

*Ratio, dimino.*

For in these Cristned belles they thinke, doth lie such powre & might, 8  
As able is the tempest great, and storme, to vanquish quight.

A Bell

[leaf 42]

nam'd Mary,  
that said it put  
thunder and  
spirits to flight.

I fawe my selfe at *Numburg* once, a towne in Toring coast,  
A Bell that with this title bolde, hir selfe did proudly boast,  
"By name I *Mary* called am; with found I put to flight 11  
The thunder crackes, and hurtfull stormes, and euery wicked spright."  
Such things when as these Belles can do, no wonder certainlie  
It is, if that the Papistes to their tolling alwayes flie,  
When haile, or any raging storme, or tempest comes in fight, 15  
Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that euery place doth smight:

Candles are also  
lighted, and  
Holy Palms  
us'd, against  
storms.

Besides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all,  
And Willow braunches hallow, that they Palmes do vse to call.  
This done, they verily beleeeue, the tempest nor the storme, 19  
Can neyther hurt themselues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne.

Other folk sit  
out in the open  
air.

But some there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit  
Their liues to this, but vnderneath the starres they seeke to fit;  
For there (they say) the lightning can no kinde of creature smight,  
Nor fall vpon the feeble corse of any fearefull wight. 24

Others hide in  
caves.

There are, that hide themselues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie,  
When as they heare the roring found, and rumbling in the skie.

Where then is  
their trust in  
Christ?

Where here appeares the confidence, and trust vnto the hieft? 28  
And hope in all aduerstie cast wholly vpon Christ?  
Where doe they here commit themselues, and all that they possesse,  
Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do expresse?

Are these  
'Catholicks,' that  
defend them-  
selves by Bells  
and such hum-  
bug?

Are not these Papistes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well,  
That are defended in the stormes, by sounde of brasen Bell? 32  
And steps of stayres, and braunches burnt, with flames encompart round,  
And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground?

The Heathens  
did the same.

Such Gods, and such defenders here, the heathen woont to haue,  
To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themselues to faue. 36

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 maye be referred to fewe, or one,  
 &c. And also that "*amongest*"

† *A Looking Glasse for Englande.* Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and onerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth . . . London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an "old tract in S. Cypr. *de 12 abusioibus seculi*" (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho' it was the "dailie and hourely looking glasse" of "noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde," and its englisher "long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke." sign. (iij.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an vnjust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law. The treatment of all is quite general.

- may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. (So of 'toward' and 'towards,' &c.)
- Amulets and annulets, 255
- Amusements, Stubbes's abuse of, discusst, 46\*-49\*. Bp. Babington on those allowable, 88\*
- Anatomie of Absurditie*, by T. Nashe, 232, 320; its abuse of Stubbes, 39\*-41\*
- Ancientie, x/15, antiquity
- Andrew, St., customs on his day, 341
- Androgini, 254. 'Men hauynge membres of both kindes, beyng both man and woman. *Androginos*. Of thys kynde is in Asia.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.
- Angels food or dragons milk, 307, good ale
- Ant and Grasshopper, fable of, 86\*
- Antidotarie, 96, *marg.* antidote
- Antiques, 147/16, fooleries, actor's 'properties'
- Antwerp, judgment of God on a ruff-wearing woman of, 71, 72, 259
- Apale, 62, *vb.* appall, frighten
- Apes: as drunk as Apes, 151/3; men are God's, and Women are men's, 77\*, note
- and Bears, led about the country, 87\*
- Apishness, 77\*
- Apparel, 75\*: see *Dress*.
- Apple-squires, boys who wait on harlots: see Index note to *Harlots*
- Aprons, women's, 264
- Arase, 35, *sb.* Arras hangings
- Arch-doctor of all truth, Christ, 120/1
- Argente, 52, l. 2 from foot, money. *Fr.* Argent
- Argentted, 62/7, silverd
- Armed Man, the, 91\* *n.*, Death
- ARMIN, Robert, defended by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Artificers' and Occupiers' tricks to raise prices, 118
- Artificers and Tailors warnd not to indulge folk in new fashions, 81
- Artificers' wives wear Velvet Hats, 69
- ARUNDELL, Phillip, Earl of, Dedication of the "Anatomy" to, iii
- As, *conj.* that, 116/19
- Ascension Day, Popish customs on, 337
- Ashwe'n'sday, popular customs and sports on, 331
- Ass, wooden, taken in procession on Palm Sunday, 332-3
- Assayes, at all, xvii/5, certainly, at all events
- Assoted, 39/13, 148, *adj.* mad, foolish. "*Assott.* Sotted, besotted." Cotgrave
- Assotteth, 110/12, besotteth, makes foolish
- Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Customs on the Feast of, 340
- Assy, 51/3, *adj.* asinine, foolish, ridiculous. 'Asseheade wythout anye learnyng or wytte. *Vappa.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.
- Auster, 83, *adj.* austere, sedate
- Austerly, 81, *adv.* austere
- AVERELL, W., on Men's Dress, 239; on Women's, 253
- Babelries, 81/21, 185, *sb. pl.* baubles, childish toys, babyish fancies
- Babblerie, 148, *sb.* nonsense
- BABINGTON, Bp. extracts from, on Dress, 75\*; Sabbath-breaking, 78\*; Stage Plays and Dancing, 83\*; lawful Amusements, 88\*; Dicing, 89\*; Unfit Parsons, 92\*; Tittle-Tattle, 93\*; see list, 75\*
- Babish, 87\*, 161, *adj.* childish, foolish
- Babishnes, 78/27, *sb.* playfulness, affected youthfulness
- Bables, 61, *sb. pl.* baubles, gewgaws
- Badged, 271, *adj.* with a badge painted on it
- Badges, the Lord of Misrule's, 148
- Baggage, 58/19, filthy matter; 103, rubbish, stuff. 'Baggage, lumbor, or trumperye, solde for necessitye. *Scruta.*' 1552. R. Huloet.
- Bagpipe, dancing to the, 340
- Balaam and his ass, 121
- Balaunced, 119, stufft, weighted; 171, laden, F.

- Ball, games at, 344  
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 Bandogs, 178, *sb. pl.* Mastiffs; also called Tie-dogs, from being tied or bound on account of their fierceness. See Harrison, *Description of England*, II. 44-5  
 Bands, peasants' stately, 52, 53  
 Bankside, Southwark, a place for brothels, 281; and Bearbaiting, 79\* *n.* 'Bawdye house, or house of bawdrye wythout the walles of a towne. *Summænum*, 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*  
 Banning, 107; Bannying, 112, *v.* 199, *sb.* swearing, cursing  
 Bar, pitching the; a game, 316: see *Games* below  
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 Barley-break, a game, 316 ‡  
 Barns, Puritans meet in, 41\*  
 Base, a game, 316  
 Basilicock, 109/27, *sb.* basilisk. 'Basiliske, a beaste full of poyson, whiche some men do thyncke to be a cokeatrice.' *Catoblepas*. 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*  
 Bastards: the getting 2 or 3, a needful sign of being a man, 96. 'Bastard begotten betwene base and gentle, or betwene coningate and single. *Spurius.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
- Bastardy, causes of in England, 96  
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 Bear-baiting, on Sundays, 137, 177, 296-7; this 'sweet and comfortable recreation' for the rabble, justified, 79\*  
 Beareward, 178, *sb.* Bear-keeper  
 Bear-Garden, accident at the, 179, 319  
 Bear in hand, 49/20, entertain with hopes; 118/1, persuade  
 Beating of children on Childermas Day, Dec. 28, 325  
 Become, 35/13, adorn  
 Bee: "As quick as a bee," 96  
 Beef and Mutton, prices of, 287  
 Beggars and Scotchmen eating white bread, 234  
 Beggars, great number of, in England, 97  
 Beggars now called "Master," 123, 292  
 Beggerye baggage, (roots, &c., not meat) Englishmen can't eat, 288  
 Behold the Devil, 307, get drunk: see *Drunkards* below  
 Bellicheer, 102/13; 104/15, gluttony  
 Bells rung against storms, 348  
 Bessies, 147, girls, sweethearts  
 Betorn, 151, torn to pieces  
 Bibles in churches, all ragged and rent, 151  
 Big-bellied Doublets, 55  
 Birds and beasts: men dress up as, at Shrovetide, 329  
 Bishop's oil and glasses blest on Maundy Thursday, 334  
 BISMARCK and the English Sunday, 297-8 §

† K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspicion of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breastes laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.'" 1605. Jn. Stow, *Annales*, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,' 12mo, 1678.

‡ Huloet has a good compound of Barley: '*Barley bunne* gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meened by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlye. *Hordiarius*, ij.'

§ Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diver-

- Blase, St., the Holy-Water man :  
 customs on his day, 328-9
- Blaunch, 180, *vb.*, whitewash, represent bad as good
- Bleake, *a*, light, faint (colour), 77\*, *n.*
- Bleeding, hair-cutting, &c., only done at certain times of the moon, 323
- Blindman-buffe, the game, 316
- Blockheads: why Englishmen are calld, 77\*, *n.*
- Blockhouses, 176, forts, strongholds
- Blockish ydols, 154; as blockish as beasts, 151
- Bloodiest oath-maker, counted the bravest fellow, 132
- Bloody swearers, 133/6; 134
- Boalling, 286, swilling, drinking
- Bocardo, 126, *sb.* debtors' prison. Properly "the old North gate at Oxford, taken down in the last century. It was formerly used as a prison for the lower sort of criminals, drunkards, bad women, and poor debtors." Halliwell
- Bolstred heir, 67, *ph.* propt-up hair; bolstered breasts, 256
- Bombasted, 55, *adj.* stufft, padded with bombast, or cotton
- Books, infidel and wanton, in Ailgna, 185
- BOORDE, Andrew, his cut of an Englishman, 249, 77\*, &c.
- Boothby, Lincolnshire, 58\*
- Boothose, 61, 251
- Boots of Spanish leather, 242; with fringed tops, 248
- Bottell-arste bummes, 264, sticking out like a truss of hay
- Bowable, 76/14, *adj.* easily bent
- BOWCER, Oswald, of Donnington: the judgment on his wife Joan, 58\*
- Bowers and arbours in Churchyards for games, 147
- Bowling, 173, 174; bowling, 372; playing at bowls
- Branded with a hot iron, Swearers should be, 134
- Brase, 75, *sb.* brace, couple
- Braue, 41, *adj.* fine, showy
- Breeches like Brewers' Hopsacks, 241, 246
- Brewer's washing beetle, be beaten with, 307, get drunk
- Bribery, Bp. Babington against, 92\*
- Bridals, mad dancing and customs at, 309
- Bride, hardships of her first night, 309
- Bridewell prison, 100, 233
- Brocheth, 77, *pr. s.* introduces, brings forward
- Brothels and harlots, 280
- Brothelry, 94/9, lechery
- BRUISTAR, W., his death, 282
- Brush on the Beard, a Fop's, 78\*, note
- Burst, 85, *pt. s.* 188, burst. A.S. *berstan, brestan*
- Brustyng, 112, *pr. p.* bursting
- Buffin gown, 264, ? coarse stuff: see Nares
- Bugges and sprites, Crosses good against, 326/154
- Bugled cloaks, 61
- Bugles, 61, 67, *sb. pl.* beads, ornaments of glass, &c.
- Bumbd like a Barrell, men, 239, women, 264, 271. See note on *Codpieces* below
- Bunches, 243 *n.*, bumps, swellings
- BURBAGE, James, his Theatre in Shoreditch, 143, 299, 300
- Busks, women's, in stays, 262, 259, 272
- Bussing, 147, *vb.* kissing

sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked:—"St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter: 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"—*Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. 1.

- Butter-flies (and writs), 126, *sb. pl.* apparently writs, executions
- Buttocks: lye there (in prison) till his heels rot from his buttocks, 127
- Buttons, great and small, 239
- Buxome, 75/27, *adj.* yielding (met). A.S. *būhsom* from *būgan*, to bow
- Buzzing dronets and idle lubbers, Players are, 145
- Cabbage shoestrings, 240
- Cable hatband, 242
- Caduke, 103/27, *adj.* crazy, frail. Lat. *caducus*, from *cadere*, to fall
- Cake, a big one made on Twelfth-Day (Jan. 6), 326
- CAMDEN'S account of John Stubbes' having his hand chopt off, 54\*
- Candlemas Day, Feb. 2, customs on, 328
- Canions, 56/15, 231, 246, rolls at the bottoms of breeches just below the knee; see Strutt, II. 148
- Caps, women's, 69/3; 258; 282 *n.*
- Carding, 174, playing at cards
- Cards, dice, tables, bowls, 131, not to be playd by any Christian, 173
- Care or Carle Sunday, customs on, 332
- Carefull, carfull, 120, *adj.* anxious, full of care
- CARTWRIGHT, Thomas, the Puritan, praised by G. Harvey, 43\*; marrid John Stubbe's sister, 54\*
- Carzies, 32/11, *sb. pl.* kersies. Harrison, *Descript. of Engl.*, ed. Furnivall, I. 172, tells us that an Englishman "was knowne abroad by his owne cloth," and at home wore "his fine *carsie* hosen and a mean slop"
- Casting-bottle, 271, for sprinkling perfumes: see Nares
- Cato's opinion on Usury, 125
- Caueate, 113, *sb.* caution
- Cawles, 69/18; 258, *sb. pl.* silk nets for the hair. "A kelle, *reticulum.*" *Cath. Anglicum*, "Kelle, *reticulum, retiaculum.*" *Prompt. Parv.*, on which see Mr. Way's note
- Cemeteries or Churchyards, 147, margin
- Chafe, 72, *sb.* rage, heat
- Chamber-pots, gold, 235
- Chamlet, 32, 56, *sb.* camelot
- Character, 76, *sb.* mark, sign
- Charges, 21, *sb. pl.* expense. Cf. *All's Well*, &c., II. iii. 131
- Charity cold in England, 59, 104, 105, 249, 288
- Charms, absurd Papist ones, 343; Bp. Babington against, 78\*
- CHAUCER, on the poor, 44\*; Dicing, 90\*; Dances, 47\*; Sin, 233; Pride and Nature, 234; Gentility, 237; Dress, 238
- Cheape, 16, 45/6, prices, cost. A.S. *Cēap*
- Cheapside; Stubbes lodgd near, Nov. 8, 1593, 68\*
- CHESTER, Col., notes on Stubbes' marriage and his wife's mother, 51\*-53\*
- Childbirth, superstitious customs after, 343
- Childermas (December 28), customs on, 325
- Children tightly swathd and hurt, 263; neglect their duties to Parents, 82\*: see *Parents*
- Chitterlynges, 69, *sb. pl.* some kind of ornamental fringe, so called from its resembling the small entrails, which is the literal meaning of the word
- Chopines, 265, high court shoes
- Christmas, great wickedness practised in keeping, 174; eve, and day, customs on (Kirchmaier), 324
- Church, Lords of Misrule at, 147
- noisy bridals at, 308-9
- anniversary of its dedication, 137, 340
- Church-ales, 137, *sb. pl.* Feasts in commemoration of the dedication of a church; 340
- Church-ales or Whitsun-ales, 150, 306-9
- Churches, bad state of the, 151
- Church-stock, 150, the money for the repair of the church, &c., in the Churchwardens' hands
- CHURCHYARD the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*

- Churchyards, games and dancing in, 147, 305  
 Cingling, *sb.* 77\*, note, pulling in at the waist  
 Cipher, 26, *v.* describe  
 Circumgyring, 67, *pr. p.* encircling  
 Ciullest, 38, *adj.* most civilised  
 CLARKE, Stubbes's friend; T. Nashe's tale about, 37\*  
 Clipping (and culling at plays), 144, *sb.* embracing  
 Cloaks, fashions in, 60, 61, 242  
 Clocks, 57, *sb. pl.* ornamental work worn on various parts of dress, especially on each side of a stocking  
 Clogged, 61, 101, *pp.* heavily embroidered or covered  
 Clothes, the value of good ones (cp. Cloten in *Cymbeline*), 39/7, 237, 75\*  
 Clowts, 97, *sb. pl.* clothes; 219, rags  
 Cloyshe, Coyles, Coytynge; games, 316 (see Brand's *Pop. Antiq.*)  
 Coach, lady's; 271, 283  
 Coast, 87, *sb.* country  
 Coats and jerkins, 58, 248  
 Cockering, 76, *sb.* indulgence. Tusser speaks of "cockering mams and shifting dads"  
 Cock-fighting in England, on Sundays, 137, 180, 79\*  
 Codpiece, 55, 237, 243, an artificial protuberance on the breeches, well explained by its name.† See Cotgrave, *s. v. esguillette*  
 Cogge, 'cogge, lye, and falsifye,' 145, *vb.* cheat, load a die. "*Casser.* To cogge a dye." Cotgrave  
 Collars, standing, 240, 241, 243  
 COLLIER, Mr. J. P., 55\*, 60\*, account of Stubbes's *Motive to Good Works*, 67\*, opinions of his about Stubbes disputed, 61\*, 70\*  
 Combinate, 44, *pp.* combined. See Ingenerate  
 Comedies: their ground bawdy, their agents whores, 143  
 Comfortative, 78/11, comforting  
 Commoditye, 58, *sb.* advantage  
 Commons, enclosure of by the rich, 116, 45\*  
 Commorante, 22; 46/23, dwelling, residing. Lat., *commorantem*  
 Complection, 103, *sb.* constitution, temperament  
 Complices, ix; 84/28, *sb. pl.* accomplices, associates  
 Computist, v/15, *sb.* reckoner, calculator  
 Concions, 163, *sb. pl.* addresses, sermons  
 Concoct, 103, *vb.* digest  
 Conculcate, 183, trodden under foot  
 Concupiscencious, baudie, and bestiall love: dancing induces, 156  
 Conducibile, 62/18, conducive  
 Confortatiue, 78, *adj.* comforting, strengthening  
 Confuted, 57, *pp.* reprov'd  
 Congratulate . . with, 153  
 Contentation, 72/14; 87/13, contentment, delight, satisfaction  
 Contrarely, 41; Contrarylye, 44, *adv.*: *e contrario*, in the contrary way  
 Contrarie, 199, *vb.* thwart, oppose  
 Conuented, 101, *pp.* summoned; 126, brought to court  
 Conuivious talking, 180  
 Co-operative Stores, the need of them, 45\*, 46\*  
 Coquetry and dress of women, 64, 67, 68, 76, 256  
 Corked shoes, 58, 77, 265  
 Corn-growing, bled by the priest on Corpus Christi Day, 338/239  
 Corpus Christi Day: popular and Popish Customs on, 337-8  
 Corroborate, 107/25, strengthen  
 Corroboratiue, 78/11, *adj.* strengthening  
 Corrosive, *sb.* 156/156

