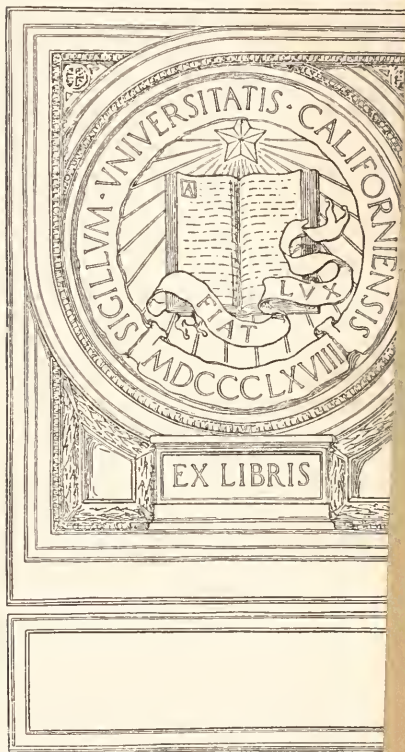
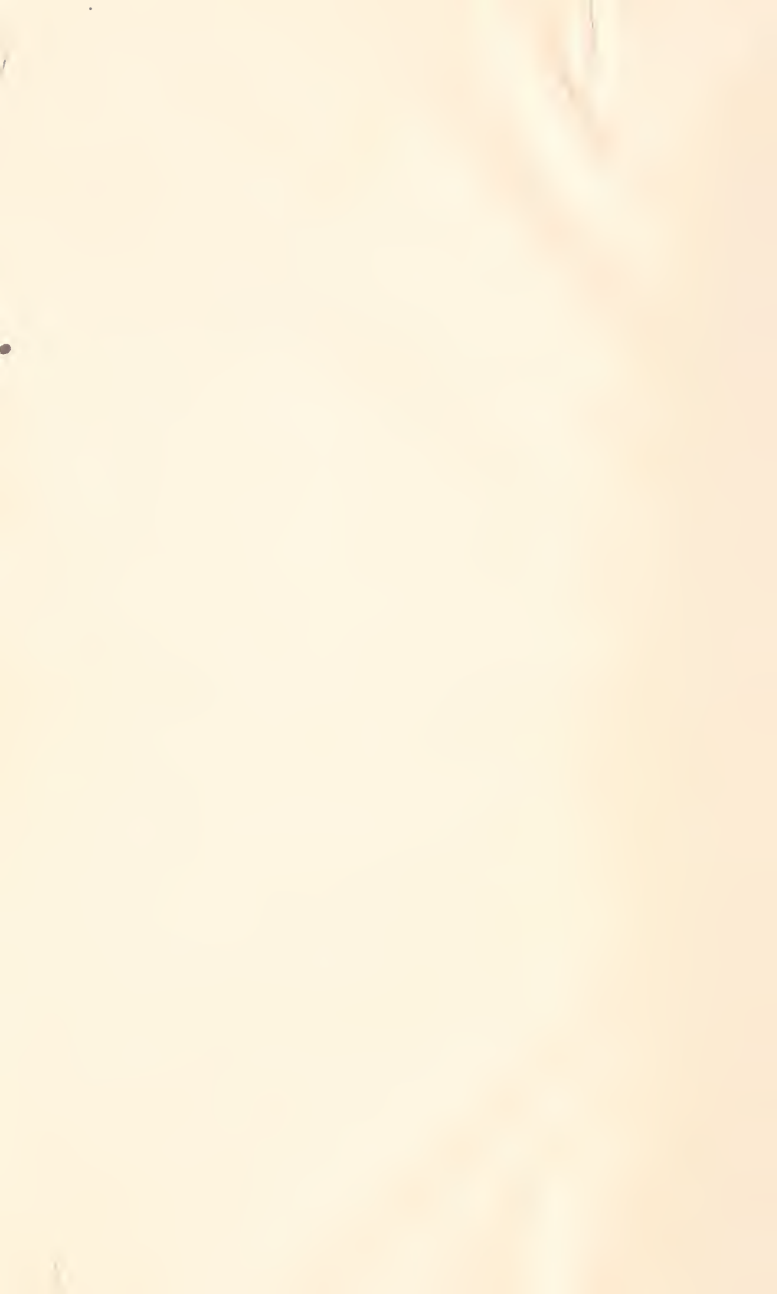


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT LOS ANGELES



EX LIBRIS







Arber's English Scholars' Library.

---

VOL. II.

CONTENTS:

1. SIMON FISH. **A Supplication for the Beggars.**
2. *Rev.* JOHN UDALL. **A Demonstration of Discipline.**
3. *Rev.* JOHN UDALL. **The State of the Church of  
England.**
4. THOMAS DECKER. **Seven Deadly Sins of London.**
5. [ ? ] **The Return from Parnassus.**
6. RICHARD BARNFIELD. **Poems.**
7. ROBERT GREEN. **Menaphon.**
8. GEORGE JOY. **An Apology to William Tyndale.**





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2008 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation







The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 4.

---

*A Supplication for the Beggars.*

[Spring of 1529.]





The English Scholar's Library of  
Old and Modern Works.

[SIMON FISH,

of Gray's Inn, Gentleman.]

*A Supplication for the Beggars.*

[Spring of 1529.]

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A., etc.,

LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

15 August 1878.

No. 4.

(All rights reserved.)



PR  
1121  
F5  
v2

# CONTENTS.



	PAGE
Bibliography ... ..	vi
INTRODUCTION ... ..	vii-xviii

## *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers* .... I

1. <i>The yearly exactions from the people taken by this greedy sort of sturdy idle holy thieves</i> ... ..	3
They have a Tenth part of all produce, wages and profits ... ..	4
What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, men's offerings to their pilgrimages and at their first masses; by masses and <i>diriges</i> , by mortuaries, hearing of confessions (yet keeping thereof no secrecy), hallowing of churches, by cursing of men and absolving them for money; by extortion &c.; and by the quarterage from every household to each of the Five Orders of begging Friars, which equals £43,333 6s. 8d. [=over £500,000 in present value] a year ... ..	4
400 years ago, of all this they had not a penny ... ..	4
These locusts own also one Third of the land... ..	5
Or in all more than half of the substance of the realm ... ..	5
Yet they are not in number, one to every hundred men, or one in every four hundred men women and children ... ..	5
Neither could the Danes or Saxons have conquered this land, if they had left such a sort [ <i>company</i> ] of idle gluttons behind them; nor noble King ARTHUR have resisted the Emperor LUCIUS, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people; nor the Greeks so long continued the siege of Troy, if they had had to find for such an idle sort of cormorants at home; nor the Romans conquered the world, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed; nor the Turk have now so gained on Christendom, if he had in his empire such locusts to devour his substance ... ..	5
2. <i>What do they with these exactions?</i> ... ..	6
Nothing but to translate all rule, power &c. from your Grace to themselves, and to incite to disobedience and rebellion... ..	6
3. <i>Yea, and what do they more?</i> ... ..	7
Truly nothing but to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter &c.	7
4. <i>Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation is able to bring upon us? unpunished!</i> ... ..	7
5. <i>What remedy? Make laws against them?</i> I am in doubt whether ye are able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament house than yourself ... ..	8
So captive are your laws unto them, that no man that they list to excommunicate may be admitted to sue any action in any of your Courts ... ..	9
Neither have they any colour [ <i>pretence</i> ] to gather these yearly exactions but they say they pray to GOD to deliver our souls from purgatory. If that were true we should give a hundred times as much. But many men of great literature say there is no purgatory: and that if there were and that the Pope may deliver one soul for money, he may deliver him as well without money; if one, a thousand; if a thousand, all; and so destroy purgatory.	10
6. <i>But what remedy? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people?</i> Nay, truly! The more the worse. For ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards ... ..	12
7. Set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get themselves wives, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of GOD ... ..	13

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIMON FISH'S WORKS.

A Supplication for the Beggars.

ISSUES IN HIS LIFETIME.

A. *As a separate publication.*

1. [1529. Printed abroad.] 8vo. See title at *p.* 1. Wholly printed in a clear italic type.
2. 1529. [Printed abroad.] 4to. Klagbrieff oder supplication der armen dürfftigen in Engenlandt | an den König daselb gestellet | widder die reychen geystlichen bettler. [A Letter of Complaint or Supplication of the necessitous poor in England shewn to the King thereof against the rich spiritual beggars] M.D.XXIX. [with a preface by SEBASTIAN FRANCK.] Black letter.
3. 1530. [Printed abroad.] 8vo. Supplicatorius Libellus pauperum, et egentium nomine, Henricho VIII. Serenissimo Anglie regi etc. oblatuS, contra quotidianas religiosorum ibidem iniurias et impiam auariciam. Ex Anglico in latinum uersus. M.D.XXX.  
In the same type and style as No. 1, and with an engraved framework on the title page that may eventually lead to a knowledge of the foreign printer of both the editions.

B. *With other Works.*

None known.

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. *As a separate publication.*

4. 1546. [London.] Fol. A supplication of the poore Commons. Prov. 21 Chap. ¶ Whereunto is added the Supplication of Beggars. [In the same style and type as No. 3. below, and therefore printed by WILLIAM HYLL.] In the heading the "Supplicacyon of Beggars" is assigned to 1524, which is wrong by five years.
5. 1845. London. 8vo. A Supplicacyon for the Beggars. [100 copies only printed.]
6. 1620. Fol. See WOOD'S *Ath. Oxon.* i. 59. *Ed.* 1813.
7. 15. Aug. 1878. Southgate, London, N. 8vo. The present impression.

B. *With other Works.*

- 8a. 1563. London. Fol. This tract is reprinted, with notes by JOHN FOX in his *Actes and Monuments etc.*

8b. 1570. London. Fol. }  
8c. 1576. London. Fol. } And so in all later editions of the *Book of Martyrs*.

- 8d. 1583. London. Fol. }
9. 1871. London. 8vo. *Early English Text Society. Extra Series. No. 13. 1871.* "Four Supplications. 1529-1553 A.D." The first of these is "A Supplicacyon for the Beggars written about the year 1529, by SIMON FISH. Now re-edited by FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL."

The Summe of the Scripture.

ISSUES IN HIS LIFETIME.

A. *As a separate publication.*

1. [Winter of 1529-1530. Printed abroad.] 8vo. The only copy at present known is in the British Museum. C. 37. a/2. The title page is torn off, apparently for the safety of the first possessors.

B. *With other Works.*

None known.

ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. *As a separate publication.*

2. 1547. London, W. HERBERT, *Typ. Ant.* i. 616, *Ed.* 1785, quotes an edition by JOHN DAY.
3. 11. Dec. 1548. [London.] 8vo. The summe of the holy Scripture, and ordinarie of the Chrystian teaching, the true christian fayth, by the whiche we be all iustified. And of the vertu of Baptisme, after the teachynge of the Gospell and of the Apostles, With an information howe all estattes should lyue according to the Gospell very necessary for all Christian people to knowe. ¶ Anno. M.d.xlviii. [COLOPHON]: Imprynted at London, at the signe of the Hyll, at the west dore of Paules. By Wyllyam Hill. And there to be sold. Anno 1548. The 11 of Decembre. *Cum Gratia et Privilegio ad Imprimendum solium.*  
The press mark of the British Museum copy is 4401. b. 2.

B. *With other Works.*

None known.



## INTRODUCTION.



IR THOMAS MORE, who at that time was but Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was made Lord Chancellor in the room of Cardinal WOLSEY on Sunday, the 24th of October 1529.

The following undated work—the second of his controversial ones—was therefore written, printed and published prior to that day, and while as yet he held the lower dignity of the ducal Chancellorship.

¶ The supplycacyon of soulys Made by syr Thomas More knyght councellour to our souerayn lorde the Kynge and chauncellour of hys Duchy of Lancaster.

¶ Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars.

At fol. xx. of this work occurs the following important passage, which, while crediting the Reformers with a greater science in attack, and a more far-reaching design in their writings than they actually possessed: fixes with precision the year of the first distribution in England of SIMON FISH's *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, and with that its sequence in our early Protestant printed literature—

For the techyng and prechyng of all whych thyngys/thys beggars proctour or rather the dyuels proctour with other beggars that la[c]k grace and nether beg nor lo[o]ke for none: bere all thys theyr malyce and wrahte to the church of Ch]ryste. And seyng there ys no way for attaynyng theyr entent but one of the twayn /yat ys to wyt eyther playnly to wryte agaynst the fayth and the sacramentys (wheryn yf they gat them credence and obtaynyd /they then se[e] well the

church must nedys fall therwyth) or els to labour agaynst the church alone / and get the clergye dystroyd / whereuppon they parceyue well that the fayth and sacramentes wo[u]ld not fayle to decay: they parceyuyng thys / haue therfore furste assayd the furst way all redy / sendyng forth Tyndals translacyon of the *new testament* in such wyse handled as yt shuld haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all theyr hole heresyes. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many placys the text / wyth such wordys as he myght make yt seme to the vnlernd people / that the scripture affirmed theyr heresyes it selfe. Then cam sone after out in prynt *the dyaloge* of freere Roy and frere Hyerome / *betwene ye father and ye sonne* [*Preface dated Argentine (Strasburg), 31 August, 1527*] agaynst ye sacrament of ye aulter: and the blasphemouse boke entytled *the beryeng of the masse* [i.e. *Rede me and be not wroth* / printed at Strasburg early in 1528]. Then cam forth after Tyndals wykkyd boke of *Mammona* [*Dated Marburg, 8 May 1528*] / and after that his more wykkyd boke of *obydyence* [*Dated Marburg, 2 October 1528*]. In which bokys afore specyfyed they go forth playnly agaynst the fayth and holy sacramentis of Crystys church / and most especyally agaynst the blyssed sacrament of ye aulter / wyth as vylanous wordes as the wre[t]ches cou[l]d deuyse. But when they haue perceuyd by experyence yat good people abhorred theyr abomynable bokes: then they beyng therby lerned yat the furst way was not ye best for ye furtherance of theyr purpose / haue now determined them selfe to assay the secunde way / that ys to witte yat forberynge to wryte so openly and dyrectly agaynste all the fayth and the sacramentys as good crysten men coulde not abyde the redyng / they wolde / wyth lyttell towchyng of theyre other heresyes / make one boke specially agaynst ye church and loke how that wold proue.

The previous controversial work produced by Sir THOMAS MORE had but recently appeared under the title of



¶ A dialoge of syr Thomas More knyghte: one of the counsayll of oure souerayne lorde the kyng and chauncellor of hys duchy of Lancaster.. Wherin be treatyd diuers matters/as of the veneration and worshyp of ymagys and relyques/prayng to sayntys/and goyng on pylgrymage. Wyth many othere thyngys touchyng the pestelent sect of Luther and Tyndale/by th[e]one begone in Saxony/and by th[e] other laboryd to be brought in to Englund.