† They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their donblets with pendant *codpeeses* on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeves of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [ ] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

- CORYAT, Tom, referred to, 44\*, 234  
 Cost of dress, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264  
 Costly, xii, *adv.* in a costly manner  
 Cotes, 45, *sb. pl.* coats; 'swyne coates,' 151, pigsties  
 Cottage-building forbidden by law, 97, 281  
 Cottagers' daughters in taffatie hats, 69  
 Couched, 65, *pp.* mixed, laid  
 Counterpease, 70/22, counterpoise, weight equal to  
 Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183  
 Courtier, young, Beggar old, 245, *n.*  
 Coventry, Hock-Tuesday Play, led by Captain Cox, 69\*  
 Covetous men buying up poor men's land, 119, 290, 291  
 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92\*  
 Cowlstaffe, 148, *sb.*, a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. "Ride the cowlstaff," to ride the stang, ride a rail †  
 Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74  
 Craking, *sb.*, boasting, 42\*  
 Crasie, 51, *adj.* crazy, fragile  
 Creatures, God's, not to be abusd, by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182  
 Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293, 46\*  
 Crewell, 57, *sb.* fine worsted wool  
 Cross and Pile, a game, 316  
 Crosses of blood as charms, 343  
 Cuckoldry in England, 45\* (see Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 418)  
 Culling, 144, *sb.* embraces  
 Cupple, 100, *sb.* pair, couple  
 Curious, 71, *adj.* dainty, nice  
 Curiousness, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness  
 Curry-knave, Cutbert; ? Thomas Nashe, on Stubbes, 37\*, 39\*  
 Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299, 301, 308  
 Cutte, 49, *pp.* cut, slash  
 Cypher fourth, 138/16, sketch, outline  
 Cyprian, St., on face-painting, 66  
 Cyuet, 77, *sb.* civet  
 Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture  
 Dag, 66\*, a pistol  
 Daggers, 62, 250, 252  
 Daintiness in food hurtful, 106  
 Damnable, 132, to be condemnd, wrong †  
 Dance, the Devil's danst by every one, 166, l. 3 from foot  
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 Dancing and games on the Sabbath, 136, 137, 296, 297, 79\*, 81\*  
 Dancing, 146, like the French *cancan*, 330. 'Dausyng with a wanton trickes vsd among. *Staticulum*.' 1552. Huloot  
 Dandy: one describd, 241, 77\*: see Dress  
 DANIEL, Samuel, poet, praised by G. Harvey, 43\*  
 Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286  
 DANTER, the printer, 42\*  
 Dasht, 88, *pp.* spoilt  
 Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

† *Woman*. "In some places with vs, if a woman beat hir husbanc, the man that dwelleth next vnto hir, shal ride on a *cowlstaffe*: & there is al y<sup>e</sup> punishment she is like to haue." 1580, T. Lupton. *Sivgila*, p. 50.

‡ "If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and *damne* his deede."—*Tyndale* (1573), f. 144.

"O see witles men of galathie who deceyuede you for to not bileue to the trenhe bifore whos yzen iesu crist is *dampnyde* (or exilde)." — *Epistle to the Galatians*, cap. iii, 6, *Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test.* (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as enery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man." — *Sir T. More's Utopia*, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso. — *R. Roberts*.

- Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278
- Daunger, 153, *sb.* power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. *domigerium*. So "out of debt, out of danger," *i. e.* independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, *s. v.*
- David's dancing, 164
- Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187
- Dealers, cheating, 46\*
- Dearlynages, 88, *sb. pl.* paramours, favourites. 'Darlynge, a wanton terme vsed in veneriall speach, as be these: honycombe, pyggisnye, sweteherth, trueloue. *Adonis . . . delitie . . . suaium sauium.*' 1552. Huloet
- Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. 'Dearth or scarsitye. *Caritas.*' 1552. Huloet  
—dearness, 289
- Death of the Poor in the Streets, 59 : *see* Poor
- Debt, imprisonment for, 126, 127, 292, 293\*
- Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127, 293
- DECKER, T., on men's absurd Dress, 77\* ; on letting men die in the fields, 91\* ; on Creditors' cruelty, see note to *Dice* below.
- Decline, 55, *v.* bend, bow
- Decore, *vb.* 35, footnote 6, ornament ; 'decored,' 64/3, ornamented, improv'd
- Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20
- Dehorted, 142, *pt. s.* dissuaded
- Delicates, 87, delicacies, *sb. pl.* dainties
- DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Deneger, 115, *sb.* denyer
- Denigrate, 78/20, *v.* blacken, darken
- Depainted, ix/6, depicted ; Cp. Thynne's *Emblemes*, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24
- Deuerginat, 145, *vb.* seduce
- Devil, the maker of new fashions, 77/11 : his band in the temple of God, 147
- Devil, behold the : get drunk, 307 : *see Drunkards*, below
- 'Dice of his bones, I will make,' 119, 127, 290, 293, 46\*, † 89\*
- Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89\*
- Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89\*-91\*
- Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46
- Disalowe, 153, 1 *pr. s.* disapprove
- Discrasies, 103/21, *sb. pl.* ailments, disorders, discomforts. 'Discraysed. *Egrotus.*' 1552. Huloet
- Disgesture, 103/15 ; 106/15, *sb.* digestion
- Dishcloute, 51, *sb.* rag, dishcloth
- Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

† " You haue another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and death deal mildely with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life *cruell* *Creditors.* in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allows him) for his cares to sleepe vpon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get ; what seeke you to haue him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot moouie you ; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you : the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion : if his debts be heauie, the greater and more glorious is your pity to worke his freedome ; if they be light, the sharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the Diucl that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes *make Dice of mens bones*, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too : and that euerie miserable debter that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in *Ieronimo*) crying *Reuenge.*" 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

- ruins the character of. 'Disbonesten or make dishonest. *Collutito, as. Contamino, as.* Dishonest or defyle a woman. *depudico.*' 1552. Huloet
- Disparcle, 78/17, *v.* spread, scatter abroad
- District, 46/9, strict
- Diue, 52, *v.* steep
- Document, 100/13, lesson, cp. *Hamlet, IV. v.*
- Doen, 66, *pp.* done
- Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268
- Donnington, Leicestershire, 59\*
- Doomsday, near, 187
- Doublets made of a monstrous size, 55; of laced satin, 246, 247; worn by women, 71, 261, 77\*, note
- Dregs, 63, *sb. pl.* rubbish
- Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man's station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer's time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48
- Dress of men, 239, 75\*, 77\*, 78\*
- Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257\*, 77\*, note
- Drink, names for, 150, 307
- Drinking half-pots or whole cans of beer, game at, 316
- Dromming, xi, *sb.* playing on drums
- Dronets, xi/8, 145; *sb. pl.* drones
- Droye, 78/2, *sb.* droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. 'Drudge or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle seruice. *Mediastimus, a, um.*' 1552. Huloet
- Drummer, 172
- Drunk, names for getting, 307
- Drunkards worse than beasts, 108: "*Accoustré pour aller au guet.* Thoroughly tipleed, soundly whittled, that hath seene the diuell." 1611. Cotgrave. See Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for Droonkardes,' 1576
- Drunken alestake, 78\*, drunkard
- Drunkenness and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285
- Drunkennes in England, 107; testimonies against, 109; a caueat against, 112
- Duetie, 112, *sb.* duty
- Dumb creatures, Stubbes's care for, 50\*, 178, 182
- Dunghill gentleman, 122. 'Dunghyll, mixen, or muckhyll. *Priuetum.*' 1552. Huloet
- Durance petticoates, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares
- Dutch drunkards, awful example of two, 113
- Dutch fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Dyeing of hair, 68, 258
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- Easter-eve, popular customs on, 335-6
- EBSWORTH, Rev. J. W., on Ballad-cuts, 17\*; on women's bare necks, 267 *n.*; on S. Rowlands's list of naughty songs, 314
- Education and treatment of children, 278
- Effeminacy of men, 54, 103, 246
- Effeminate, *vb.* 160, make womanish and weak
- Efficiente, 27, *pr. p.* effecting
- EGERTON'S Sermons, mentioned by T. Nashe, 37\*
- Egham races, 47\*
- Elements and Skyes, 188
- Elizabeth, Queen, her procession and dress, June 23, 1600, 71\*
- Els what, 76; what not
- ELYOT, Sir T., against Dicing, 90\*
- EMMES, William, Stubbes's father-in-law, 51\* to 53\*
- England describd, 23, 114; pride and luxury in, 31, 235, 236
- English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles, 33, 235
- Englishmen have become effeminate from dress and luxury, 54, 103, 246, 250; cut of one, 249
- Enlocnilshire, 135, Lincolnshire