[COLOPHON]. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the meremayd at Powlys gate next to chepe syde in the moneth of June the yere of our lord. M.C.C.XXIX. *Cum priuilegio Regali.*

Of this extraordinarily scarce first edition, there is a copy in the Corporation Library, London.

As Sir THOMAS MORE felt it necessary to write this second work, of the *Supplicacyon of Soulys*, after he had composed his *Dialogue* the printing of which was finished in June 1529; and as his *Supplicacyon* certainly was written and published prior to his advancement on the 24th October following: it is conclusive that S. FISH's tract had not appeared *before* he was writing the *Dialogue*, and therefore that the date of its distribution must by this internal evidence, be fixed as in the spring or summer of 1529; however that date may conflict with early testimony, such as incorrect lists of prohibited books, assigning it to 1524, 1526, etc.

Yet JOHN FOX in his *Actes and Monumentes*, [Third Edition] fol. 987, Ed. 1576, states that was

“Throwen and scattered at the procession in Westminster vpon Candlemas day [? 2nd February 1529] before kyng Henry the viij, for him to read and peruse.”

We have been unable to verify this procession at Westminster on this particular date, and think that if it had been so, Sir THOMAS MORE would have surely noticed to the *Supplicacyon* while writing the *Dialogue*, the printing of which was in progress during the next four months. He may, however, have thought it necessary to write a special book against S. FISH's tract, with its distinct line of attack as he has accurately stated it.

It will be seen from the Bibliography that this date of the Spring of 1529 quite harmonizes with those of the contemporary German and Latin translations; which, naturally, would be prompt. It is also not inconsistent with the following allusion at p. 30 to Cardinal WOLSEY's still holding the Lord Chancellorship.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of youre lawe ye[a] the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath your swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is always a spirituall man.

So much, then, as to the certain approximate date of the publication. FOX is quite wrong in assuming as he does in the following paragraph that this work was the occasion of Bishop TONSTAL's *Prohibition* of the 24th October 1526, *i.e.* more than two years previously.

After that the Clergye of England, and especially the Cardinall, vnderstode these bookes of the *Beggars supplication* aforesayd, to be strawne abroad in the streetes of London, and also before the kyng. The sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruauntes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they should not come into the kynges handes, but also when he vnderstode, that the king had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maiesty saying: "If it shall please your grace, here are diuers seditious persons which haue scattered abroad bookes conteyning manifest errours and heresies" desiryng his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the kyng putting his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes and deliuered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Byshops, consulted &c.

*Eccles. Hist. &c., p. 900. Ed. 1576.*

## II.



E now come to the only authoritative account of our Author, as it is recorded in the same Third Edition of the *Actes and Monumentes &c.*, p. 896. Ed. 1576.

¶ *The story of M[aster]. Simon Fishe.*



BEFORE the tyme of M[aster]. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I should haue placed the story of Symon Fish with the booke called the *Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what meanes it came to the kynges

hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynges, especially of the Clergy. But the missyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here which should haue come in sixe yeares before.

FOX is writing of 1531, and therefore intends us to understand that the present narrative begins in 1525.

The maner and circumstaunce of the matter is this :

After that the light of the Gospel workyng mightely in Germanie, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrre and alteration followed in the harts of many : so that colored hypocrisie and false doctrine, and painted holynes began to be espyed more and more by the readyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wittes sparced with Gods grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sinceritie, from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd M[aster]. Symon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne.

It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525 [*i.e. between 25 Mar. 1525 and 24 Mar. 1526*] that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one Master Roo of the same Inne Gentleman, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take vpon them to play that part, whiche touched the sayd Cardinall, this foresayd M. Fish tooke upon him to do it, whereupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpon the Cardinals part : In so much as he beyng pursued by the sayd Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedie was playd, was compelled of force to voyde his owne house, and so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall.

We will here interrupt the Martyrologist's account, with EDWARD HALLE's description of this "goodly disguisyng." It occurs at *fol.* 155 of the history of the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII. [22 April 1526

*Ex certa  
relatione,  
vivoque testi-  
monio pro-  
prie ipsius  
coniugis.*

to 21 April 1527] in his *Union of the two noble and illustre families of Lancaster and York &c.* 1548.

This Christmas [1526] was a goodly disguisng plaied at at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by Master Jhon Roo, seriant at the law. [some] xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any authoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord Gouvernaunce was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose misgouernance and euil order, lady Publike Wele was put from gouernance: which caused *Rumor Populi*, Inward Grudge and Disdain of Wanton Souereignetie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell Negligence and Dissipation, and to restore Publike Welth again to her estate, which was so doen.

This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, with straunge diuses of Maskes and morrishes [*morris dancers*] that it was highly praised of all menne, sauing of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diused of hym, and in a great furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highley rebuked and thretened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete. But by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he were deliuered at last.

This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you haue harde, wherfore many wisemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and euer the Cardinall saied that the kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself.

There is no question as to the date of this "disguisng." Archbishop WARHAM on the 6th February 1527, wrote to his chaplain, HENRY GOLDE, from Knolle that he "Has received his letters, dated London, 6 Feb., stating that Mr. Roo is committed to the Tower for making a certain play. Is sorry such a matter should be taken in earnest." *Letters &c.* HENRY VIII. Ed. by J. S. BREWER, p. 1277. Ed. 1872.

It would seem however that FISH either did not go or did not stay long abroad at this time. STRYPE (*Eccles. Mem. I. Part 11, pp.* 63-5. Ed. 1822)

has printed, from the Registers of the Bishops of LONDON, the Confession in 1528 of ROBERT NECTON (a person of position, whose brother became Sheriff of Norwich in 1530), by which it appears that during the previous eighteen months, that is from about the beginning of 1527, our Author was "dwellyng by the Wight Friars in London;" and was actively engaged in the importation and circulation of TYNDALE's *New Testaments*, a perfectly hazardous work at that time.

Possibly this Confession was the occasion of a first or a renewed flight by FISH to the Continent, and therefore the ultimate cause of the present little work in the following year.

We now resume FOX's account, which was evidently derived from FISH's wife, when she was in old age.

Vpon occasion wherof the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (being about the yeare 1527) and so not long after in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528 [*which by the old reckoning ended on the 24 Mar. 1529*]. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which booke her brother seyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, and gaue it [to] her agayne, willyng her earnestly to giue it to the kyng, which thyng she so dyd.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord 1528 [-1529].

The kyng after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her "who made it." Whereunto she aunswered and sayd, "a certaine subiect of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall."

After the kyng had kept the booke in his bosome iij. or iiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was giuen by the kynges seruauntes to the wife of ye sayd Symon Fishe, yat she might boldly send for her husband, without all perill or daunger. Whereupon she thereby beyng encouraged, came first and made sute to the kyng for the safe returne of her husband. Who vnderstandyng whose wife she was, shewed a maruelous gentle and chearefull countenance towards her, askyng "where her husband was." She aunswered, "if it like your grace, not farre of[f]." Then sayth he, "fetch him, and he shal come and go safe without perill,

and no man shal do him harme," saying moreouer, "that hee had [had] much wrong that hee was from her so long:" who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe,

Which from Christmas 1526 would bring us to June 1529, which corroborates the internal evidence above quoted. FOX evidently now confuses together two different interviews with the King. The first at the Court in June 1529; the other on horseback with the King, followed afterwards by his Message to Sir T. MORE in the winter of 1529-30, within six months after which S. FISH dies. His wife never would have been admitted to the Court, if she had had a daughter ill of the plague at home.

In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M[aster]. More set in his place of the Chauncellourshyp.

Thus Fishes wife beyng emboldened by the kynges wordes, went immediatly to her husband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

When the kyng saw hym, and vnderstood he was the authour of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenance: who after long talke: for the space of iij. or iiij. houres, as they were ridyng together on huntynge, at length dimitted him, and bad him "take home his wife, for she had taken great paynes for him." Who answered the kyng agayne and sayd, he "durst not so do, for fear of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellor, and Stoksley then Bishop of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

This bringing in of STOKESLEY as Bishop is only making confusion worse confounded. STOKESLEY was consecrated to the see of London on the 27th Nov. 1530. By that time, S. FISH had died of the plague which occurred in London and its suburbs in the summer of 1530; and which was so severe, that on 22nd June of that year, the King prorogued the Parliament to the following 1st October. *Letters &c. HENRY VIII.* Ed. by J. S. BREWER, M.A., IV, Part 3, No. 6469. Ed. 1876.

The Martyrologist, throughout, seems to be right as to his facts, but wrong as to his dates.



The kyng takyng his signet of[f] his finger, willed hym to haue hym reommeded to the Lord Chauncellour, chargyng him not to bee so hardy to worke him any harme.

Master Fische receiuyng the kynges signet, went and declared hys message to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but asked him "if he had any thyng for the discharge of his wife:" for she a litle before had by chaunce displeased the Friers, for not sufferyng them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had discharged the man, yet leauyng not his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble.

Of the which plague her husband, the said Master Fish deceasing with in half a yere, she afterward maryed to one Master James Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynham's sonne, a worshypful Knight of Glo[uce]stershyre. The which foresayd Master James Baynham, not long after, [1 May 1532] was burned, as incontinently after in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concernyng Symon Fische the author of the *booke of beggars*, who also translated a booke called *the Summe of the Scripture* out of the Dutch [*i.e.* German].

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys the kynges footeman, touchyng the same matter.

This M[aster]. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayde "if it might please hys grace, he should see such a booke, as was maruell to heare of." The kyng demaunded "what they were." He sayd, "two of your Merchauntes, George Elyot, and George Robinson." The kyng [ap]poynted a tyme to speake with them. When they



came before his presence in a priuye [*private*] closet, he demaunded "what they had to saye, or to shew him" One of them said "yat there was a boke come to their hands, which they were there to shew his gr̄ace." When he saw it, hee demaunded "if any of them could read it." "Yea" sayd George Elyot, "if it please your grace to heare it," "I thought so" sayd the kyng, "for if neede were thou canst say it without booke."

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pause, and then sayd, "if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begyn at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head:" and then he tooke the booke and put it into his deske, and commaunded them vpon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man, that he had sene the booke.

## III.



Of this account we may add two notices. Sir T. MORE replying in his *Apology* to the "Pacifier" [CHRISTOPHER SAINT GERMAIN] in the spring of 1533, gives at *fol.* 124, the following account of our Author's death—

And these men in the iudgement of thys pytuouse pacyfyer be not dyscrete /but yet they haue he sayth a good zeles though. And thys good zeles hadde, ye wote well, Simon Fysshe when he made the supplicacyon of beggers. But god gaue hym such grace afterwarde, that he was sory for that good zeles, and repented hym selfe and came into the chyrche agayne, and forsoke and forswore all the whole hyl of those heresyys, out of whiche the fountayne of that same good zeles sprange. [Also at *p.* 881, *Workes. Ed.* 1557.]

This is contrary to the tenour of everything else that we know of the man: but Sir T. MORE, possessing such excellent means of obtaining information, may nevertheless be true.

Lastly. ANTHONY À WOOD in his *Ath. Oxon.* i. 59, *Ed.* 1813, while giving us the wrong year of his death, tells us of his place of burial.

At length being overtaken by the pestilence, died of it in fifteen hundred thirty and one, and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan (in the West).

TYNDALE had often preached in this church.

## I V.



WHAT a picture of the cruel, unclean and hypocritical monkery that was eating at the heart's core of English society is given to us in this terse and brave little book? Abate from its calculations whatever in fairness Sir T. MORE would have wished us to deduct; we cannot but shudder as we try to realize the then social condition of our country; and all the more, when we remember that the fountain of all this unmercifulness, impurity and ignorance was found in the very persons who professed to be, and who should have been the Divine Teachers of our nation. It argues, too, much for the virility of the English race, that it could have sustained, in gradually increasing intensity, such a widespread mass of festering and corroding blotches of vice, and could by and bye throw it off altogether; so that in subsequent ages no other nation has surpassed us in manhood.

It is marvellous to us how the ecclesiastical fungus could have ever so blotted out of sight both the royal prerogative and the people's liberties. Was not HENRY VIII the man for this hour? A bold lusty and masterful one, imperious and impatient of check, full of the animal enjoyment of life; yet a remarkable Theologian, a crafty Statesman, a true Englishman. Often referred to in the literature of this time as "our Lord and Master." Had England ever had such a Master! ever such a Lord of life and limb since? A character to the personal humouring and gratification of whom, such an one as WOLSEY devoted his whole soul and directed all the powers of the State.

How necessary was so strong a ruler for our national disruption with Rome! It is not easy for us to realize what an amazingly difficult thing that wrench was. MODDYS' story witnesses to us of the King's great perplexity. By what difficult disillusions, what slow and painful thoughtfulness did HENRY'S mind travel from the *Assertio* of 1522 and the consequent *Defensor fidei*, to the destruction of the monasteries in 1536. Truly, if in this "passion" he vacillated or made mistakes; we may consider the inherent difficulty of disbelief in what—despite its increasing corruptions—had been the unbroken faith of this country for a thousand years.

We call the disillusionists, the Reformers ; but FISH describes them as men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth haue not feared to put them silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye[a] in perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion. . . . *p.* 10.

Undoubtedly HENRY personally was the secular Apostle of the first phase of our Reformation. The section of doctrinal Protestants was politically insignificant : and it may be fairly doubted whether the King could have carried the nation with him, but that in the experience of every intelligent Englishman, the cup of the iniquity of the priesthood was full to overflowing. He was aided by the strong general reaction of our simple humanity against the horrid sensuality, the scientific villany offered to it by the supposed special agents of Almighty GOD in the name of, and cloaked under the authority believed to have been given to them from the ever blessed Trinity.

Morality is the lowest expression of religion, the forerunner of faith. No religion can be of GOD which does not instinctively preassume in its votaries the constant striving after the highest and purest moral excellence. It is an intolerable matter, beyond all possible sufferance, when religion is made to pander to sensuality and extortion. How bitter a thing this was to this barrister of Gray's Inn, may be seen in the strange terms of terror and ravin with which he characterizes these "strong, puissant, counterfeit holy, and idle beggars." To the untravelled Englishman of Henry VIII's reign, "cormorants" must have meant some like devouring griffins, and "locusts" as a ruthless irremediable and fearful plague without end. By such mental conceptions of utter desolation, impoverishment and misery does our Author express the bitterness of the then proved experience by Englishmen, of the combined hierarchy and monkery of Rome.

All which is for our consideration in estimating the necessity and policy of the subsequent suppression of the monasteries.

These representations are also some mitigation of what is sometimes thought to be the Protestant frenzy of our great Martyrologist, whose words of burning reprobation of the Papal system of his time seem often to us to be extravagant ; because, by the good providence of GOD, we are hardly capable of realizing the widespread and scientific villany of the delusions and enormities against which he protested.

¶ A Supplicacyon for the Beggars.



# TO THE KING OVRE

souereygne lorde.



Ost lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull mysery vnto youre highnes youre poore daily bedemen the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke) the foule vnhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore increased that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine them, but that for verey constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen by the reason that there is yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent but) of strong puissaunt and counterfeit holy, and ydell beggers and vacabundes whiche syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilnesse of Satan are nowe increased vnder your sight not onely into a great nombre, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the rauinous wolues going in herdes clothing deuouring the flocke) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell rauinous sort whiche (setting all labour a side) haue begged so importunatly that they haue gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this they haue the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calues, lambes,

pigges, gese, and chickens. Ouer and bisides the tenth part of euery seruauntes wages the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye[a] and they loke so narrowly vppon theyre proufittes that the poore wyues must be countable to them of euery tenth eg or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester shalbe taken as an heretike. hereto haue they their foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testaments, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgrimages, and at theyre first masses? Euery man and childe that is buried must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him or elles they will accuse the de[a]des frendes and executours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no counceyle) by halowing of churches altares superaltares chapelles and belles, by cursing of men and absolving them agein for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yere? Howe moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere, by assityng the people to the commissaries court and afterward releasing th[e] apparaunce for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres whate get they yn a yere? Here if it please your grace to marke ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of England. liij. thousand parisshe churches. And this standing that there be but tenne housholdes yn euery parisshe yet are there fiue hundreth thousand and twenty thousand housholdes. And of euery of these housholdes hath euery of the fiue ordres of freres a peny a quarter for euery ordre, that is for all the fiue ordres fiue pens a quarter for every house. That is for all the fiue ordres. xx.d, a yere of euery house. Summa fiue hundreth thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels.

That is. cclx. thousand half angels. Summa. cxxx. thousand angels. Summa totalis. xliij. thousand poundes and. cccxxxij. li. vi.s. viij.d. sterling. wherof not foure hundreth yeres passed they had not one peny. Oh greuous and peynfull exactions thus yerely to be paid. from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessours the kinges of the auncient Britons euer stode fre And this wil they haue or els they wil procure him that will not giue it them to be taken as an heretike. whate tiraunt euer oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subiectes shall be



abill to helpe theire prince that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres blinde sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueille that the taxes fittenes and subsidies that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people to defend them from the thretened ruine of theire comon welth haue bin so sloughtfully, ye[a] painfully leuied? Seing that almost the vtmost peny that mought haue bin leuied hath ben gathered bifore yerely by this rauinous cruell and insatiabill generacion The danes nether the saxons yn the time of the auncient Britons shulde neuer haue ben abill to haue brought theire armies from so farre hither ynto your lond to haue conquered it if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure if suche yerely exaction had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to haue so long continued at the siege of Troie if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abil to haue put all the hole worlde vnder theyre obeisaunce if theyre people had byn thus yerely oppressed. The Turke nowe yn youre tyme shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to deuoure his substance. Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not, So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort vnto the nombre of the laye people and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld haue half.

Compare them to the nombre of men, so are they not the. C. person. Compare them to men wimen and children, then are they not the. CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part therefore yn foure hundreth partes deuided were to moche for them except they did laboure. whate an vnequal burthen is it that they haue half with the multitude and are not the. CCCC. parson of theire nombre? whate tongue is abill to tell that euer there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began?

¶ And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy idell holy theues with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt them silues from th[e]obedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule power lordshippe auctorite obedience and dignite from your grace vnto them. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace and be vnder them. As they did vnto your nobill predecessour king Iohn: whiche forbicause that he wolde haue punisshed certeyn traytours that had conspired with the frenche king to haue deposed him from his crowne and dignite (among the whiche a clerke called Stephen whome afterward ageinst the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury was one) enterdited his Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stond tributary (not vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell deuellishe bloudsupper dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) euersins. Here were an holy sort of prelates that thus cruelly coude punissh suche a rightuous kinge, all his realme, and succession for doing right.

¶ Here were a charitable sort of holy men that coude thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke away th[e]obedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuousnesse. Here were a blissed sort not of meke herdes but of bloudsuppers that coude set the frenche king vppon suche a rightuous prince to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite to make effusion of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the sheding of the bloude of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite agaynst all right and conscience had submitted him silf vnto theym. O case most horrible that euer so nobill a king Realme, and succession shulde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloodsuppers. where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie become wherby he mought haue done iustice yn this maner? where was their obedience become that shuld haue byn subiect vnder his highe power yn this mater? Ye[a] where was the obedience of all his subiectes become that for mainteinaunce of the comon welth shulde haue holpen him manfully to haue resisted

these bloudsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto them. Ye[a] and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silues by all the sleightes they may haue to do with euery mannes wife, euery mannes doughter and euery mannes mayde that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all emong your subiectes, that no man shulde knowe his owne childe that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of euery man to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritaunce yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by their absteining from mariage do let the generation of the people wher by all the realme at length if it shulde be continued shall be made desert and inhabitable.

¶ These be they that haue made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected them to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme, that catche the pokkes of one woman. and bere them to an other, that be brent wyth one woman, and bere it to an other, that catche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye[a] some one of theym shall bo[a]st emong his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they haue ones drawn mennes wiues to such incontineny spende away their husbondes goodes make the wimen to runne away from their husbondes, ye[a], rynne away them silues both with wif and goods, bring both man wife and children to ydelnesse theft and beggeri.

¶ Ye[a] who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles ocean see full of euilles that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may lafully bring vppon vs vnponished. where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignitie, become that shuld punissh (by punisshement of deth euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is their obedience become that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all to gither translated and exempt from your grace vnto them? yes truely. whate an infinite nombre of people might haue ben increased to haue

peopled the realme if these sort of folke had ben married like other men. what breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by them? suche truely as was neuer sins the worlde began among the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ who is she that wil set her hondes to worke to get. iij.d. a day and may haue at lest. xx.d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde labour for a grote a day and may haue at lest. xij.d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies but to cloke the prestes yncontinency and that they may haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for their labour? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery theft and idelnesse whiche shuld haue kept their good name and haue set them silues to worke had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie?? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the greuous shipwrake of the comon welth, whiche yn auncient time bifore the coming yn of these rauinous wolues was so prosperous: that then there were but fewe theues: ye[a] theft was at that tyme so rare that Cesar was not compellid to make penalte of deth vppon felony as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people and yet they did not begge but there was giuen them ynough vnaxed, for there was at that time none of these rauinous wolues to axe it from them as it apperith yn the actes of th[e] apostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggers, theues, and ydell people? Nay truely.

¶ whate remedy: make lawes ageynst them. I am yn doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe? whate a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours are lordes of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with them to speake yn your parliament house for them ageinst your crowne, dignitie, and comon welth of your realme a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made ageinst them that may be aduaylable? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murdre of his auncestre rauissement of his wyfe, of his daughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or eny other offence dare ley it

theyre charge by any wey of accion, and if he do then is he by and by by theyre wilynesse accused of heresie. ye[a] they will so handle him or he passe that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure he shal be excommunicate and then be all his accions dassed. So captyue are your lawes vnto theym that no man that they lyst to excommunicat may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme he hath or the yere [ere he] go out suche a yoke of heresye leyd in his necke that it maketh him wisshe that he had not done it. Your grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshoppe rageth for endyting of certayn curates of extorcion and incontineny the last yere in the warmoll quest. Had not Richard hunne commenced accyon of premunire ageinst a prest he had bin yet a lyue and none heretik at all but an honest man.

¶ Dyd not dyuers of your noble progenitours seyng theyre crowne and dignite runne ynto ruyne and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myscheuous generacyon make dyuers statutes for the reformacyon therof, emong whiche the statute of mortmayne was one? to the intent that after that tyme they shulde haue no more gyuen vnto them. But whate avayled it? haue they not gotten ynto theyre hondes more londes sins then eny duke in ynglond hath, the statute notwithstanding? Ye[a] haue they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes from your grace half your kyngdome thoroughly? The hole name as reason is for the auncientie of your kingdome whiche was bifore theyrs and out of the whiche theyrs is growen onely abiding with your grace? and of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kyngdome (as they call it) for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kingdome, And whiche of these, ij. kingdomes suppose ye is like to ouergrowe the other, ye[a] to put the other clere out of memory? Truely the kingdome of the bloudsuppers for to theym is giuen daily out of your kingdome. And that that is ones gyuen them comith neuer from them agein. Suche lawes haue they that none of them may nether gyue nor sell nothing.

¶ [¶] whate lawe can be made so stronge ageinst them that they other with money or elles with other policy will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome can endure that



euere gyuith thus from him and receyueth nothing agein? O howe all the substaunce of your Realme forthwith your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres to be swalowed and deuoured.

¶ Nether haue they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes but that they sey they pray for vs to God to delyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori without whose prayer they sey or at lest without the popes pardon we coude neuer be deliuered thens whiche if it be true then is it good reason that we gyue them all these thinges all were it C times as moche, But there be many men of greate litterature and iudgement that for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth haue not feared to put them silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiectiō of all the world, ye[a] in perill of deth to declare theyre oppinion in this mather whiche is that there is no purgatory but that it is a thing inuented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualltie onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto them and that there is not one word spoken of hit is al holy scripture. They sey also that if there were a purgatory And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens: he may deliuer him aswel without money, if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand he may deliuer them all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite if he kepe them there in pryson and in paine till men will giue him money.

¶ Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritualltie that if they will not pray for no man but for them that gyue them money they are tyrauntes and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned vncheritably for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage ageinst, put to open shame and make them bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar he toke nothing from hym but

taught that the highe powers shulde be always obei[e]d ye[a] he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all and innocent) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a brode yn your moder tong lest men shulde espie that they by theyre cloked ypochrisi do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power, that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and ypochrites, that thei seke not the honour of Christ but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not giuen by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we haue in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed all is like to runne vnto their hondes and as long as it is couered so long shall it seme to euery man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue them. For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue them as moche as my father did. And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes knightes squir[e]s gentilmen and ye[o]men in england, ye[a] and vntill it be disclosed all your peoole [*people*] will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was neuer made with no good conscience seing that it taketh away the liberte of your people in that they may not as lauffully b[u]y their soules out of purgatory by gyuing to the spirituallte as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

¶ wherfore if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignitie let their ypocrisye be vttered and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punissh euy offender except it were more fit to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt auayle. Did not doctour Alyn most presumptuously nowe yn your tyme ageynst all this allegiaunce all that ever he coude to pull from you the knowledge of suche ples as [be]long vnto your hyghe courtes vnto an other court in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most heynously as all the world knoweth murdre in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunire against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple[a] in a spirituall court for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And

whate punisshement was there done that eny man may take example of to be ware of lyke offence? truely none but that the one payd fve hundreth poundes (as it is said to the b[u]ildinge of your sterre chamber) and when that payment was ones passed the capteyns of his kingdome (because he faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignitie) haue heped to him benefice vpon benefice so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other as it is seid payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices whiche forbicause that he had lyke wyse faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon) promoted by the capiteyns of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice to the value of. iiij. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence seying the promocions that fill [*fell*] to this [*these*] men for theyre so offending. So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this cro[ok]ed and peruers generacyon.

☉ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of youre lawe ye[a] the chief of your counsell and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient is always a spirituell man whiche hath euer suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth[s] of the worlde shulde therfore vtterly be vndone, Here leue we out the gretest mater of all lest that we declaringe suche an horrible carayn of euyll ageynst the ministres of iniquite shulde seme to declare the one onely faute or rather the ignoraunce of oure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse whiche is to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we haue spoken of to knowe it pleylny him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore sike lame and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely. The moo the worse, for euer the fate of the hole foundation hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyuers of your noble predecessours kinges of this realme haue gyuen londes to monasteries to giue a certain somme of money yerely to the poore people wherof for the aunciente of the tyme they giue neuer one



peny, They haue lyke wyse giuen to them to haue a certeyn masses said daily for them wherof they sey neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundation. M, monkes were to[o] fewe. wherfore if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs all your poore bedemen, so take from them all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get them wiues of their owne, to get their liuing with their labour in the swete of their faces according to the commaundement of god. Gene. iij. to gyue other idell people by their example occasion to go to labour. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to labour that they by theyre importunate begging take not away the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore impotent miserable people your bedemen. Then shall aswell the nombre of oure forsaid monstrous sort as of the baudes, hores, theues, and idell people decease. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you haue full obedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased, Then shall your comons encrease in richnesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from vs. Then shal we haue ynough and more then shall suffice vs, whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs, Then shall we daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine saluum fac regem.



The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 9.

---

*A Demonstration of Discipline.*

[July-November 1588].



The English Scholar's Library of  
Old and Modern Works.

[Rev. JOHN UDALL.]

*A Demonstration of the truth of  
that Discipline, which CHRIST hath pre-  
scribed in His Word, for the government  
of his Church, in all times and places,  
until the end of the world.*

[July—November 1588.]

Edited by EDWARD ARBER,

HON. FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; F.S.A.  
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, ETC.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

36, CRAVEN PARK, WILLESDEN, LONDON, N.W.

2 August, 1880.

No. 9.

(All rights reserved.)



# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Bibliography ... ..	vi
INTRODUCTION ... ..	vii-xii

<i>A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline &amp;c.</i> ...	I
TO THE SUPPOSED GOVERNORS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND &c. ... ..	3
TO THE READER ... ..	8

<i>A Demonstration of Discipline</i> ... ..	8
---	---

CHAP.

1	The Word of GOD describeth perfectly the lawful Form of Church Government, and the Officers that are to execute the same : from which no Christian Church ought to swerve ... ..	13
2	Every Office in the Church must have express Scriptural authority for it; and no one is to be appointed to such Office unless it be previously vacant ... ..	17
3	Church Officers cannot be non-resident ... ..	25
4	The appointment of Officers rests with the Church, and not with patrons ... ..	29
5	The Eldership is to thoroughly examine all persons previous to their appointment to Office in the Church ... ..	34
6	No man to be admitted to Church Office until by sufficient trial and due examination he is found by the Eldership to be fit ... ..	36
7	Every Church Officer is to be ordained by the laying on of hands ... ..	40
8	Such ordaining to be done with humble prayer on the part of the Eldership and the Congregation ... ..	42
9	The value of the Laying on of hands ... ..	43
10	There should be one Bishop or Pastor president over every Congregation. All such Pastors to be of equal authority... ..	44
11	In each Congregation, there should be a Doctor; which is an Office different from that of a Pastor ... ..	49
12	Every Congregation should have Elders, to see into the manners of the people; and to be assistant unto the Minister in the ecclesiastical government ... ..	50
13	In every Congregation, there should be certain Deacons attending to money matters ... ..	55
14	There should be, perpetually, in every Congregation, an Eldership; consisting of (1) the Pastor or Pastors; (2) Doctor, if there be any; and (3) Elders: to govern the same ... ..	58
15	Church Government is only spiritual: therefore its Governors may not meddle in civil causes or secular affairs ... ..	67
16	The placing and displacing of Church Officers appertains unto the Eldership ... ..	71
17	Public Admonition is very profitable and necessary; and is to be given by the Eldership ... ..	73
18	When Admonition fails, the Eldership may exclude from the Lord's Supper; and, in the case of Officers, suspend the same ... ..	75
19	Where both Admonition and Suspension fail: the Eldership may excommunicate ... ..	78
	The Conclusion of the whole book ... ..	82

[In some copies of the original, the following, on an inserted fly-leaf, is found.]