- Enterludes, viii, *sb. pl.*, interludes  
 Entirely, 117, *adv.* earnestly, heartily.  
*See* Intirelie  
 Equivalent, 144, of equal weight  
 Erichssehchshire, 135, Cheshire  
 Errata in the early editions, 192  
 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot  
 Estraunged, 96, *pp.* separated,  
 removed  
 Estridge feathers, 253, 270-1  
 Euangely, *sb.* 120, gospel  
 Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one  
 by Nashe, 39\*  
 Evibrate, *vb.* 108, footnote 7, shake  
 Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, *vb.* heap  
 up, gather. 'Heapely, in a  
 mungley, wythout order. *Acerua-*  
*tim, Aggestim.*' 1552. Huloet  
 Examples against drunkenness,  
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 Exorable, 75/29, *adj.* gaine over  
 by entreaties, ready to yield to  
 solicitation  
 Extenuate, 54/25, *v.* lengthen out  
 Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers,  
 vagrants, stragglers  
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 sults, 53, 245  
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 in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241;  
 in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270;  
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 56, 246; in netherstocks (stock-  
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 Fauchone, 110/19; 162, *sb.* a sword  
 or falchion  
 Feade, 62, *vb.* please, feed  
 Feare, 98, *v.* frighten  
 Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243  
 Feight dog, feight bear! the deuill  
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 Felles, 36/21; *sb. pl.* skins  
 Fellowship of Animals' Friends,  
 50\*, *note* † i, 331. 'Felowshyppe,  
 brethren or companie, whych be  
 all of one brotherhode, corpor-  
 ation, fraterternitie, guildre, or  
 misterye. *sodales.*' 1552. Huloet.  
 Felowes, 48, *sb. pl.* companions;  
 A.S. *fēlagi*  
 Femenine, 161, 170, *vb.* effeminate,  
*or, as just below*, womannisheth  
 Filides, 256, *foot* (?)  
 Fine living hurtful, 105  
 Fish: all is fish that comes to the  
 net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huld-  
 ryche or Ulric, 339  
 Fixnet, 35/5; *sb.* shower-off, up-  
 start; 'Thraso' in later editions

† Huloet says under 'Alume . . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. *Zuchari-*  
*num* made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe,  
 the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do comunely vse to paynte their faces and  
 visages wyth, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

‡ Next the entry of Udal's *Rauf Ruyster Duster* (Ralf Roister Doister) in the  
 Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-7, is "Recevyd of thomas hackett for his lycense  
 for the pryntinge of a playe intituled *farre fetcht and Deare bought ys good for*  
*lad[es].*" Arber's *Transcript*, i. 331.

- Flaunes, 148, *sb. pl.* custards, pancakes  
 Flaunt, 34, *vb.* to make a show  
 Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing, †  
 Fleer, 145, *vb.* grin, make faces  
 Flip flap, 51, *phr.* flapping  
 Flipping and flapping, 58/17; flopping, floundering  
 FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 Flower in a fop's ear, 78\* note, 94\*  
 Flowting, ix, *adj.* mocking. "*Brocarder*, to quip, cut, gird, reach over the thummes; ieast at; *flout*, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 42  
 Fluter, 172  
 Foist, 71, footnote 8; '1. barge or pinnacle, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. *crepitus*. *Foist*, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.  
 Fond, 81, *adj.* foolish  
 Food of Englishmen in the olden times, 103, 287  
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 Foot saunte without cards, 304; toying with girls' feet?  
 Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77\* note, 94\*: see *Dress, Fashions*  
 Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.; 97, *impers. pr.* matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothing. . *Susque . . ferre . . Vacat.*' 1552. Huloet.  
 Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251  
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 French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77\* note  
 Frizes, 32, *sb. pl.* friezes  
 Frontiers, 67, *sb.* foreheads  
 Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342  
 Furdest, 56, *adj.* furthest, most removed  
 Fyled, 23, *pp.* filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, *Descript. of Britain*, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of *filed* utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-torned and true-*filed* lines"

† *Fleas*.—Matthew Grove (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 344) gives the following humorous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragical Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoynd sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House. Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

"*A perfect tricke to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber.*"

"Take halfe a quart of barley graine,  
 A quart of strongest beere,  
 And boyle withall in earthen pot  
 A pint of water cleere,  
 Till all these three consumed be  
 To ounces twelve or lesse,  
 And then the place to which you will  
 These fleas in heaps to presse,

Anoynt with that; this water hath,  
 In it this verture raw,  
 That all the fleas will thither come.  
 Then take a slender strawe,  
 And tickle them on the small ribs,  
 And when you see one gape,  
 Thrust then the straw into his mouth,  
 And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be open'd till wanted for use.' When open'd, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

- Gallant's dress, cost of, 245  
 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the : Ruffs so called, 53  
 Gally-hose, *or* gally-gascoynes, 56/1 ; 246, *sb.* wide, loose hose ; bombasted, like women's bustles : see the Index note on *Codpiece*.  
 Gambling and dicing, 174-6 ; the outcome of, 175, 317 ; 89\*-91\*  
 Games and sports, 316†  
 Garagantua breeches, 247  
 Garded, 60, *pp.* trimd, edgd. See *Henry VIII.*, Prologue 16, and *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 143  
 Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279  
 Gardes, 74, *sb. pl.* trimmings, edgings‡  
 Garnishe, 33, *v.* adorn : 'Garnish. *Adorns.*' 1552. Huloet  
 Garters, French, 243 ; of Granada silk, 244, 265 ; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280 ; poniards bung in, 280  
 GASCOIGNE the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 Gascoynes, 242, breeches : "*Guer-guesses* : f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611." Cotgrave  
 Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, *pp.* galled  
 Geare, 97, *sb.* matter, business  
 Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340  
 Generoseous, *a.* 132  
 Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles  
 Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart : 'Gentleman of the first head, or *Ironice* to be applied to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no poynt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. *Filius terra.*' 1552. Rich. Huloet. *Abecdarium*  
 Gentlemen sheeptomongers and graziers, 290  
 Germans not given to change their customs ; or dress, 31  
 Geugawes, 62, *sb. pl.* baubels, trinkets  
 Giese, 111, *pr. noun.* Gehazi  
 Gingered breasts & spiced stomachs, 106, last line  
 Gingerlynes, 78/26, *sb.* affected nicety, dainty manners  
 Girls and men at theatres, 304  
 Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304 ; are harness in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392 ; seduced at thirteen, 232  
 Girls' way of finding out husbands' names, 324  
 Glistening, 79, *pr. p.* shining, glittering  
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 GOLDING, Arthur, on Sabbath breaking, 80\*, 81\*, note  
 Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 275 (see *Harrison*, Part II. Forewords)  
 Good Friday, customs on, 334-5  
 'Good Men' : brawlers and fighters wrongly calld, 88\*, note  
 GOOGE, Barnabe, praised by G. Harvey, 42\* ; his englishing of Book IV of *The Popish Kingdome* of T. Kirchmaier or Naogeorgus, 323

† 'Actiue parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre, daunsinge, leapyng, runnyng, shotyng, shyping. *Pancraciastes. Et pancratius : tij, ang.* he that doth cxercyse suche actiuitie.' 1522. R. Huloet. *Abecdarium*.

‡ 'Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bouders or trayles fynely wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber : Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, *Segmentum* ; and that which is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, *Segmentatus, a, um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abecdarium*.

- Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities
- Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152
- Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony
- GRAFTON the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Grime, 67, *adj.* grim, fierce
- Grograins, 32, *sb. pl.* a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, *grograines*," &c., 231
- Groping and vncleane handling in dancings, 155
- Grosly, 23, *adv.* plainly, unrefinedly
- Grosser, 53, *adj.* thicker
- Guage, 123, *sb.* security, pledge
- Guilt, xii, *pp.* gilt
- Guise, 31, *sb.* manner, habit. "The Norman *guise* was to walke and get up and downe the streets." *Lambarde's Peramb. of Kent*, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, *Descript. of England*, I. 168
- Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink
- Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling
- Gun-shooting, game at, 316
- Guys carriad about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images carried aboute in pageauntes wyth greate cbekes and wyde mouthes. *Manduces*.' 1552. Huloet.
- Guyses, 63, *sb. pl.* customs
- Gyrdlestead, 60/24, *sb.* waist. "Gyrdell stede, *faulx du corps*." Palsgrave
- Habits of the young men, 252
- Hainous, 80, *adj.* hideous, odious. *See* Haynous
- Hair, fashions in wearing †, 67-69;
- sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258
- Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47\*; cp. 149
- Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88
- Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to
- Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242
- Harbers, 88, *sb. pl.* harbours
- Hard fare wholesomest, 103
- Harde-quilted, 55, *adj.* padded stiffly
- Harlots and brothels, 280
- Harlots and Bastards come to church on the yearly Feast-day, in Gernany, 340
- Harlots‡ use face-painting, (*q. v.*) 65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281
- HARVEY, Gabriel, on Stubbes and other writers, 42\*; chafft by T. Nashe, 308; abuses Nashe, 42\*-43\*
- Hasardour§, Chaucer's, made 'dis-sour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90\*
- Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's work, 246
- Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252
- Hautie, 63, *adj.* proud, haughty
- Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182
- Haynous, 28, *adj.* heinous, odious. "*Haineux*. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."—Cotgrave
- 'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakspeare, in *Rich. II, III, Cymb.* &c. 'The king he,' &c.
- Head-dress of women, 253
- Heare, iv; Heyre, v. *sb.* hair; Heir, 67
- Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's *Guls Hornbooks*, 1609, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

‡ 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." *Aquarioli*.' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlotte whyche medleth wyth a man for a farth-yng. *Quadrantaria*.' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. *Zucarinate mulieres*.—*ib.*

§ Besides Hasarder, *Aleator*, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. *Vide* in Lurker.' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley men, *Grassator*. Lurkers, called hasarders. *Vide* in hasarders.' 1552, *Abecedarium*.

- Hell, the reward of pride, 39  
 Heithfuller, 103, *adv.* more healthily, with better health  
 Hens offerd to St. Vitus, 339  
 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341  
 Hermaphroditi, 73  
 HERRICK, on May-games, 305  
 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331  
 Hethnical, 177, *adj.* heathenish  
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 Hoast, 84, *sb.* host, company  
 Hobbyhorses, 147, 231  
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 Holsome, 65, *adj.* wholesome: 'Holesome, *incolumis* . . . *saluber*.' 1552. Huloet.  
 Holy Days, how spent by folk, 344; see *Sabbath*  
 Holy-water, barrels of, through St. Blase's bone, 329  
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 Hose, extravagant fashions in, 56, 61, 239, 246, 251; trunk, 56, 246; cost of, 56, 61  
 Hot-cockles, the game, 316  
 HOWARD, Lord Henry, Earl of SURREY, poet, praised by G. Harvey, 43\*  
 Howleglasse, 41\*, a rough jester  
 Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement  
 Hufcap, 150, 307, *sb.* strong ale  
 Huftie-tuftie, † 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly  
 Huggle, 97/13; 281, *v.* hug, cuddle  
 HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on his Day, 339
- Humaine, iii, *adj.* human. 'Humayn, as of man, *Humanitus, humanus*.' 1552. Huloet.  
 Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, not so calld till 1603, 72\*; Q. Elizabeth's procession to it, 71\*. See too engraving and woodcut by the title-page  
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 Idleness, Acts against, 320  
 Idolaters, Papists are, 342  
 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate children  
 Imbrodered, 77, *pp.* embroidered  
 Immured, 23, *pp.* surrounded as with a wall  
 Impale, 124, *vb.* inclose, fence in  
 Impe, 111, *sb.* child  
 Implicate A, entangled F., 139  
 Impolished, vi/24, *pp.* unpolisht, unrefined  
 Importable, 58/19, insupportable  
 Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, *adj.*  
 Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with  
 Incident, 90, *adj.* proper, suitable  
 Inclosures, 117, 289  
 Incorporate, 44, *adj.* incorporated, united. See *Ingenerate*  
 Indented, 77, *pp.* with the edges worked  
 Indifferentlie, 35, *adv.* without distinction: 'Indifferently, *indiscriminatim, Passim*.' 1552. R. Huloet  
 Inferreth, 168, *pr. s.* brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your *huftie tuftie* can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knaury: your railing is so neare the Rascal, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603)*. [*A "coy Jame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."*] p. 11, col. 2.

- Infirm, 95/31, *vb.* weaken: 'In-fyrmed. *Infirmus*.' 1552. Hul-  
loet
- Ingenerate, 44, *adj.* engendred.  
In English the *adjective* in *-ate*  
formd directly from the Latin  
*pp.* preceded the *verb* in *-ate*,  
which was formd from the *pp.*,  
and the final *-d* was added to  
the already-existing *adjective*  
from a mistaken idea that it was  
a *pp.* formd from the *verb*.  
Thus in Shakspeare we find *con-  
secrate* (*Titus And.* I. i. 14);  
*create* (*Midsumm. N. Dream*,  
V. i. 412); *articulate* (*Hen. IV.*,  
V. i. 72); *felicitate* (*Lear*, I. i.  
66), &c.
- Ingrate, 23, *adj.* ungrateful
- Ingrauen, xii, *pp.* engraved
- Ingurgitate, 104/2, *v.* drink heavily,  
swamp, fill to excess: 'Ingur-  
gitation of meate and dryncke,  
or beastely feadyng. *Alogia*.'  
1552. Hulloet
- Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of  
the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified  
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- Insaciabest, 102, *adj.* most insati-  
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- Insolency, 57, *sb.* excess, outrage-  
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- Intellective, 107, *adj.* intellectual
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nate
- Intirelie, 225, *adv.* heartily, ear-  
nestly. *See* Entirely
- Inuegled, 68, *pl. s.* inveigled, en-  
ticed
- Inuisories, 80/5, *sb. pl.* masks
- Invested, 38, *pp.* clothed
- Irish, a game, 316
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time, 95\*
- Irrationable, 92, *adj.* without reason,  
not rational
- It, 44/8, its
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- Jarnsey, 57/7, *adj.* Guernsey  
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- Korked, 77, *adj.* corkt (shoes)
- Kyrtles, 75, *sb. pl.* gown, jackets
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- Laced, 49, *adj.* covered with lace
- Laced mutton, 240, whores
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- Largeous, 105/17, *adj.* free, open-  
handed, liberal
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- Latrones, 119/21, *sb. pl.* thieves

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- Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38\*
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- Leaude, 89, *adj.* lewd
- Legittimats, 97, children born in wedlock
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- Light-brain, *sb.* 250, idiot, goose
- Litter, Queen Elizabeth carried in one, by 6 Knights, 71\*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, *Lectica*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
- Liveries and Retainers, evils of too many, 86\*
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- Lothsom, 111, *adj.* loathsome, filthy
- 'Love me, love my dog,' 178.
- Cotgrave, under both *aimer* and *chien*, gives *Bertrand* for Stubbes's *Jean*: '*Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien*': Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we.)
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- Lubricious, 71 margin; wanton, fickle
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- Lyllie-white, 53, *adj.* purely white
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- Maistered, 122, calld 'Master,' 122/4
- Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey
- Maltbugs lugging at liquor, 307
- Manchets made with holy wine, 325
- Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (*Knave of Harts*, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old *mandillions*." See also Harrison, I. 168
- Manure, 36, *v.* work by hand
- March paynes, Tartes & Custards, 325
- Margarets, 70, *sb. pl.* pearls. "Margery, perle. *Margarita*." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note
- Markets and Fairs on Sundays, 182-3
- Marriage, the object of, 91
- Marrid men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

† London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England . . . by Iohn Carre, Citizen of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. 11 leaves,' Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 108.