A Table of Discipline, the particular heades whereof, are handled  
in the seueral chapters, according to the number wherewith  
they are noted : as followveth

The Discipline of the Church is, the order that God hath prescribed in his worde, for the ruling of the same: cap. 1. The offices and officers of whiche, are to bee considered in	General, the calling,	wherevnto, to wit, to	{ A certaine office, Chap. 2 { Execute his office faythfully, Chap. 3
		how it must be, by	{ Election; whiche must be done by. { The people, chap. 4. { Examination, chap. 5. { Consent (onely) to a man fit for the place, Chap. 6.
	Particular, the officers and officers,	Ordination	{ By whom it must be: by the eldership, Chap. 7. { The maner howe, by { publike prayer with the people, chap. 8. { laying on of hands, cap. 9.
		Simple, by themselves.	{ Bishops. { Pastours, chap. 10 { Deacons or Church seruants { Doctours, chap. 11. { Onerseers, chap. 12 { Distributers, chap. 13.
	Compound, the Synod Ecclesiasticall,	{ What { Wherein it consisteth: in	{ Be the parties: Pastours, Doctours, and Elders, Chap. 14. { Is the authoritie thereof, chap. 15. { placing and displacing; chap. 16. { Censures by { word, chap. 17. { deed { suspension, cap. 18 { Excommunication, chap. 19.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.



### ISSUE IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

1. [July–November 1588, East Molesey, Surrey.] See title at *p.* 1.

∴ This Work occasioned *A Remonstrance: or plaine detection of some of the faults . . . . cobbled up together in a Booke, entituled, A Demonstration &c.* London. 1590.

### ISSUE SINCE HIS DEATH.

2. 2 August 1880. Willesden, London, N.W. The present impression.

∴ *All as separate publications.*





## INTRODUCTION.



HERE is nothing more heart-rending than judicial murder for ecclesiastical opinions ; when men of the highest personal integrity and spotless citizenship come to their end unrighteously, either by long imprisonment or by swift execution. It is one of the glories of Queen VICTORIA's reign, that no one has suffered therein the extreme penalty of the law, for any simple political offence ; much more, for ecclesiastical matters. Yet, solely for *DIOTREPES* and this *Demonstration*, JOHN UDALL, an absolutely upright and pure-minded man, was cut off in the prime of life, a victim to the secular power and political influence of Queen ELIZABETH's Bishops.

Thus these two books must, necessarily, excite a deep interest in all who have a true sympathy with human nature ; as being among the number of those works which have proved to be the death warrants of their authors. It does not appear that UDALL in any single *act*, disobeyed the law of the land ; or even the injunctions of the High Commission. He had nothing to do with the Martinist publications, except that he gave PENRY certain notes as to matters of fact which had transpired. He repudiated altogether the Martinist use of satire and invective in the advancement of the common Cause he had so dearly at heart. He was universally respected by all the earnest men of the time : and even by such a man as JAMES I. Nowadays, so far from being imprisoned to death, he would have become one of the Leaders of Opinion in the nation.

It is but another illustration of the strong-handed Episcopal control of the press at that time, that such an Ecclesiastical Epitome as this, had to be secretly printed in an out-of-the-way village.

As we have seen in the *Introductory Sketch*, pp. 89, 115, this *Demonstration* was set up in type by ROBERT WALDEGRAVE at Mistress CRANE'S country house at East Molesey, near Hampton Court. It was set in a small size of Roman and Italic type, which WALDEGRAVE had managed to save in a box under his cloak on the 13th May 1588, when his press, printing *DIOTREPHES*, was seized; and which he left in the charge of Mistress CRANE for about two months. This type, which the London printers well knew as WALDEGRAVE'S type, was evidently cast on the Continent, as the semicolon so frequently occurs in this Text. At that time, that stop was not usually cast in English founts of type; neither was it recognized as a stop at all, by such a critic as GEORGE PUTTENHAM in his description of English Punctuation in his *Arte of Poesie*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication on the 9th November 1588; that is, about the very time this *Demonstration* was first coming into secret circulation.

It was comparatively easy to get the manuscript into type, though the occasional errors of spelling are a witness of its troublesomeness: but the supreme difficulty was to machine it. All the hand-printing presses of London were registered. No one could own one, but a fully qualified member of the Stationers' Company; and most of these were only allowed one. In some way or other, probably through WALDEGRAVE, PENRY bought a press; all Orders, Injunctions, &c., of the High Commission and the Stationers' Company to the contrary notwithstanding: and, apparently, he, himself, helped WALDEGRAVE to work off the sheets here reprinted. As the supply of type was very scanty, one sheet was probably set and worked off at a time; and then the type distributed for the composition of a fresh one. The original is on a much smaller page than the present one; to save paper, and to facilitate the secret distribution.

About three weeks were occupied in printing this book; and *during those three weeks* the Spanish Armada was sailing for the English Channel.

Mistress CRANE'S servant, NICHOLAS TOMKINS, swore on the 15th February 1589, that PENRY and WALDEGRAVE were "about 3 weeks in her Howse in the Country after Midsommer [1588]." *Introductory Sketch*, p. 85. *Ed.* 1879. But WALDEGRAVE'S movements in that neighbourhood had already excited suspicions. In the *Stationers' Registers* are recorded the following payments.

*Item*, paid the xth of June [1588] for a Dynner when bothe the wardens [F. COLDOCK and H. CONNEWAY], master WATKYNs, and master DENHAM, and the Pursuyvant, with JOHN WOLF, THOMAS STRANGE, and THOMAS DRAPER wente to Kingston.

<i>Item</i> the same mens supper at Kingston	xs vjd/
<i>Item</i> to the poore woman whose house was serched at Kingston	ijs/
<i>Item</i> the boatehire to and from Kingston	xiiijs/
<i>Item</i> for twooe lynckes the same tyme	viijd/
<i>Item</i> for a warrant for PENRYE and NORTHE goinge and comminge by water [ <i>i.e.</i> , to Lambeth Palace] to get yt signed.	iijs viijd/
<i>Item</i> paid to WATSON the Pursuyvant the same tyme for goinge to Kingston.	xs

*Transcript &c.*, I. 528. *Ed.* 1875.

So the entire trip cost the Stationers' Company £2 5s., or about £13 in present money. *MARTIN MARPRELATE* has given us a vivid picture of this expedition.

And I would wish the Purcivants and the Stacioners / with the Woolfe their beadle / not to be so redy to molest honest men. And Stacioners / I would wish you not to be so francke with your bribes / as you were to Thomas Draper / I can tell you his grace had need to provide a bag ful of Items for you / if you be be so liberal. Were you so foolish (or so malicious against Walde-graue) to give that knaue Draper fiue pounds to betray him into your wretched hands : he brought you to Kingstone vpon Thames / with Purcivants to take him / where he should be a printing books in a Tinkars house. (your selues being disguised so / that Walde-graue might not know you / for of Citizens you were becom[e] ruffians) There you were to seek that could not be found / and many such iournies may you make. But when you came to London / you laid Thomas Draper in the Counter for cosenage. O well bowlde / when Iohn of London throwes his bowle / he will runne after it / and crie rub / rub / rub / and say the diuill go with thee. *Epistle*, pp. 38, 39. *Ed.* 1880.

After this search, PENRY and WALDEGRAVE went further into the country, to East Molesey ; and there produced this book in the beginning of July. It came abroad with the *Epistle*, in the beginning of November 1588 : and, curiously enough, the present reprints of both works will be published on the same day, nearly three hundred years later.

## II.



HIS piece of Presbyterian Argumentation was written, when the Controversy to which it relates was at a white heat. All other possible means had already been taken ; but without effect.

We haue sought to aduance this cause of God, by humble suit to the parliamente, by supplication to your Conuocation house, by writing in defence of it, and by challenging to dispute for it, seeing none of these means vsed by vs haue preuailed. *p. 7.*

The Bishops had done nothing, and would do nothing. These Reformers were so thoroughly confident they were in the right, that they even dared to say

Venture your byshopprickes vpon a disputation, and wee will venture our liues, take the challenge if you dare : if the truth be on your side, you may hereby, be restored to your dignities, and be no more troubled by vs : but if the truth be against you, what shal it profit you to win the whole world, and afterward loose your own souls. *pp. 6, 7.*

To understand aright, UDALL's purpose and standpoint ; we should consider three things.

1. The Bishops' passive resistance, of which Lord BACON complained in his *Advertisement*. See *Introductory Sketch*, *pp. 146-168.*

2. There were, at this time, no Dissenters in England : and only a few Brownists in Holland. Every Protestant Englishman belonged to the Church of England, whether he would or not. The right to constitute a Protestant Ecclesiastical Society (on however sound an orthodoxal basis) in the Kingdom, outside the Church of England, was stiffly and absolutely denied ; and all attempts thereat rigorously suppressed. No one could throw off the authority of the Bishops ; who considered Conformity and Orthodoxy as inseparable from Loyalty and Patriotism. At what infinite trouble have these since been disentangled !

Nor was this a matter of mere mental assent. The Bishops, as Ordinaries, were the Rulers of the Church : and the iniquities of the Spiritual Courts of that time are not yet fully recognized and understood by us.

3. Personally, it was a struggle between the Bishops alone, and the best of the Clergy and Laity banded together against them. Technically, it

was a fight between the Episcopacy and the Eldership : but inasmuch as the Eldership rested on popular election, it was really a conflict between Official Power and Public Opinion.

The Prelates were in possession. For their every act, they could plead either legal enactment, or an hitherto unchallenged prescription. Besides having all the written law on their side ; they were Judges themselves, with large and not strictly-defined powers. They commanded the services of a small army of rapacious officials, who were ever at their beck and call. Add to these things, their temporalities and great wealth, their Peerage, their supposed spiritual power ; and were they not immovable ! Were a few ecclesiastical Radicals, small people altogether, to rise up against them, and bring them to judgement ? Well, that is exactly what UDALL and his friends tried to do. They endeavoured to bring these mighty men to the bar of public opinion. Of course, these pioneers were destroyed in the attempt : but their ideas remained and fructified, until the Long Parliament at last swept away the whole Episcopal system.

### III.



THE intention of the Writer of this *Demonstration*, was that it should be a kind of Ecclesiastical *EUCLID* of Church Management : and nowhere else do we get, in so short a space, such a clear tracing of the precise rift, in matters of Public Worship and Church Order, between the two systems of the Episcopacy and the Eldership, as they subsisted in ELIZABETH's reign.

Doctor BRIDGES, in his *Defence &c.*, 1587, describes the Presbyterian Government as a Tetrarchy of Doctor, Pastor, Elders and Deacons : but according to this Scheme of Organization, the Deacons had no share in the Eldership. *p.* 58.

UDALL's process herein, is that of a rigid Logic. He asserts for the Eldership a prescription, *in all times and places until the End of the World*. Then comes the irony of History in regard to such confident dogmatizing. As a matter of fact, the Holy Discipline, in its integrity, and as here defined by UDALL, did not last two generations in England.

From the Eldership, the Doctor disappeared very soon ; and the Pastors therein were, as soon, reduced to one. When the Pilgrim Fathers moved from Amsterdam to Leyden in 1609 under their single Pastor, the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON, they chose, *MASTER BREWSTER, Assistant to him, in the place of an Elder* [See *English Garner, Vol. II. p.* 365, *Ed.* 1879]. So that the Elders also, in that famous Community, had been reduced to one ; and this, within about twenty years of the writing of this Text, wherein UDALL claims for the Eldership, in its completeness, that it is a divinely-



ordained Fixture until the end of the world. WILLIAM BREWSTER lived till 1644 as the Ruling Elder of the Pilgrim Church: and it may be fairly questioned whether he did not altogether outlive the whole Institution of the Eldership, as it is laid down and defined in this text.

This but one side of the picture of those times: the other the Prelatical side will occupy us in our study of the Martinist tracts. Meanwhile, one clear distinction lies on the surface. If the Eldership was severe, narrow-minded, or harsh; yet it was never corrupt. There was integrity of life in it. But the Episcopal system contained much moral corruption, and was often monstrously tyrannical.



A DEMONSTRATION OF  
the trueth of that Discipline which  
*Christe hath prescribed in his worde for*  
the gouernement of his Church, in all  
times and places, vntill the ende of the worlde.

¶ Wherein are gathered into a plaine  
*forme of reasoning, the proofes thereof;* out  
of the scriptures, the euidence of it by  
the light of reason rightly ruled, and the testi-  
monies that haue beene giuen therevnto, by the  
course of the Church certaine hundreths of  
yeares after the Apostles time; and the generall  
consent of the Churches rightly reformed in  
these latter times: according as they  
are alleaged and maintained, in  
those seuerall bookes that  
haue bin written con-  
cerning the  
same.

MATTH. 21. 38.

The husbandmen said among themselues, this is the heire;  
come let vs kill him, and let vs take his inheritaunce.

LVKE. 19. 27.

Those mine enemies which would not that I shoulde raigne  
ouer them, bring hither, and slea them before me.





¶ TO THE SUPPOSED GOVERNOURS  
of the Church of England, the Archbishops,  
*lord Bishops, Archdeacons, and the*  
rest of that order.



Manie and most euident haue our declarations bin concerning the truth of that gouernment, which Christ hath prescribed in his word for the ruling of the Church; which we haue manifested vnto you, both by our writinges and speches, as occasion hath bin offered: neuer hath any one of you taken in hand to saye any thing against it, but it hath made his eyes to dazzle, as the clearest sun-shining; wherby he hath beene driuen to wander hyther and thyther, groping for euasions, and yet coulde not escape, but hath fallen into infinite most monstrous absurdities, and blasphemous assertions, (as by their writinges yet extant it may appeare) so forcible is the trueth, to amaze the gaine-sayers thereof, and so pregnant is falsehood to beget and bring forth thousands of absurdities, and euery one worse then other. And will you still continue in your damnable, and most deuellish course? Haue you solde your selues vnto Sathan, to fight for him vntill you be dampned in Hell with him? Haue you morgaged the saluation of your soules and bodies, for the present fruition of your pompe and plesure, is it because you see not what you should do? It may be so, for many are so blinde, that they grope euen at noone day; but me thinkes it can hardly be so, vnlesse you be they that haue eyes and see not, for the cause hath bene (by the

blessing of God) so managed, that many ploughmen, artificers, and children do see it, and know it, and are able by the worde of God to iustifie it, and condemne you to bee aduersaries vnto the gospell in resisting it. But you think that gouernment not so needfull, and your fault but small (if it be any) in continuing your course begon. The necessitie of the thing is many wayes apparant, both in that it hath so plentiful warrant from Gods owne worde, (as the course of this booke doeth euidently declare,) and also in that the gospell can take no roote, nor haue any free passage, for want of it: and the greatnes of your fault appeareth by this, that in so doing, you are the cause, of all the ignorance, Atheisme, schismes, treasons, poperie and vngodlines, that is to be founde in this land, which we challenge to prooue to your faces, if we may indifferently be heard, and whereof in the meane while we will giue you a taste: for the first it is cleere, that you are the causers of that damnable ignoraunce, wherein the people are so generally wrapped, for that you haue from time to time stopped the streams of knowledge, in those places where the Lord in mercie bestowed the same, and in stead of able and painefull ministers, haue pestered the Church, eyther with presumptuous proude persons, that are esteemed learned and take no paines to bring the people vnto the knowledge of Iesus Christe, or (which is the greatest number) such ignorant asses, and filthy swine, as are not worthy to liue in a well ordered common-wealth: and that you are the cause of all atheisme, it is plaine, for one may (as in deede many doe) professe it, and you saye nothing to him for it. If the most filthy liuer will fawne vpon you, and bribe your seruants, you will not onely fauor him, but assiste him against any godly minister or other: but if any that feare God, refuse to come vnder the leaste of your popish ceremonies, he shall be molested, till his pursse be empty, or else by your tyrannous dealing, hee haue made shipwrack of a good conscience. And are not you the cause of all schismes, that make a hotch-pot of true religion and poperye, and so giue some an occa-

sion to fal into this course, and others into that? And it is as cleare, that you are so farre the cause of all treasons, as without you they had not bin: for if euey Church had had hir gouernment according to Christs institution; our yong gentlemen, and studentes, had not bene (for want of teaching and carefull ouersight) made a prey vnto the seducers; and consequently to those practises, which haue broght the bodies of so manie vnto Tyborne, and their soules into hell; and who but you be the cause of poperye, whilest you vse them so well, let them doe what they list, yea, and keepe them in office and authoritie vnder you, yea (whiche more is) giue them such offices as none that is not popish can execute: I speake not of the ignorance which by your means raigneth euey wher, which (as they confes) is the mother of their deuotion, and you are the wretched fathers of that filthye mother, whereby you muste needes bee grandfathers (at the least) to al kinde of popery. And who can (without blushing) denie you to be the cause of al vngodlines, seeing your government is that which giueth leaue to a man to be any thing, sauing a sound Christian. For certainly it is more free in these dayes, to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of loue, yea anye moste wicked one whatsoever, then that which we should be, and I could liue these twentie years, any such in England (yea in a Byschopps house it may be) and neuer be much molested for it; so true is that which you are charged with, in a *Dialogue* lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for nothinge but the maintenaunce of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your owne soules, and infinit millions mo: Enter therefore nowe at the last, into the serious consideration of these things: remember that one day, you must be presented before the tribunall seat of Iesus Christ, to be arraigned for all the soules that haue gone to hell (seeing you will needes be the rulers of the Church) since the gospel first appeared in this land, then shall you not bee excused with this; the Queene and Councell wil haue it so: nor with

*Omnia cum  
liceant, non  
licet esse  
bonum.*

that; our state cannot beare it. For it shalbe sayde vnto you, why do you not informe them better of my will, why taught you them not to worship with trembling and feare, and to kisse the sonne least he bee angry; why did you not tell them, that all states must be ruled by my worde, and not my word by them and their pollicies. When these things shalbe laid to your charge, your consciences shal aunswere; that if you had done so, you should haue lost your dignities, whiche you loued and sought for especially: then shall you wishe, that the mountains would fall vpon you, and the hills couer you from the presence of the lambe, and from the presence of him that sitteth vppon the throne. And I am perswaded, that you are in league with hell, and haue made a couenaunt with death; yea, you doe perswade your selues, that there is no God, neyther shall there be any such day of account; or it were vnpossible, that you should giue your eyes anye sleepe, or take anye rest in your bedds, vntill you had vnto the Lord by repentance, and the Church by confession, vnburdned our souls of these hellishe wayes, wherein you haue so long walked. Repent, repent, be not ashamed to amend, though others haue founde you out the way, iudge your selues whyle you haue time, least you be made fyre-brandes of hell beyond all time. Let our challenges that wee haue made in the name of the Lord, be hearkened vnto; Let vs bee disputed with before indifferent iudges, let the holy word of God bee the touch-stone to trye our disputations by, and then shall it easily appeare, who hath the Lord on his side, and who not. The trueth wil preuaile in spite of your teeth, and al other aduersaries vnto it, (for God disdaineth to be crossed, by dust and ashes.) Therefore be not obstinate so long, as vntill you be found fighters with God; but preuent his wrath, lest it breake forth against you like fyre that none can quench, because of the wickednes of your inuentions. Venture your byshoppricke vpon a disputation, and wee will venture our liues, take the challenge if you dare: if the truth be on your side, you may hereby, be restored to your dignities,

and be no more troubled by vs : but if the trueth be against you, what shal it profit you to win the whole world, and afterward loose your own souls. If you refuse still our offer, then must you needes be guiltie eyther of this, that you know your cause will not abide the tryal, or of this, that you wil take no pains to confute vs that keep such a sturre in the Church : do not think that because you haue humane authority on your side, therefore you are safe, for he whose authoritie is on our side, is the greatest, to whose voice all the deuils in hell shall stoup ; much more the sillie arme of sinfull fleshe. We haue sought to aduaunce this cause of God, by humble suit to the parliamente, by supplication to your Conuocation house, by writing in defence of it, and by challenging to dispute for it, seeing none of these means vsed by vs haue preuailed ; If it come in by that meanes, which wil make all your heartes to ake, blame your selues ; for it must preuail, maugre the mallice of all that stande against it, or such a iudgement must ouertake this lande, as shall cause the eares that heare thereof to tingle, and make vs be a by-word to all that pas by vs. The Lord open your eyes, that you may see the confusions whereof you are the cause, and giue you true repentance, or confounde you in all your purposes, that bee against him and the regiment of his sonne Iesus Christ. The same Lord, for the loue he beareth to his poore people ; open the eyes of her Maiestie, and the Honorable Councillers, that they may see your godlesse practises, and in pitie to Gods people, rid vs from you, and turne away his iudgementes, which the reiecting of his holy yoke hath deserued, not punnishing them that mourne for the desolation of Sion, with those that spoile and make hauock of the Lords inheritaunce.

Amen.



## TO THE READER.



Infinite and vnspeakeable (Christian Reader) are the miseries from whiche Iesus Christe our Sauour hath freed vs, and the benefites and blessings, wherewith in this life he beginneth, and for euer will continue to adorne vs. The consideration whereof (if our vnthankfulness vnto his Maiesty, were any way proporcionable, to that which we endeouour vnto towards men) shoulde make vs continually to deuise, and all the daies of our life to studie howe wee might shew our selues (at least in some sort) carefull to glorifie his blessed name, aboue all thinges that we desire, by how muche as his loue towardes vs, excelleth whatsoever can else (according to our wish) befall vnto vs : but if we do with equall ballance (on the other side) looke into the course of mans life, howe well this dutie is performed ; we shal see, that men declare themselues rather bent to spit in his face, and to defie him, then any way to honour him as their head and Soueraigne : for (to saye nothing of the prophane life, and the godlesse couersation, wherewith the generall number, that professeth Iesus Christ, is wholly defiled) wee see that many nations, people and languages are very willing to receiue Iesus Christe as their priest to sacrifice for their sinnes, but that he should become their king, to prescribe lawes vnto them, whereby they may bee ruled, is of all other things the most vnsauory, yea (if it be offered) the most grieuous tydings, and vnreasonable request : wherein, albeit manye nations that haue renounced that whore of Rome, are heynously sinnefull against his glorious maiestie : yet is there none in the whole worlde so far out of square as Englande, in reteyning that popishe hierarchie, firste coyned in the midst of the mistery of iniquitie, and that filthie sinck of the Canon law, which was inuented and patched together, for the confirming and increasing of the kingdome of Antichrist : Wherein as great indignitie is offered vnto Iesus Christ, in committing his Church vnto the gouernement of the same, as can be, by meane vnderlings vnto a king ; in committing his beloued spouse vnto the direction of the mistresse of the Stewes, and enforcing hir to

liue after the orders of a brothelhouse. For the reformation wherof, while some haue written, and others according to their callinges, carefully stode, how heynously it hath bene taken, howe hardly they haue bene vsed, and what shamefull reproches haue bene offered (euen vnto the course of the Gospell) for spyte that hath bene borne vnto reformation, almost by all estates and degrees, lamentable experience hath taught many of vs: but our posterity shall knowe it more particulerly, and the Church thoroughout the world shall discerne and iudge of it more euidently, when their bodies are rotten in the dust, and their soules (if they repent not) in eternall and intollerable torments; who haue reiected a request so holy, profitable and reasonable; yea, and handled the intreaters for the same so cruelly, vnchristianly and vnlawfully: but they would gladly perswade themselues (if their conscience would let them) that they haue onely executed iustice vpon vs as malefactours, and they perswade men that we desire a thing, not warranted by the worde, not heard of in the Church of God, vntill within this few years, nor tollerable in any christian common-weal whatsoever: The whiche monstrous slaunders, albeit they haue bene manye wayes, and by many men of most worthie gifts detected, and made knowne in those seuerall bookes that haue bene published concerning the same: yet haue I thought it necessarie (in another course) to write also of it. The course of my enterprise, is first in respect of the fauorers of the desired reformation; secondly of the aduersaries of the same, the fauourers of it, are also of two sorts; ministers of the word, and priuate persons, and both I hope, may haue profit by it. Concerning the former, when these wofull troubles that were renewed vpon vs (by that wretched subscription, that was euery where vrged) did begin to increase, I thought it meete to betake my selfe vnto that which I had read, or might any way by studie finde out, concerning the cause, and collected all into a brieue sum, and referred euery thing vnto some head; whiche beeing euer present with me, might furnish me to answeere in the defence of the trueth, though it were of a sodden, by which (thorow the blessing of God) I found such profite in my seuerall troubles, that I thought it a course not altogether vnprofitable for others also, and vpon that occasion betooke my selfe vnto a more serious meditation about the matter,

and communicating the thing with diuers very worthy men; I found encouragement and hartening on, generally by all whom I made acquainted therwith: so that I trust (the iudgments, yea and wishes also of others, so iumping with mine) many ministers that loue the cause, and haue not so thorowly studied it as were meet they should, may reape some profit therby. Now concerning priuate men that loue the cause, som haue great affaires in hand, and haue no leasure to read the seuerall books of this argumente: some when they read, are not of sufficient capacity to conceiue the force of a reason, or to make vse of it, to enform themselues in the grounded knowledge of the cause thereby: some (which is the generall falt of our religious gentlemen) will take no paines to read, some are poore and not able to buie the books which might let them see the cause, al these (I hope) may finde helpe in some measure hereby. Nowe concerning the aduersaries vnto the cause, they are of two sortes also, they that know it, and they that are ignoraunt of it: the former, if they write anye thing against it, are contented to deal in so rouing a course as may rather arise vnto great volumes, then soundly to saye anye thing againste the cause: Wherein D. Whitgifte, but especially D. Bridges, haue giuen vs an euident example: and these with others of their iudgment (though non in these latter days, haue written more vnlearnedly then they, of any argument of diuinity whatsoever) are contented to make the world belieue (if men will be so wilfully seduced) that our arguments be no arguments, that they be grounded vpon false foundations, and that we are not able to conclude our cause in any forme of reasoning. The course that is here taken (I trust) shall shew that they are liars: the other sort of aduersaries be they that be meerly ignorant of any thing, either for it or against it; and perswading themselues that the sway and shew of the worlde must needs cary the truth with it, do (like blind bayardes) boldly venture to say any thing against it, and think they do wel. Now of all these sorts of people, I haue to request some thing, I hope I shall obtaine my request (at the least) at the hands of some of them. The first sort of fauorers (which be the ministers) I intreat, that as they tender the glory of God, and honour of the cause which they stand in; so they would diligently imploy themselues in this, that they may be founde able to defend the same by sounde



and euident grounds out of the worde, and so muche the rather, for that the aduersaries doe greatly triumph, when they meete with one that professeth the cause, and is not able to defende it, and confute the gainsayers of it. The second sort of fauorers, be the priuate persons that loue the cause, whom I beseech to be carefull (as of all other pointes of religion) of this, that they growe in the knowledge of the word of God, whereby they may be able, vpon their owne knowledge to defend the truth, and not giue the enemie any occasion to think or say, that they be of that minde, because such and suche ministers, whom they do affect, do thinke so. Now concerning the former sort of aduersaries, to wit, they that know it, I pray them to looke into their owne hearts, and they shal finde they mislike it; eyther because it correcteth their excessiue pompe and maintenaunce, or requireth more trauaile in their ministry, then they are willing to vndergo, or at the least, controlleth that dissolutnes of behaiour, wherin they willingly wallow: and if it would please god to bring them to a serious meditation of this, that it is the will of the mighty God (before whom they must be called to giue an account) whiche they doe resist, they would (I doubt not) more carefully looke about them. And lastly for them that being ignorant of the cause, speake euill of that they know not: let them (if they will bee admonished) vouchsafe to reade this little book, and wey the reasons with an vpright iudgment, which shal cause them (at the least) to suspend their sharpe censures, which so vsually appeare in their ordinary communication: and concerning vs al, let vs know (for one day we shalbe sure to feel it) that the controuersie is not about goats woolle (as the prouerbe sayth) neither light and trifling maters, which may safely be folowed or reiected (as in deed the enemies of this cause do confidently affirme) but about no les matter then this, whether Iesus Christ shalbe king or no; For if none is said to be a king, but he that ruleth by the scepter of his lawes, then the turning out of these orders which christ hath prescribed in his word, for the ruling of the Church, is to giue him the tytle, and denye him the authority belonging to the same, and so (in trueth) to make him an Idol, making him to cary a shew of that which he is not, and (with the crucifiers of him) to put a reede in his hand, in stead of his yron rod; and crowning

him with thorns, in stead of the crown of greatest glory; which is the cause that so many Atheists spit in his face, and so many godles persons, do make but a iest of him: but when he commeth to shew him-selfe in his glorious maiestie; it shalbe said vnto all these sorts of aduersaries: *Those mine enemies whiche would not that I should raigne ouer them, bring hither, and slea them before me.* Luke. 19, 27. The which fearefull sentence, that we may auoide, let euerye one of vs (as may stand with our seuerall callings) carefully endeuor, to aduaunce this kingdom here, which (among other assurances giuen vs from the Lord) shalbe a testimonie vnto vs, that we shall haue part in that glory, which shalbe reuealed hereafter. Now concerning the order of this booke; to direct thee (good reader) vnto thy further instruction, in the points therof. Thou hast in euery chapter, diuers proofs out of the holy word of God, which must be the things wherewith thou mayest safely informe thy conscience: then shalt thou finde (also) arguments drawn from reson rightly ruled by the same word: and lastly, (because our aduersaries charge vs, that we desire a thing not known vnto the olde writers, nor agreed vpon among the newe) thou hast here the witnes of them both in so plentifull and vniforme wise, as may plainly declare, that al godly learned men of al times, haue giuen testimony vnto the trueth of it. The most of the thinges that are here expressed, I acknowledg to be gathered out of the books that haue bene published, and are extant (purposely) concerning this argument; as may appeare in the seueral points, wherein thou art sent vnto them. Now, lest either thou shouldst be deceiued with a diuers impression, or think me to missealleadge the authors, I am to shew thee what books I haue followed. The 1. book of T. C. twice printed, I folow the latter; of Ecclesiast discip. I folow the latine, printed 1574, and the last booke of D. Whitgift, which containeth all the former in it. The rest (as I take it) haue bene but once printed, and therefore cary no doubt in them. If thou bee satisfied herewith, giue God the glory: and promote the cause by prayer, and all other good meanes that thy calling may affoord: and pray for vs, that we may neuer shrink, nor be ouerthrowen by the strength of them that fight against it.