- Martin chain, 250  
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 Mawmets, 75/8, *sb. pl.* puppets, dolls (cp. *Rom. & Jul.* III. v.). *See* Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, *Ydolum, simulacrum*) and Wedgwood, *s. v.*  
 Maycocks, 101/11, *sb. pl.* meacoc's, effeminate, spiritless fellows. *See* Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.  
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 Mincedness, 78/25, mincing manners  
 Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety  
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 Mizzeled, 87/19, *pp.* muddled, confused, fuddled  
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 Moe, 66, *adj.* more  
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 Momentaine, 115, *adj.* short-liv'd, brief  
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 Namely, 176, *adv.* especially  
 NAOGEORGUS (Thomas Kirchner), 4th book of his *Popish Kingdome*, 1553, englisht by Barnabe Googe, 1570, on Popular and Popish Superstitions, 322-348; his Works, 322  
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 Nether-stocks, fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 247, 265, *sb. pl.* stockings  
 Newfanglednesse, 31, *sb.* love of new inventions

- Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, *sb. pl.* new fashions. 'Louer of newe fangels, and trifles. *Elucus.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
- New-Year's Day, customs on, 325
- Nice, 158, *adj.* foolish
- Nicelings, 79/14, *sb. pl.* dainty creatures
- Nicenes, 58, *sb.* daintiness
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- Nifes or paltry stuff, 235
- Night before May day, spent by girls and men in the woods, 149, 305 foot
- Nine-holes, a game, 316
- Nippitatum, 63, 150, *sb.* a cant name for strong liquor, especially ale. See Nares, *s. v.* 'Pain benist de la S. Cy. Wine, good liquor. Nippitatie.' 1611. Cotgrave
- Nisitie, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
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- NORTON, Thomas, joint author of *Ferrex and Porrex*, praised by G. Harvey, 43\*
- Nusled, 101/17, *pp.* pamperd
- Nusseled, 54, *pp.* nuzzled, cuddled, pamperd
- Oaths and cursing, 129-136, 294, 295
- Obnubilate, 78/16, *v.* cloud, darken
- Obtestation, *sb.* 131, calling to witness. 'Obtestation. *obtestatio, onis*, it is properly wher one taketh God to wytnes, *Et obtestor, aris*, to take God to wytnes.' 1552. Huloet
- Obtused (dulled, F.), 170
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- Ordinary, 2-shilling, 75\*, note
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- Ostenting, 30/7, *sb.* showing off, boasting, Lat. *ostentans*
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- Othersome, 60, *adj.* some others
- Ouches, 67, *sb. pl.* ornaments, jewels. See Mr. Way's note in *Prompt. Parv.*, *s. v.* Nowche
- Ouermuche, 34, *adj.* excessive
- PAGE, Wm., his right hand cut off, 54\* note
- Padded shoulders, women's, 254
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- Painting of women's faces, 64, 80, 271, 273: see *Sibbersawuces*
- Palled, 88/8, *adj.* surrounded with palings
- Palls of St. Agnes's lambs' wool: Bishops forct to buy, 327
- Palm Sunday, customs on, 332
- Paned, 56, *adj.* formed of stripes, with small panes or squares of silk or velvet
- Panther smells sweet to beasts only, 40\*
- Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239, *sb. pl.* slippers, patterns. "A shooe called a pantofle, or a slipper, *crepida, sandalium.*" — Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580. Baret also gives the form *Pantaffle*. 'Short-heeld pantoffles,' 37\*/16
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- Paris Garden, Southwark, 296  
 PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65\*  
 Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, 93\*  
 Parted, 76\* *n.* having good parts or abilities, clever  
 Particularities, 56, *sb.* details, minute items  
 Partlets, 70, *sb. pl.* ruffs or bands worn by women. "*Amiculum.* A neckercher or a partlet."  
 Withals. *Partlet*, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman's ruff. *Dunton's Ladies' Dict.* 1694, in *Nares*, ed. 1859; with other quotations. 'Partlet, *Strophium.*' 1552. Huloet  
 Paste, 112, *pp.* past  
 Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse  
 Patrocinny, vii, 27, patronage  
 Peacemeale wise, 39\* (at foot), in pieces, tatters  
 Peaking, 51, *pr. p.* running to a peak or point  
 Peaking, 50, *pr. p.* (? peaking), rising into a peak  
 Pedagogie, 37/32, *sb.* instruction, example, guidance  
 Pelts, 36/21, *sb. pl.* fleeces.  
 Peltyng, 72/9, *adj.* violent, furious  
 Pendants, 35/11, 67; *sb. pl.* hangings, vails, pendants  
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 PENNELL, Francis; judgment on his serving-man, 57\*  
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 Permissive law, a, 123/16  
 Perpended, 124, *pp.* weighed, considered  
 Perriwinkles, 69, *sb. pl.* periwigs, wigs  
 Pesteruing, 102, *pr. p.* ? = pesteruing, crowding  
 Pestiferouse, 45, *adj.* pestilent  
 Pet dogs, 268  
 Pezants, 40, *sb. pl.* peasants  
 Phantasies, 50, *sb. pl.* fancies  
 Philip's, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots)  
 Pick, *vb.* 184, pitch, throw  
 Picktooth in a fops's mouth, 78\* *n.*  
 Pies, 87, *sb. pl.* magpies. 'Pye byrde. *Citta, æ, Pica, æ.*' Huloet  
 Pigeons, white, flown on Whitsunday, 337  
 Pillage and pollage, 116  
 Pinched, 50, *adj.* with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form *pinked*  
 Pinions, 73, *sb. pl.* skirts  
 Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, *sb. pl.* small thin-soled shoes. 'Pynson, *Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ.* Pynson wearer. *Osatus, a, um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*  
 Pipers and hawdy Minstrels thought more of than Divines, 172  
 Pippins given to girls at theatres, 304  
 Pirrus, 46, *pr. n.* *ncun*, Pyrrhus  
 Pithonically Hidraes, 130  
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 Splash, 115, 168, *sb.* pool, puddle  
 Players, masking, you painted sepulchres, 141; idle lubbers and buzzing dronets, 145; beggars, roagues and vagabonds, 146, 301-4; 83\*  
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 Plays: curse those who say Plays are equal to Sermons, 144; the evil of them, 83\*, 85\*  
 Pleated, 59, *pp.* plaited  
 Plowman's fine dress, 244  
 Pluresie, 108, *sb.* pleurisy  
 Poals, 97, *sb. pl.* poles, trees  
 Poll, 116, *pr. pl.* plunder, rob  
 Pollage, 116, *sb.* plunder, robbery. 'Pollynge or pilynge. *Exactio.*' 1552. Huloet  
 Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77\*, *note*  
 Pomanders, 77, 266, *sb. pl.* A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, *s. v.* 'Pomander or sweete perfume. *Diaspasma.*' Huloet

- Pope of Rome, that Italian Philistin, and archenemy of all trueth, 161/3
- Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116, 169; house and land got from them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead outside London walls, 288
- Port, 117, *sb.* state, behaviour
- Potestates, 33/21, *sb. pl.* those in authority, the powers that be, men in high places
- Powlyng, 117, *pr. p.* robbing, cheating
- Pozie, 134, *sb.* inscription, verse
- Prayers, Stubbes's, 224-230; babied by Papists, 343
- Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69\*
- Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to†
- Preparaunce, 72/21, *sb.* preparations
- President, 118, *sb.* precedent (see Huloet below)
- Pretely, 87, *adv.* pretty well, tolerably
- Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2
- Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97
- Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Stafford and Harrison I., New Sh. Soc.
- Pride, 26; the cause of all evils, 27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28, 234; vainglorious, 29; in England, 33, 235, 236; hell, the reward of, 39; the child of proud apparel, 44; punishment of, by God, 85, 86
- Priests, the head revellers at the yearly Church-festivals, 340
- Primacie, 94, *sb.* headship, priority
- Prisoners 'lying in lodsome dung, worse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293
- Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93\*
- Procession or Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, 336-7
- Profanation of the Sabbath and its results, 137, 297, 298, 344
- Profluous, 105, footnote 13, bounteous, extravagant
- Promulgate, 48, *pp.* promulgated, published. See *Ingenerate*
- Proper, 72, *adj.* fine, handsome: 'Proper, feate, and well fashioned. *Concinnus . . Elegans . .* Proper man. *Graphyrus uir.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Proud apparel deformeth man, 40; does not always cover wisdom, 41; abhorred by the godly, 45; condemned by our Lord, 48
- Proverbs and proverbial phrases: A dunghill gentleman (upstart), 122; a good companion too trauayle withall, is in-steade of a Wagon, 22; as drunk as apes, 151; as drunk as rats, 151/3 *n.*; as mad as March hares, 151; as quick as a Bee, 96/61; as round as a ball, 126; maie saie blacke is their eye (impute blame to), 96, 130, 152; butter would not melt in their mouthes, 89; by hooke or crooke, 75; dance the wilde Moris in a needle's eye, 171; farre fetched and deare boughte, 33; feight dog, feight beare, the deuill part all, 178; go together by the eares (come to blows), 118; laugh in their sleeues, 118; loue me, loue my dog, 178; make bones of anie thing, 178; more is the pytie, 41; shooe the goose (undertake impossibilities), 117; stand on their pantoffles, 53; tagge and ragge, 43; three steppes and a halfe to the gailows (ruffs so call'd), 53
- Pseudo-christian, *sb.* 182
- Puff-wings, 260
- Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's, 255
- Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99, 282
- Puppits, 75, *sb. pl.* dolls
- Puritan embroidresses, 245; laundresses, 260

† 'Preiudice, *præiudicium*, *ij*, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contraye to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych remayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determyne and discusse semblablye; Or els it may be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yerres [Year-Books] whyche be as precedences; and thereof commeth thys verbe *præiudico*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abecdarium*.