FINIS.

# A DEMONSTRATION of Discipline

## CHAP. I.

*The diffinition of Discipline, contayneth this proposition  
holden by vs.*



He worde of God describeth perfectly vnto vs, that forme of gouerning the Church which is lawfull, and the officers that are to execute the same; from the which no Christian Church ought to swarue. Admonition in the præface: Ecclesiasticall Discip. fol. 5. T.C. first booke, page 26. Counterpoyson page 8. Discourse of gouernment, page. 1. &c.

*The Assertion of the BB. and their adherents.*

**T**He worde of God describeth not any exacte forme of Discipline, neyther are the offices and officers, namely, and particularly expressed in the Scriptures, but in some points left to the discretion and libertie of the Church. *VWhitgift* in præface, and page. 84. aunswere to the Abstract. page 33.

**T**He prooffe of the former is the disproofe of the latter, which is thus declared.

**I** These things write I vnto thee, &c. out of whiche place I reason thus. That end which Paule respected <sup>1 Tim. 3. 14. 15.</sup> in writing vnto Timothie, doth the holy ghost direct al ministers vnto for euer; for it must be kept. 1. Tim. 6. 14. But he wrote to directe him in the establishing and building of the Church. Therefore that word must direct ministers for

euere : and consequently they neither may add to, nor take from it, but gouerne it onely by the rules that be there prescribed.

**2** Euery house ought to be ruled by the orders of the skilfull, wise, and careful householder onely : but the Church is the house of God, and God is such a householder : Therefore the Church ought to be ruled by the orders of God onely, which are no where to be had, but in his worde.

**3** That which teacheth euery good way, teacheth also how the Church must be gouerned : but the word of God teacheth  
*Prouerb 2. 9.* euery good way : *pro. 2. 9.* therefore it teacheth how the Church must be gouerned.

**4** We cannot glorifie God, but by obedience to his word ;  
*1 Cor. 10. 31.* in all that we doe, we must glorifie God. *1 Cor. 10. 31.* Therefore in all that we doe, there must be obedience to the word ; and consequently in gouerning his Church.

**5** If meat and drinke be not sanctified vnto vs, but by the  
*1 Tim 4. 5.* word and prayer, then much lesse is any thing holy which is done in the gouernement of the Church besides the word : But the former is true by the testimonie of the Apostle *1. Tim. 4. 5* : therefore the latter must be true also.

**6** All lawfull things are of fayth. *Rom. 14 23.* All lawfull  
*Rom. 14. 23.* things that are of fayth, haue a warrant from the word, for the word is the foundation of fayth ; therefore all things lawfull, haue their warrant from the word : and consequently euery lawfull action in the gouernement of the Church.

**7** Eyther hath God left a prescript forme of gouernement for the Church, vnder the newe testament : or he is lesse careful for it now, then he was vnder the lawe ; for his care is in guying it : But he is as careful now for his church as he was then : Therefore hath hee left a prescript forme to gouerne it.

**8** He that was as faythfull as Moses, left as clear instruction,  
*Heb. 3. 2.* both for the buylding of faith, and gouernment of the Church, as Moses did : but Christ was as faythfull in Gods house. *Heb. 3. 2* : therefore he lefte as cleare instruction for them both as Moses ; but Moses gaue direction euen for euery particular, as appeareth in the buylding of the Tabernacle, and order of the priesthood : Therefore hath Christe also giuen particuler direction for the gouernment of the Church.

**9** If the word of God haue described sufficient ministers

and ministeries, for the buylding of the Church, and keeping it in good order, then is our assertion true: But it hath set downe sufficient for doctrine, exhortation, ouerseeing, distributing, and ordering of euery particular Church or generall Synode: Therefore is our assertion true.

Rom 12. 5. 6. 7.  
1 Cor. 12 28.  
Ephes. 4. 11. &c.  
See Counterp  
page 11.

**10** That gouernement which the Apostles taught and planted, is expressed in the word of God: But the Apostles taught and planted, pastours and teachers for instruction, elders for ouersight, and deacons to distribute, and that vniformely in euery Church, as appeareth by their writings and practises: Therefore a certaine forme of gouernement is expressed in the worde.

**11** Euery lawfull office and action in the building of the Church, is from heauen. Matth. 21. 25. 26. Matth. 21. 25. 26 Euery thing that is (in the ordinarie building) from heuen, is reueled in the word: Therefore euerye lawfull office and action is reueled in the worde.

**12** If God continued (in regarde of the substance) the Church administration, as wel as the things to be administred, then is the forme of Discipline described in the word: But the former is true, as appeareth by the particulars; for priests, pastours; for teaching Leuites, or doctors of the law, Teachers; for rulers of the Synagogue, Elders; for Leuiticall lookers to the treasurie, Deacons; for the Sanedrim, the Eldershipp: therefore the forme of gouernment is prescribed in the word.

**13** Euery wise king that is careful for his subiects, setteth downe Lawes for the gouernment of the same, and will haue them tyed to no other: But Christ is such a king vnto his church: Therefore hath he prescribed Lawes vnto his Church, which none therein can alter or disobey; and consequently, the certaine forme of gouernment of the Church is described in the worde.

**14** That which the ministers must teach the people to obserue, is set downe in the worde of god, for they Matth. 28 20. may teach nothing but that which is there, Matth. 28. 20: But they are to teache them to obserue, and be obedient vnto, the particular forme of the Church gouernement: Therefore the particular forme is set downe in the word.

**15** Euery gouernment consisteth in the gouernours, matter



wherabout they are to be imployed, and maner of doing it: But in the word are described all these particulars, as it is shewed in the 9. reason: Therefore the word prescribeth a prescript forme of government.

**16** The Christian religion shall finde, that out of this Scripture, rules of all doctrine haue sprong, and that from hence doeth spring, and hyther doth returne, whatsoeuer, the Ecclesiasticall Discipline doth containe.

**17** We may not giue our selues the libertie to bring in anye thing that other men bring of their will; we haue the Apostles for authours, whiche themselues brought nothing of their owne will, but the Discipline which they receiued of Christe, they deliuered faythfully to the people.

**18** It is adulterous, it is sacriledgious, whatsoeuer is ordained by humane furie, that the diuine disposition should be violated.

Therefore if Timothie was written vnto, that he might be directed by the worde, in disposing of the Churches; if the Lawes of God onely being the housholder, must be followed in the Church, his House; if the word of God teache vs in euerye good way, whereof the gouernement of the Church is one; if God must be glorified in the ruling of his Church, which cannot be, but by obedience to his word; if nothing be lawfull, but that which is of fayth, warranted by the word; if God haue shewed himself as carefull for his Church vnder the Gospell, as vnder the law; if Christ was as faythfull to giue direction as Moses; if in the worde be described sufficient ministers and ministeries, to buylde vp the Church; if that gouernement, which the Apostles taught and practized, be in the worde; if euery lawfull office and action in an ordinarie building, be from heauen, and reuealed thence by the worde; if God continued the same forme (in respect of the substance) in the time of the Gospel, that was vnder the law; if euery wise carefull king, doe set downe lawes for the direction of his subiectes; if the Apostles haue taught vs to obey that which Christ commanded; if both the gouernours matter of government, and maner of doing it, be set downe in the worde; if all that pertayneth to Ecclesiasticall Discipline, spring from the scriptures; if wee may bring nothing into the Discipline of the Church, but that which the Apostles haue deliuered vs; lastly, if that be

adulterous and sacriligious, that is not according to the worde: then it must needes followe, that God doth describe perfectly vnto vs out of his worde, that forme of government which is lawfull, and the officers that are to execute the same: from the which it is not lawful for any Christian Church to swarue. And contrariwise, that is a most vntrue assertion to saye, that the officers and offices are not particularly expressed, but left to the discretion of the Church. The reasons that they alleadge against this, are in effect none, and their obiections to these reasons, not worthy to be mentioned.

CHAP. 2.



Very officer in the Church, must be placed in some calling warraunted by the worde of God, and some congregation must haue neede of such a one, before he be called to any function. Wherein are these propositions.

1 No calling is lawfull in the Church, but that whiche is directly warraunted out of the word, vnto him that executeth it.

The first proposition.

The BB. and their adherentes thinke otherwise, as their practize in ordeyning Archbysh. L. Byshops, Deanes, Archdeacons, Chauncellors, officialls, &c. doth plainly declare.

2 The name and office of an Archb. is contrary to the word of God.

The second proposition.

3 No man may be ordeined vnto any office in the Church, vntill there be such a place void as he is fit for: T.C. 1. booke, page 61.

They thinke otherwise, as their making of so many ministers at once proueth, and as is holden, *VWhitgift* page 222.

1 **T**he first is prooued thus: If Iohn was constraigned to prooue his ministerie out of the Scriptures when the Priests accused him; then is no calling lawfull, that hath not his warrant in the word, for if any be priuiledged, the extraordinarye ministers (whereof he was one) are specially excepted: But he prooued his ministry by the word, as appeareth by his aunswere vnto them, in the 23. verse. Therefore no calling is lawfull in the Church, that hath not his warrant in the word.

Reason for the first proposition Iohn 1. 23. 25.

**2** The callings vnder the Gospell must haue as good warrant as they had vnder the law, because the light of the Gospell is (at the least) as cleare as that of the law: But there was neuer any lawfull calling vnder the lawe (excepting those that were by miraculous manner confirmed from heauen) whiche had not his directe warrant out of the worde. Therefore no calling is lawfull in the Church, whiche is not directly warranted in the word.

**3** If Corath Dathan and Abiram (though they were Le-Numb. 16. uites) were punished for that they had no warrant for that which they presumed to take in hande, then is euerye lawfull calling, both in generall warranted out of the worde, and particularly layde vpon the parties from the Lorde: But the former is true, as the historie teacheth vs: Therefore must the latter needes be true also.

**4** That which giueth comfort vnto a man in the time of his troubles, must haue a warraunt out of Gods worde: But euerye lawfull calling giueth comfort vnto a man in the time of his troubles: Therefore euery lawfull calling hath a warrant out of Gods word.

**5** That which helpeth Gods people forward in godlines, must haue a warraunt out of Gods word: for God hath promised a blessing to his owne ordinance onely: But euery lawfull calling in the Church, helpeth Gods people forward in godlines: Therefore euerye lawfull calling hath a warrant out of Gods word.

Therefore if Iohn did prooue his calling out of the The conclusion Scriptures; if euerye calling vnder the lawe, was warraunted out of the Scriptures; if Corath, &c. were punished for enterprising that which they had no warrant for, out of the Scriptures; if comfort in troubles commeth onely from the Scriptures; and lastly, if euery helpe to godlines is warraunted in the Scriptures; then, &c.

They confesse all these reasons to be true, but do denie that the Archbish. L.B. &c. be distinct ministers from others. *VWhitgift* page 303. which we holde *T.C.* 2. booke page 438. and prooue it thus.

**1** Those thinges that haue diuers efficient causes, are diuers: Our BB. and the ministers of the worde haue diuers efficient causes, for the one is the ordinance of God, the other the constitution of humane pollicie, as themselues doe confesse: Therefore they are distinct ministers from others.



**2** A diuers forme maketh diuers things: the ministers of the word, and the L. Byshops haue diuers formes: for their ordination (euen in the Church of England) is diuers, seeing one L. B. may ordaine a minister: But there must bee three to ordaine one of them: Therefore they are distinct ministers.

**3** Members of one diuision are distincte one from another: the L. BB. and ordinarie ministers bee members of one diuision: for vsually the ministers be diuided into the rulers, and them that are to be ruled: therefore they are distinct ministers.

**4** The things that haue diuers effects, are diuers in themselves one from another: the L. BB. and other ministers haue diuers effects; for the one effecteth rule and gouernement, the other subiection and obedience: Therefore they are diuers and distinct ministers.

**5** They that be imploied about diuers things are diuers one from another: The L. Bb. and the ordinary ministers, be imploied about diuers things, for the one is exercised in generall viewe of many congregations, and the other in the particular direction of one: Therefore they be distinct ministers.

**6** That which is perpetuall, and that which may be taken away by men, are distinct one from another: The office of the minister is perpetuall, Ephes. 4.13. and the Bb. may be taken away as themselves do confesse: Therefore they are diuers, and distinct ministers.

Therefore if the ministers of the worde, and L.Bb. proceed from diuers causes; if they haue their being by The Conclusion diuers formes; if they be members of one diuision, which (in nature) cannot be one; if they produce diuers effectes; if they be exercized about diuers subiectes: lastly, if the one be perpetuall, and the other but for a time, then must it needes followe, that they are diuers and distinct ministers one from another.

**T**he name of an Archb. and also the office that he executeth, is contrary to the vword of God.

2. The  
 proposition  
 and reasons  
 for the prooffe  
 of it.

First, the reasons that prooue it vnlawfull to giue the name vnto any man in the Church, are these.

**1** No man may haue the name giuen him, which is proper to our Sauour Iesus Christe: But the name of Archb. is proper vnto our Sauour Iesus Christe, as appeareth in the places quoted: Therefore no man may haue the name of Archb. giuen vnto him.

That the name of archb. may be giuen no man.

1. Peter. 5.4.  
Hebr. 13.20.  
Actes 3.15.5.31.  
Hebr. 12.2.

**2** If the name Pope be therefore odious, because of that Antichrist, who is intituled therewith, then must also the name of Archb. when it is ascribed vnto any mortal man: forsomuch as it is the title of a speciall member of that kingdom of Antichrist: But the former is true euen by their owne confession. *VWhitgift* page 300. Therefore must the latter be true also.