- Puritans abused by T. Nashe, 39\*  
 Pursie, 107, *adj.* fat, bloated  
 Pusels and fusles, of women's dress, 255  
 Puzzle (*pucele*), 78/3; 266, *sb.* a maid, girl, drab, 1 *Hen. VI. I. iv.* "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of *poesele*, Du.], a dirty slut." *Bailey's Dict.*, ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.  
 Puttockes, 116, *sb. pl.* kites, avacious persons
- Quaile, 124, *vb.* sink, fail  
 Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, *adj.* squeamish, dainty  
 Quavemire, 115, 168, *sb.* quagmire, bog  
 Quircks, 57, *sb. pl.* the same as clocks, *q. v.*
- Rabbied, 122, *pp.* addressed as *Rabbi*, master  
 Rackte rentes, 76,\* note: *see* Landlords  
 Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636  
 Ragged-School anecdote, 49\*  
 Rapiers, gay, 62, 252  
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 Ravished *in* (with) her behaviour, 163  
 Rayling, ix, *adj.* railing, mocking  
 REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58\*  
 Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; "Porte-fraise, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diners panes." 1611. Cotgrave. *See* Supportasse  
 Redintegration, 90, *sb.* renewal  
 Reduce, 25/19, bring back  
 Refelled, 40/21, refuted  
 Refelleth, 160, *pr. s.* refutes  
 Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: 'Refrayne, *Cohibeo*, *contineo*, *reprimo*.' 1552. Hulset  
 Reguilte, xii, *pp.* regilt  
 Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328  
 Renowned, 167, renowned  
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- Reproched of, 176, reproacht by  
 Resolue, 79, *v.* solve, answer, explain  
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 RICH, Barnaby, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
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 Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291  
 Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330  
 Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2  
 Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116  
 Riueleth, 95/33, *pr. s.* wrinkles: Ryueled, 74/26, pleated  
 Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300  
 Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7  
 Roisteth, 41, *pr. s.* acts riotously. *Harrison*, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and roist it out." *Tusser*, *Five Hundred Points*, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."  
 Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343  
 Rose in a dandy's ear, 77\*, 94\*  
 Rose shoestrings, 240  
 ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316  
 Ruffle, 45, *pr. pl.* dress grandly. *See* Roist.  
 Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71\*  
 Rugges, Ruggs, 33, *sb. pl.* rough cloths  
 Running, play at, 316  
 Rushbearings, 310, *n.*  
 Russet, 50, *adj.* reddish-brown; russet boots, 253  
 Ryall, 57, *sb.* a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, *sb.* profligacy  
Ryueled, 74, *pp.* wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, *sb.* (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, *Advance of Learning*, II. 24; and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in *Ivanhoe*, ch. x.

Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like  
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Saciete, 104, *sb.* excess

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St. Blase (Feb. 3), 323

St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340

St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27), 325

St. John the Baptist (June 24), 339

St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325

St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4), 339

St. Urban, 338-9

St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :—

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, *sb.* a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205

Sate, 77, *pp.* sat

*Saturday Review* and swearing, 46\*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50\*, note

Scabbed and scurvy companie of dauncers, 167

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Scarsly, 60, *adv.* scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, 71\*

Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on St. Martin's Day, 340

Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly, 140

Scotch daggers, 250

Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128, 294

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seelie, xix, *adj.* simple. A.S. *selig*

Semblable, vi, *adj.* like, similar : 'Semblable, *Idem.* the neutre

gendre of *Isdem*, and some time signifyeth the same man, or the same thyng.' 1552. Huloet

Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women : 'Sempronia, that renowned whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot

Sereous, 88, *adj.* serious, important

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :—' If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holie-daies, shall be found in the alehouse or taverne, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churchyarde, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offende, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seceing the performance therof.

' If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarilie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute.'—From the *Cecil Papers in the 27th Volume of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum.*

- Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276
- SHAKSPERE: on men's dress, 44\*, his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45\*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carried in girls' bosoms, 268
- Shirts, 53, 245
- Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77
- Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, 240
- Shooting out of doors, turned into gulling and whoring indoors, 317
- Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252
- Shove-groat, a game, 316
- Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30
- Shurts, 53, 245, *sb. pl.* shirts
- Sibbersawces, 67, *sb. pl.* washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: *also* Slibber Sawce †
- Sidenes, 56, *sb.* width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the ankle. *Talaris.*' 1552. Hulot
- Sielie, 225, *adj.* simple
- Signitor, 138, pointer, index
- Silver hilts to rapiers, 252
- Simples, 65, *sb. pl.* specifics
- SINGLETON, printer of *the Gaping Gulf*, 1579, 54\*
- Sin, the origin of, 24; two kinds of, 27, 233
- Sir Ihon, 151; the priest. Chaucer's *Dan Johan*
- Sixpenny rooms (boxes) at theatres, 302, *n.*
- Skittles, playing at, on Sundays, 300
- Slabbering, 78, *adj.*
- Slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold, 163; 'slabberings, bussings, and smouchings,' 165
- Slaughtes, 118, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Slashed, 56, *adj.* cut
- Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316
- Slibber sawce, 105, footnote 2-2, buttery, oily, made-up sawces
- Slops, big breeches, 246-7
- Slut, 51, *sb.* a sloven
- Sluttered sutes, 40\*/6
- Small, 106, *adj.* poor, weak (drink)
- Smick-smack, 269, kissing
- Smouching, 155, 165, *sb.* loud smacking kisses
- Snowball playd, 330
- SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, 270, 307
- Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdye parasites,' 171
- Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.
- Sodomites, 145, fornicators
- Sodomitical, 153
- Solomon on dancing, 164
- Somedéal, 53/8, *adv.* somewhat, rather
- Spagnolized (pincht-in) body, 77\* note
- Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320
- Sour sauce, 96, 98
- Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Spare, 105, *adj.* stingy, sparing
- Sparkled, 71, *pp.* sprinkled: 'Sparple here and there, *segrego* .. *spargo.*' 1552. Hulot

† *Slibber sauce*: this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "*The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-stepes of France.* Wherein is explained the wilfull blindnesse of subtill mischiefe, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. *Nulla pietas prouis.*—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a wonder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry collours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of *slibber sauce*, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayned modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Ægypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchauntments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besotteth other with these bitter smyles."—*Collier's Bibl. Cat.* i. 28.

- Speare, sphere (*note*), 50, *sb.* spire, steeple  
 Spicke and spanne, *adv.* quite, entirely  
 Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344  
 Splendente, 39/11, splendid  
 Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, *vb.* garnish  
 Spoke, *pp.* 188, spoken  
 Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296 : *see* Sabbath  
 Spurs, ginging, 242  
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 Stationers' Registers : entries of Stubbes's books in, 55\*, 56\*  
 Stays, abuse of, by women, 262 ; 77\*  
 Stelliferous, 79/23, *adj.* lit. star-bearing, bright, radiant  
 Sternes, 51/9 ; 68/5, *sb. pl.* standards (so glosst in F. at p. 68)  
 Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist Priests, 344-5  
 Stile, match at running to one, 316  
 Stimule or pricke, *sb.* 90  
 Stinginess of the rich to the poor, 104, 288  
 Stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection, 156  
 Stint, *xiv, vb.* cease, stop. A.S. *astyntan*  
 Stiptick, 98, *adj.* bitter, astringent  
 Stockings (netherstocks), fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 265 ; extravagance in, 57, 247 ; silk, 246  
 Stoolball, a game, 316  
 Store, xviii, *adj.* in numbers  
 STOWE the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42\* ; inserts Parry's trial in Holinshed's Chronicle, 65\* note ; quoted, 54\*, 248  
 Stride-wide and lift-leg, 307, strong ale  
 Strosser (trouser), close Italian, 243  
 Stub-bearded, 269  
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*Anatomie*, Part II. (1583), 35\*, 36\*, 64\*  
*A Christal Glasse* : his Life of his Wife (1591), 66\*, 74\*, 193-208  
*A fearefull and terrible Example* (1581), 56\*

† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, "Of the rudenesse and rusticitie of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englishing of Stephen's *World of Wonders*, 1607 : "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful] : so that they yeeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical ; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked."

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*Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie* (1585), 65\*

Lines on Popish Bloodsuckers (1583), 64\*

*Motive to good Workes* (1593), 67\*

*Perfect Pathway to Felicitie* (1592, 1610), 66,\* 71\*, 209-30

*Rosarie of Christian Prayers*, 1583 (no copy known), 64\*

*Theatre of the Popes Monarchie*, 1584 (no copy known), 65\*

*Two wonderful and rare Examples* (1581), 58\*

*View of Vanitie*, 1582 (no copy known), 60\*

Stut, 107/15, stutter : 'Stut or stamber. *Balbucinator* . . . Stutting.

*Tertiatio uerborum.* Stutter [one who stuts] *Balbus* . . . Stutter

[one who stuts] in readyng, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c.