Objections for the name of Archb. and answers therevnto

But they obiect diuers things against this, for the proouing of the name Archb. to bee lawfully giuen vnto some men, which together with their answers do briefly follow.

Whitgift page 318.

**1 Obiection** Clemens alloweth of those names, as Polydor reporteth, lib. 4. cap. 12.

**Answer** Polydor is but the reporter, and M. Iewell hath prooued evidently against Harding that Clemens is counterfeit, and worthy of no credite.

**2 Obiection** Erasmus sayth that Titus was an Archbishop.

**Answer** He spake as the times were wherein he liued: but that prooueth not that he helde him one in deed, no more then our naming of the Archb. of Canterburie, when we speake of him, prooueth that we like and allow his authoritie.

**3 Obiection** Anacletus sayth that Iames was the first Archb. of Ierusalem.

**Answer** He is forged (as our answers to the papists haue shewed) but a witnes of better credit calleth him onely a bishop, Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 23. and Simon bishop after him, lib. 3. cap. 22. and Iræneus saith lib. 4. cap. 63. that the Apostles ordayned bishops euery where, making no mention of Archb.

**4 Obiection** The Councill of Nice Canon 6. mentioneth a Metropolitan bishop.

**Answer** That prooueth nothing, for it was onely as much as to say, the Bish. of the chiefe Citie.

Secondly the reasons that prooue the office of  
 the Archb. vnlawfull be these.

That the  
 office of  
 Archb. is  
 vnlawfull.

1 Euerie ministry that is lawful, must be of God: The office of the Archb. is not of God, for that he is not described in the worde, and themselues confesse that he is of humane pollicie: Therefore the office of the Archb. is vnlawfull.

2 That ministry whose original is vnknown, hath no warrant from Gods worde, and consequently is vnlawfull: The original of the Arch. is vnknowne as they confesse; *VWhitgift* page 351. Therefore it is vnlawfull.

3 That office which is needles in the church is also vnlawful to be exercised in the same: The office of the Archb. is needlesse, for the ministry is perfect without it, as the Apostle proueth, Ephes. 4. 13. Therefore the office of an Archb. is vnlawfull.

4 If all the giftes needful for the perfecting of the Church, be appropriated vnto other ministeries, then is his ministry vnlawful: But al the needful gifts, are appropriated vnto pastors[,] doctors, elders and deacons, whereof he is none: Therefore his office is vnlawful.

5 That office is vnlawful, which none may lawiully giue: But none may lawfully bestowe the office of an Archb. because none can giue any newe giftes to adorne him withall: Therefore his office is vnlawfull.

This reason being vsed of all sounde diuines against the pope, is of the same valewe against the Archb.

6 If the office of an Archb. be lawfull, then it is eyther in respect of his excellencie aboue other men, or the place whereof he is aboue other places: But neyther of these haue euer bene, neyther hereafter can be: Therefore that office is vnlawfull.

Therefore if the office of the Archb. be not of God; if the original of it be vnknown; if in the Church it be needlesse; if all the gifts that God hath bestowed vpon his ministry be appropriated vnto those Church officers, whereof he is none; if none may lawfully bestow such an office vpon any; if it can neyther bee incident vnto any one man for his excellencie, nor his place for preheminance: then must it needs follow, that his office is vnlawfull.

Caluin in his Institut. booke 4. cap. 11. sect. 7. alleadgeth diuers reasons to this purpose, and Beza in his booke of

diuorcements, stretcheth the same to all the inferiour officers vnder him saying: Officials, proctors, promotours, and all that swinish filth, now of long time hath wasted the Church. So doth Peter Martyr vpon the Rom. 13. speaking against ciuill Iurisdiction in Bishops, doth by the same reasons condemne it in their substitutes.

But this being the corner stone of their building, they labour to support it with many props the most special whereof are these.

**1 Obiection** Cyprian sayth, lib. 1. Epist. 3. *ad Cornelium*,  
Obiections for  
the office of  
the Archb:  
and answers  
thervnto. Neyther haue hæresies and schismes risen of anye other occasion, then of that, that the prieste of God is not obeyed, neyther one priest for the time, and one iudge for the time in the stead of Christ thought vpon, to whome if the whole brotherhood woulde be obedient according to Gods teachinge, no man woulde mooue any thing against the Colledge of priests

**Ansvere** This place is alleaged for the pope and the answere that M. Iewel and others make to it, serueth our turne: onely let this be noted, that Cyprian speaketh of the people at Rome, that had receiued another bishop (besides Cornelius) who was an hæretike; for all the course of his writings, condemneth this superioritie. It is expounded by M. Iewel, booke 1. sect. 4. diuision 5, of euery bishop: and so is it by M. Nowell against Dorman, booke 1. page 25. and also by M. Foxe, tom. 1. fol. 93. See T.C. in his 1. reply page 98. &c.

**2 Obiection** The authority of the Archb. preserueth vnitie.

**Ansvere** Cyprian lib. 4. Epist. 9. sayth that vnitie is reserued by the agreement of bishoppes, that is of ministers, one with another.

**3 Obiection** It compoundeth controuersies, that els would growe to many heades without any special remedie.

**Ansvere** Cyprian lib. 1. Epist. 13. sayth that the plentiful body and company of Elders, are (as it were) the glewe of mutual concord, that if any of our companye be authour of hæresie, the rest should helpe.

**4 Obiection** Ierome vpon Tit. 1. sayth that in the beginning a bishop and priest (meaning a teaching Elder) were all one: but when men began to say, I am of Paule, I

am of Apollo[s], &c. It was decreed that one shoulde be chosen to beare rule ouer the rest.

**Ansvere** From the beginning it was not so: the sayinge of Tertull. *Contra Prax.* is fitt for this: that is true whatsover is firste, and that is false whatsoeuer is latter: and Ierome sayth in the place alleaged, that this authority is by custome and not by any institution of God; if it had bene the best way to take away diuisions, the Apostles (in whose times the controuersies did arise) would haue taken the same order.

**5 Obiection** Caluine sayth that the Apostles had one among them to gouerne the rest.

**Ansvere** That was not in superioritie, but for order to propound the matters, gather the voyces and such like; which is meete to be in euery wel ordered meeting: but his authority is no more ouer the rest, then the speaker in the Parliament hath ouer the other knightes and Burgesses.

**6 Obiection** Paule was superior to Timothy and Titus.

**Ansvere** Paule and they had diuers offices, whereof the Apostles office was the chiefe, the like is to be sayd of Timothie and Titus, hauing superiority ouer the other ministers, for that they were Euangelists, a degree aboue ordinarie ministers.

Therefore if the place alleaged out of Cyprian, make nothing for Archb. if vnity be not preserued by him, but by the Byshoppes among themselues; if his autho-  
The conclusion  
 ritie make nothing to the taking away of controuersies; if it be meerly inuented by man, and not from the beginning; if it be by custome, and not by any ordinance of God; if neyther one Apostle ouer the rest, nor any of them ouer the Euangelists, nor of the Euangelistes ouer the pastours and teachers, wil serue to prooue their authority: then must it needs follow, that it is vtterly vnlawful.

**N**o man may be ordayned vnto any office in the Church, vntill there be such a place voyde as he is fit for, T.C. booke 1. page 61. *VVhitgift*, page 222.

The 3 proposition and reasons for it.

**1** As was the 12. place for Matthias, so is a certaine Church, to euery Church officer: But Matthias was not ordained vnto the place of an Apostle, vntill Iudas Act 1. 20.



by hanging himself, had made it voyde, Act 1. 20. Therefore may none be ordained vnto any office in the Church, before the place where he may be employed, be destitute of such a one.

**2** As the Apostles did in planting of the Churches, so must it bee done in the buyldinge thereof for euer: But they ordayned neyther pastour, teacher, elder or deacon, but to some certaine Church that had neede therof: Therefore may none bee ordayned vnto any office, vntill a place be voyd that hath need of him.

**3** Those thinges that bee of one beginning, continuance and ending, cannot be one, before or after another: But a minister, and the execution of his ministry in a lawfull standing be so; for they be relatiues, and haue reference one vnto the other: Therefore a minister ought not be ordained before there be a ministry whervnto he is to be allotted.

**4** If non[e] ought to be called to be a shepherd, that hath no flocke of sheepe to keepe: neither any watchman, that is not allotted to som place to watch: then may none be ordayned to any office, before there be a place void for him: for ministers are in this sence tearmed shepherds and watchmen: But the former is true, as euery simple man can easily perceiue: Therefore the latter is true also.

**5** To do contrary to the precepts and practize of the Apostles is vnlawfull: But to ordain any officer, without a certain place wherin he may be employed, is contrary to the precepts and practize of the Apostles, as it appeareth, Tit. 1. 5. Act. 14. 23. Therefore to ordayne any officer of the Church, without a certayne place wherevnto he is to be allotted, is vnlawfull.

**6** It was ordayned that no Elder, Deacon, or any other Ecclesiastical officer, shoulde bee ordayned a Council Calcedon cap. 6. art. 15 *Apolelymenos*, that is loosely, or let at randone (but as afterward is expounded) specially in a Church of cite or towne.

**7** The ordination that is made without a title, let it be void: and in what Church one is intituled, let Concil. Vrbanum test Gratuum dist. 70. him there remaine.

**8** He complaineth that ministers were ordayned, Ierom ad Nepotian. being chosen by no Church, and so went here and there, hauing no certaine place.

9 That action, which neuer is read to be practized, but by idolators is vnlawfull: To haue wandring officers, is onely found to be in idolators, as appeareth Iudg. 17. 8. Therefore it is vnlawfull.

Therefore, if the Apostles ordayned not Mathias, vntill the place was voide; if in planting of Churches, they euer allotted officers to their proper places; if <sup>The conclusion.</sup> minister and ministry be of one beginning, continuance and ending; if it be with a minister, and his ministry, as with a shepheard and his flocke, that he cannot be the one, but in respect of hauing the other; if it be vnlawfull to transgresse the precepts and practize of the Apostles; if no minister in the Church, be ordained at randone; if the ordination that is without a title be voyde; if Ierome complayned of it, as a great faulte in his time; if no example be founde of it, but in Idolators: then must it needs follow, that to ordayne any Church officer, vntill there be such a place voyd as he is fit for, is vtterly vnlawfull: and so the Bb. making of many ministers at once, and licencing of wandring preachers, is contrary to the word of God.

They will haue some thing to saye for euery action they doe, be it neuer so shamefull: that which they <sup>An obiection.</sup> alleage for this, is, that Paule and Barnabas did wander.

The Apostles office (and so the Euangelistes as assistants vnto them) was to prech the word, and plant <sup>The answer.</sup> Churches in euery part of the world: but the order that they left, is a president for us, which is that euery Church haue their proper officers, and that there be no other elsewhere to be found.

### CHAP. 3.



Very Church-officer, ought to execute the office committed vnto him, with all faythfull <sup>Our assertion.</sup> diligence, and consequently be continually resident vpon his charge, T.C. booke 1. page 65.

They deny not the proposition, but the consequent that is inferred vpon it, as appeareth by their writinges, <sup>Their assertion.</sup> *VWhitgift* page 246. and by their dayly practize in giuing dispensations for many benefices.

**T**he reasons we alleadge to prooue the necessitie of perpetuall residence, and the vnlawfulnes of nonresidence be these that follow.

**1** A shepheard hath a flocke to the ende to feed it continually: The minister is a shepheard, and his charge a flocke: Therefore he ought to feed it continually, and consequently to be perpetually resident, for how can he feed them from whom he is absent.

**2** Where God doth place anye man, there his continuall trauaile is needfull, for God is most wise in disposing euery thing: But God placeth euery right minister ouer that people, which is his charge: Therefore his continuall trauaile is needfull there, and consequently he may not discontinue.

**3** Flockes that are in danger, are (by carefull shepards) watched night and day, Luk [e]. 2. 8. Euery congregation is a flocke in daunger, for the enemie goeth about like a roaring lyon, 1. Pet. 5. 8. and soweth tares whilest men sleepe. Math. 13. 25. Therefore euery congregation is to bee watched night and day by the minister therof, and consequently he may not be nonresident.

**4** If his dutie to them requireth so muche trauaile, as may continually set him on worke, then may he not be nonresident: But it is eident (that it doth so) to all them that eyther know by the worde of God, what studie, prayer, doctrine, exhortation, &c. be required of him, or maketh anye conscience of giuing account for the soules committed to their charge: Therefore may not they be nonresident.

**5** If the minister cannot apply himself fruitfully, to the capacitie of his people, vnlesse hee haue particular knowledge of their disposition, and capacitie, then is it not lawfull for him to be nonresident: for by continuall residence among them, he may knowe them and not else: But the former is true, as the small knowledge that the people get by generall teaching, doth eidently declare: Therefore is not lawful for him to be nonresident.

**6** If the ministers of the Gospell, be as narrowly tyed to their charges, as the priests vnder the law, then may they not be nonresident: For they were alwayes readie in the Temple, to answeere the doubts, 1. Sam. 1. 9: But it is clear that they are, because men are now as hardly trayned vnto godlines, and the enemie is as wrathfull as he was then: Therefore they may not be nonresident.



**7** If the minister must be an example to his people; then must he be daily present with them, that they may beholde him: But the former is true, 1. Tim. 4. 12. Therefore is the latter true also.

**8** He whom the sheepe are to follow in and out, and must knowe by the voyce, ought to bee continually among them: A good minister of the worde is such a one, Iohn. 10. 4. Therefore he must be resident among them.

**9** None can be alwayes readie to feede his flocke, that is absent from it: Euerye minister must be alwayes readie to feede his flocke, because it dependeth vpon him. 1. Pet. 5. 2. Therefore euery minister is to bee resident with his flocke.

**10** Hee that must take heede to his flocke, watch ouer it, and feed it, must be resident continually with it: Euery minister must do so, Act. 20. 28. Therefore, &c.

**11** If Satan be the cause of nonresidence, then is it vtterly vnlawfull: But Satan is the cause of it, 1. thes. 2. 17. 18. Therefore it is vtterly vnlawful.

**12** That which abridgeth the loue of God to his people, and comfort to the minister, that same is vnlawfull: But not to be resident doth both: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

**13** That which hindreth the louing familiarity that shoulde be betwixt the minister and his people, that same is vnlawfull: But nonresidence doth so, for it maketh them strange one to another, and argueth small loue in him towards them: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

**14** To be absent from them that haue interest in vs, and continuall need of vs is vnlawful, which we can see to be true in our seruants, &c: But the congregation hath an interest in the minister, and continuall neede of him: Therefore it is vnlawfull for him to bee absent from them.

**15** If the priests might not dwell farre from the temple, then may not ministers be nonresident: But the former is true, as appeareth by this; that they had houses buylded close to the Temple. 1. Chron. 28. 13. Therefore the latter is true also, seeing the residence of the one is as needfull as the other, as appeareth in the **sixt** reason.