*Offensator*. 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, *Titubo* ;

Stamber, *Titubator* ; Stammer and stamber, *Idem.*'

Successe, 41, *sb.* succession : 'Successe. *Processus, us ; successus.*'

1552. Huloet.

Succinctorie, 48, *sb.* girdle. Lat. *succingere*, to gird

Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147

Sunday sports and Sabbath-breaking, 136-140, 177, 180, 182, 183, 226, 298 ; 331-404 ; 78\*-81\* : *see* Sabbath

Sundays profaned by games and plays, 137-140, 297-301

Superiall, supernall, 126

Supportasse, 52/11, *sb.* wire-frame to support folk's ruffs : *see* woodcuts, and Rebato

Surcease, vii, 114, *vb.* leave off,

cease. Not connected with to "cease," but from "*sursis*," which

is from *surseoir*, Lat. *supersedere*.

It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf.

*Macbeth*, 1. vii. 4, and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 97

Surphling of women's breasts, 257 ; faces, 271 ; washing them with cosmetics (Nares), ? painting or enamelling

Surprised, 33/1, overtaken

SURREY, Henry Howard, Earl of, praised by G. Harvey, 43\*

Sute, 48, *sb.* suit : *see* Sluttered

Swearing, great in England, † 129, 136 (this chapter not in 1st ed.), 294

Swearing, when lawful, 131 ; punishment of, 134, 136, 296

Sweeted, 79 margin, scented

Swilbowles, 86/32, *sb.* drunkards

Swill, 104, 173, *v.* drink in excess

Swords, extravagant fashions in, 62, 252

Tables, 173, *sb. pl.* backgammon, 37\*.

'Table-playing. *Alea.*'

'Tables to playe wyth dice and men. *tabula.*' 1552. Huloet

Tabling, 174, playing at tables, backgammon

Tabretters, 172, players on the tabret (157/6), small tabour

Tagge and ragge, 43, *phr.* of the lowest class, 238

Tailor, a woman's, 247, 260

Tapers, big, lit on Candlemas Day, 328

Tarantara, Christ's, 24, *sb.* a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet

TARLTON, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedi n 'pleasant Willy,' in *Tears of the*

† " If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemor or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havinge only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43.

- Muses*, 1590, according to the nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, Spenser)
- Tartarian, and mercilesse Turck, 126
- Tea-gowns in 1878, 93\*
- Tear, 118, *vb.* bluster, protest
- Tennis, 173, 316: 'Tennyse game, or playing at tennyse. *Speromachia.*' 1552. Huloet
- Ten-pins, a game, 316
- Than, *adv.* then
- Theare, iii, there
- Theatre*, The, James Burbage's, 143, 299, 300
- Theatres, a meeting-place for men and women, 144, 304; and actors, 140-150, 301; not wanted open on Sundays now, 47\*
- Thend, 138, the end, the purpose
- Theopompus and Moses, 141, 300
- Thetherward, 85, *adv.* thither
- Thripple, 153/10, *vb.* labour hard
- Tick-tack, 269, copulation; a game, 316†
- Ticktack tauerner, 78\*/21, keeper of a tavern and brothel
- Tigerlike saying of Creditors about their Debtors, 127: *see* Dice
- Tight-lacing, evils of, 262, 263, 77\*
- Time wasted by women, 87, 274, 276
- Titinillers, 122, *sb. pl.* flattering fellows
- Tittle-tattle, the evils of it, 93\*
- To the purpose, 180, for the purpose
- Tobacco, 78\*
- Too too, 75, *adv.* exceedingly, over: *see* *Telltroth*, 37/8, 82/16, &c.
- Tokens of the coming Day of Doom, 188
- Tongues, flattering, blearing men's eyes, 92\*
- Tortouse, 36, *adj.* deceitful
- Tossing a guy in a blanket, 330
- Toty (fuddled) with drink, 284
- Tract path, 41\*/24 (T. Nashe)
- Tradesmen's wives used as lures, 87, 276
- Tradeswomen, how to get presents from, 279
- Transnatureth, 54, *pr. s.* changes (their) natures
- Travelling players, evils of, 301
- TRAVERS, Walter, alluded to by T. Nashe, 37\*
- True-looues knottes, 74, *sb. pl.* bows of ribbons
- Trumperies, 180. 'Trumpery or old baggage. *Vide* in baggage' (above). 1552. Huloet
- Trunk, hose, 56, 246; sleeves of wire, 261
- Tung, 48, *sb.* tongue, voice
- Turd carrid on a cushion, 330
- TUSSER, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Tutche, 84, *vb.* touch, reach
- Tutched, vi, *pp.* touched
- Twelfth-Day, customs on, 326
- TWELL, John, of Donnington, 58\*
- Twist, 76, *sb.* twig, bough. "A twist: *frons.*" *Catholicon Angl.*
- Twopennie Catichismes, 40\*
- Tyborne, 233, gallows
- Vgglesome, 72/13; 188, 205, *adj.* hideous
- Vnbowable, *a.* 76, unbendable
- Unchastity, temptations to, 84\*, 76\*: *see* Dancing, Music, Stage-Plays
- Vnconcluded, 176
- Vnderpropped, 52, *pp.* supported, propt up
- Vnlest, 43, *conj.* unless
- Vnreasonable, 92/27 *adj.* unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowed with reason
- Upsy-freeze, the German's, 286
- Vre, 118, *sb.* use
- Usury, and the treatment of the poor, 288, 292
- Usury in England, 119, 122; punishment of, 120; unlawful, 124
- Vagaries, 49/21, circumlocutions and generalities
- Vaile, 51, *sb.* veil
- Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

† 'In this lande I did see an ape plaie at *ticke-tack*, and after at Irishe [see Irish above] on the tables with one of that lande.'—1573. Bulein's *Dialogue*, in Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words: 'Ding-Dong Dictionary,*' the 2nd ed. is to be calld.

- Velvet, viii, xii, 32; its derivation, &c., 231; visors made of, for women to ride in, 80, 272  
 Vendicate, 26, 185, challenge, claim  
 Venereous, 74/4, lecherous  
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 Vent, 129, *sb.* a market, disposal  
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 Vertiginie, 62/3, *sb.* giddiness, unsteadiness, weathercock nature  
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- Waists, women's tight-laced, 256, 77\*, *n.*  
 Wakes and feasts, the abuses of, 152-3, 309-313  
 Wakeesses, 137; Wakesses, 152, *sb. pl.* wakes, feasts: 'Wakedayes. *Esuriales feriaz.*' 1552. R. Huloet  
 Wanion, 183, *sb. in a wanion* = a curse on it  
 Wanton Looks and Books, † 84\*; 144, *see* Bawdy  
 WARNER, WATSON, WHETSTONE, poets praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 foot, 43\*  
 Weale publique, 34, *sb.* commonwealth
- Welts, 73, *sb. pl.* hems on borders of fur  
 Whalebone bents to bear out women's bums, 254; bodies, and backs of lath, 261, 262; stays, 77\*  
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 Whipt, 52, *pp.* wound round, covered  
 WHITE, Rowland, on Q. Elizabeth's procession to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600, 71\*  
 Whitsun-ales or Church-ales, 150, 305  
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 Whylest, 76, *adv.* whilst  
 Widows and fatherless oppresst, 92\*  
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 Winking and glancing of wanton eyes at plays, 144  
 Winter and Summer, guys of, made to fight, 332  
 Witches kept off by frankincense smoke, 326  
 Wives' treatment of husbands,

† 'Want onwordes. *Bellatula*: as lolye, pretye, fayremayde, minyon, swete herte, pyggesnye, &c. 1552. R. Huloet. *Abedarium.* See 'Dearlynges,' p. 356, col. i.

‡ "It happed that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchaunt sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus.* Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod I, it were pitie but that an euil priest were punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame."—*Sir T. More's Works*, p. 26, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

- 275†; they live by whoredom, 101, 283  
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 Womanisheth, 170, makes effeminate, weak  
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 Worship, 103, *sb.* position, honour  
 Worshipful: who entitled to be so calld, 122  
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 Wrangled, 136, *pp.* rankled, festered  
 Wrestling, 316, 319  
 Wyers, 52, *sb. pl.* wires  
 Yarne, 57, *sb.* yarn  
 Ydiocie, 110, *sb.* foolishness  
 Ydiotacy, 41, *sb.* folly, stupidity  
 Ydlenes, xi, *sb.* idleness  
 Yellow Band, a dandy's, 253  
 ——— Starch, 235  
 Yeomen affect the dress of their superiors, 52, 244  
 Young men: how their day was spent, 252-3  
 Youth, work neglected in, 86\*

† Cp. Hulot's explanation of the word *Honeymoon*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme proverbialement appliqué à ceux qui se marient, lequel ne se soutient pas au premier, mais se perd peu à peu, et se change en un autre, qui est le miel, lequel est le miel de la lune, et se change en miel de la lune." 1552. *Abcedarium Anglo-latinum pro Tyrunculis.*

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. *Is anything lighter than a woman?*" 1617. Fynes Moryson. *Itinerary*, p. 13.