**16** Let no Clarke be placed in two charges, for it is filthie merchaundize, and no man can serue two masters, and euerye one must tary in that place wherevnto he is called.

**17** Damasus compareth them that set ouer their charges Concil. tom. 2. to others, to harlots that put out their children, that they may giue themselues to lust the sooner.

Theoderet lib. 1. cap. 19. **18** It was ordayned that none, eyther B. or Elder, should go from citie to citie.

Therefore, if a minister haue the charge of a flocke com-  
The conclusion mitted vnto him, to the end to feed it; if God place men, to the end to haue them there imploied; if flocks in daunger haue need of continuall watche; if the ministers dutie to his flocke requireth all that trauayle that he can performe; if he cannot be fruitfully profitable vnto them, without continuall residence; if his residence be as strictly required as theirs vnder the law; if he cannot be a patterne vnto them without he be resident; if they cannot follow him, nor know him if he be absent; if he cannot be alwayes readie to feed his flock, vnlesse he bee there; if hee cannot take heede to them, feede them, and watche ouer them, without his presence; if Satan be the authour of non-residencie; if his absence abridge Gods loue to them, and comfort from himselfe; if absence be an hinderance to the louing familiaritie that shoulde be betwixt him and them; if they haue interest in him, and continuall neede of him; if he may no more bee absent, then the priests dwell from the Temple; if the Councel of Nice did vpon good grounds forbid it; if absence be like to the practize of an harlot; if it be not lawfull to go from place to place; then is nonresidence vnlawfull, and the practize therof contrary to the word of God.

The bellie (for which nonresidencie is defended and practized) hath no eares, therefore it is that they heare not these eident sounds; yet haue they very little to saye for it, so grosse is the error thereof; so much as hath any shewe of reason, is here set downe and answered.

**1 Obiection** Two parrishes may bee vnited, why then may not one haue charge of them both before, when they be two.

**Ansvere** Because one shepheard may keep one flocke though it bee great, but hee cannot keepe two, being verye little, and going in diuers pastures; againe, one man may haue so many flockes as he can lead in and out euerye Sabbath, to the exercises of religion, which is verye plaine that he cannot doe, to more then one congregation.

**2 Obiection** Parishes were deuided by men, as especially by Denis the Monk, Pope of Rome.

**Answer** That is vntrue, for the Apostles deuided the Church into congregations, and placed elders ouer euey one of them, as the whol[e] course of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles proueth: and *VWhitgift* confesseth page 250. Therefore these mistes notwithstanding, nonresidencie must needes be vnlawfull: and certainly those that haue any sparkle of conscience, feare of God, or loue to their flockes, will neuer defend it, much lesse enter into the practize of it.

CHAP. 4.

**I**T belongeth to the Church, to make choise of those officers which Christ would haue placed Our assertion. in the same: T.C. 2. booke 1. part[,] page 193. Ecclesiast. Discip. fol. 40. and *VWhitgift* confesseth it page 164.

They deny this, as their denying of al the arguments that bee brought for it doth prooue, *VWhitgift* page 154. 166. &c. and their practize of allowing patrons, and also being such themselues doth euidently declare.

**I**f the former bee prooued true, then the latter must returne to Antichriste, which is thus declared.

**1** That which was the continuall and constant practize of the Church in the time of the Apostles, that same Act. i. 26. is to be followed for euer, which appeareth by this, that the ordinaunces giuen from God by Paule, 1. Tim. 6. 14. are enioyned to be kept vntill Christ come to iudgement: but it was the constant, and the continuall practize of the Churches, then to haue a stroke in the choise of their owne ecclesiastical officers, Act. 1. and 26. where the Apostles presented two, to the peoples liking: wherof God was to be prayed vnto, to make one an Apostle. Act. 6. 3. where the Church is willed to choose their Deacons, and Act. 14, 25. where they gaue their consent in the choosing of their elders, by the stretching forth of their handes: Therefore it belongeth to the Church to choose their owne Church officers.

**2** If the people had an interest in the liking of their teaching Leuites, (which were of the tribe of Numb. 8. 9. Aaron) then much more must the people now, for there was greater likelihood, that they were sent of God, then any of the common sort of men: But the former is true, as appereth

by the manner of the setting of them a side vnto that office in the lawe: Therefore must the latter needs be true also.

**3** That which pertayneth vnto all, ought to be approoued of all the congregation: But euery ministry in the Church, pertayneth to all the congregation: Therefore, authority to approoue of them, pertayneth to all the congregation.

**4** That election which is most effectuall to bring the people to obedience, is of all other the best; and to abridge it, is vnlawfull: But election by common consent, is most effectuall to bring the people to obedience, when they shall see him teache or rule, whom they themselues haue chosen: Therefore election by the Church is the best, and all other kindes of elections vnlawfull.

**5** That election which procureth greatest reuerence of the people to their teachers and rulers is meetest, and all others vnlawfull: But for the people to consent in the election of their gouernours, procureth greatest reuerence, in their hearts towards them: Therefore election by the people is the best, and all others bee vnlawfull.

*Testimonies of the ancient writers.*

**6** The minister should be chosen (the people being present) in the eyes of all, and should be by the common iudgement, and testimonie approoued worthy and fit: &c. Therefore this is the lawfull vocation by the worde of God, where those which are chosen, be appoynted by the consent and approbation of the people. For which also, he bringeth diuers authorities out of the Scriptures.

Cyprian booke  
1 Epist. 3.

**7** That is truely and certainly a diuine election of a Byshop, which is made by the whole Church.

Ambrose  
Epist: 82

**8** Let the people haue authority to choose their Clarkes and ministers.

Jerome ad  
Ruffinum.

Ad Nepotianum

This is right  
our English  
fashion.

**9** They runne (speaking of the life of the Clarkes) to Byshops suffragans certaine times of the yeare, and bringing some sum of money, they are anoynted and ordayned, being chosen of none, and afterward the Byshop without any lawfull election, is chosen in huggermuger of the canons, or prebendaries onely, without the knowledge of the people.

Nazianzen.

**10** In the Oration of the death of his Father,

approoueth the election by the people, at large, and confuteth them that would hinder it

**11** When he appoynted Eradius to succeed him, Augustine. sayth, it was the approoued right and custome, that the whole Church should eyther choose or consent vnto their Bishop.

**12** Anthimius choosing a Bishopp without the peoples consent, filled all Armenia with sedition. Basil. Epist. 58.

**13** Why did Peter communicate the election with the disciples? lest the matter should haue turned to a braule, and haue fallen to a contention. Chrisost. in act. 1

*Testimonies of generall Councils.*

**14** It is meete that you should haue power, both to choose, and to giue their names that are worthy to be among the cleargie, and to do all things absolutely according to the lawes and decrees of the Church, and if it happen any to dye in the Church, then those which were last taken, are to be promoted, to the honor of him that is dead, if they be worthy, and if the people choose them. Concil. Nicen teste Theodoret.

**15** Let the people choose, and the Byshopp approue, and seale vp the election with them. The same Con. test. hist. tripart lib. 2.

**16** In an Epistle to Damasus, Ambrose &c. sayth, we haue ordayned Nectarius Bishopp of Constantinople, &c. the whole citie decreeing the same; and Flavianus was appoynted Bishop of Antioch, the whole citie appoynting him. Concil. constan. test. tripart. hist. lib. 9. cap. 14.

**17** When he hath bin examined in all these and found fully instructed, then let him be ordayned Bishop, by the common consent of the Clarkes and lay people. Concil. Carthag can. 1.

**18** Let not him be counted a prieste in the Church, whom the cleargie, and people of that citie where he is, do not choose. Conci. Toletan. test. dist. 51.

**19** If any Bishop after the death of his predecessor, be chosen of any, but of the Bishops of the same prouince, and of the cleargie and citizens, let another be chosen: and if it be otherwise, let the ordination be void and of none effecte. Concil: Gabil. canon 10.

*Testimonies out of the Emperors lawes.*

**20** Following the doctrine of the holy Apostles, &c. we



Iustinian in  
cod  
ordayne, that as oft as it shall fall out, that the ministers place shalbe voyde in any citie, that voyces be giuen of the inhabiters of that citie, that hee (of three whiche for their right fayth, holines of life, and other things, are most approued) be chosen to the Bishopprikk which is most meete of them.

**21** Being not ignoraunt of the holy canons: that the holy Church should vse her honour the more freely, we assent vnto the ecclesiasticall order, that the bishops be chosen, by the election of the cleargie and people.

**22** He decreed, that he should be Bishop of Rome, whome all the people of Rome shoulde consent to choose.

**23** Lodouicke the second, commaunded by his letters, the Romanes to choose their owne Bishopp, not looking for other mens voyces, which (being straungers) coulde not so well tell what was done in the common-wealth, where they were strangers, and that it appertayned to the citizens.

**24** Let the people (sayth Otho the Emperor) choose and I will approue it.

*The testimonies of the newe writers.*

**25** The newe writers, as Musculus, in his Common places, in the title of Magistrats: Bullinger vpon 1. Tim. 4. Caluine Institut. booke 4. chap. 3. sect. 15. Harmon. confes. Heluet. cap. 18. and many others are on our side in this behalfe.

**26** If there bee none that write against it, but the papists, and no arguments vsed against it, but those which be borrowed out of the popish writers: then doth it belong to the Church to choose their owne Church officers: But the former is true, as all that doe read them, that write of this argument do knowe, and as is manifest, by comparing Pighius, Hosius, &c. with *VWhitgift*: Therefore the latter is true also.

Therefore seeing the interest of the Church in choosing of their Church officers, is grounded vpon the word of God, both in commaundement, and continuall practice, both in the olde and newe Testament; seeing it is warranted by the light of common reason; seeing it is

commended vnto vs, by the manifold practize of all ancient times, so long as any sinceritie remayned, not onely in the time of persecution, but also of peace; seeing it hath bene confirmed by so many generall Councils and ratified by the decrees of so many Emperors; seing it hath such a cloude of witnesses, both of ancient and latter times, of the best approoued writers; seeing none doe set themselues against it, but the papistes, or they that invade it onely with the same weapons that are fetched out of the popes Armory: it must needs follow, that it belongeth vnto the Church to choose their Church officers: and that the taking away of this freedom, abridgeth the libertie that Christ hath endowed his Church withall, and bringeth her into great bondage, as Musculus truly affirmeth.

*Their obiections against those things are these*

**1 Obiection** They were then vnder the crosse, few in number, and therefore it was easily knowen who were fit.

**Ansvere** The Gospell was dispersed thorow out all Asia, Affrica, and much of Europe, and they could lesse keepe together, or meete, and therefore that maketh rather for vs.

**2 Obiection** Wee haue many hypocrites, to whome it were dangerous to committ such waightie actions.

**Ansvere** It is true, that we haue many: but it is a principle in hypocrisie, to be forwardst in such publike actions, that they may get fame thereby.

**3 Obiection** They had knowledge to doe it, but our people be ignorante.

**Ansvere** We should also finde our people to haue knowledge, if they had teaching: but howsoeuer they choose, they cannot haue worse then ordinarily are chosen by the Bishops and patrons.

**4 Obiection** The Church was not then established.

**Ansvere** That is vntrue, for though it wanted the helpe of Magistrates, yet the Apostles coule and did better establish without them, then we can with the helpe of them: but if this order might be altered, it had bene fitter then, for nowe the magistraicie may compounde the differences of the Elders, which help then they lacked.

**5 Obiection** Drunkards, papists, &c. wil choose them

that bee like themselues, and we knowe the best disposed be alwayes the fewest.

**Ansvere** Such are not of the Church, but without, 1 Cor. 5. 12. and therefore are not to meddle in anye holy action: but if the people shoulde choose an vnmeete man, the elder-shippe that gouerneth the action, is to reforme them: besides this, if Gods order had hir place, the schooles of the prophets would send them none, (for the ministers especially) to make choyse of, but meet men, that whomsoeuer they tooke, he should be found sufficient.

**6 Obiection** Paule commandeth 1. Tim. 5. 22 to lay his handes on no man rashly: therefore one did it.

**Ansvere** Hee teacheth what to doe for his part, and though others would be rashe, yet he should not ioyne with them in it, as appeareth in the latter ende of that same verse, for that is ascribed vnto him, which also belonged vnto others, because he was the director: Caluin and Musculus expound the place so.

**7 Obiection** The Councill of Laodicea, decreed that the people should not elect.

**Ansvere** That is, as Caluine taketh it vpon Acts 16. they might not elect alone, without the direction of some graue and good minister, which should be the manner in the elections, that (according to Gods word) we desire.

## CHAP. 5.



One is to be admitted vnto any publike office in the Church vntill he be thorowly examined by the elder-ship, both concerning his state of Christianitie, and abilitie to that place where to he is to be called, 1. C. 1. book: page 38. Disci. Ecclesiast fol. 46:

They thinke one may do it, as appereth by the book of ordering, &c. *VWhitgift* page 134. and 135. and their slight passing it ouer, thorow the Archdeacons hands.

*The former is prooued, and the latter disprooued thus.*

**1** Those that are to ordayne, must haue particular knowledge of the parties to bee ordayned, (or else they breake the rule prescribed them, 1. Tim. 5. 22.) which cannot be without



examination: But the Eldership is to ordayne euerye Church officer, as shall appeare in the Chap[ter]. of Ordination: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership to examine, &c.

2 The matter of greatest importance in the gouernement of the Church, must be done by the most able gouernours of the same: The approouing or disproouing of Church officers, is the matter of greatest importance, because the consequence of ruling well is the best, or ill the worst: and the Eldership is the Senate of most able gouernours in the Church, as shall appear in the Chap[ter]. of Eldership: Therefore the Eldership is to examine, &c.

3 The way whereby a mans insufficiencie is best espyed and his abilitie discerned, is the fittest to examine them that are to be admitted: But by the eldership (consisting of diuers) his insufficiencie is best espyed, and his abilitie best discerned, for the common prouerbe telleth vs that many eyes do see more then one: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

4 They are to examine Church officers, that are least subject to be blinded with partialitie: But the Eldership is least subject to partialitie, both for that they be many, who are not so easily ouer ruled by affection or fauour, as one, as also (and that especially) for that it being the Lords owne ordinance (as shall appeare) we are to perswade our selues, that his spirit shal guye them: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

5 The way that was vsed in the Apostles time in examining, is of vs to be folowed, vnles some reason out of the word to perswade the conscience, can be alleadged to the contrary, which none haue euer yet done: But many vsed in the Apostles time to examine, as appereth in chosing out one to be in the place of Iudas, Act. 1. 22. 23. and fit men for Deacons, Act. 6, 5. wherof the gouernours especially were some, for that they were to ordayn vpon knowledge, as is said in the first reason: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

6 They whose testimony the people may best credit, are to examine them that are to be admitted: But the people may best credite the iudgement of a company of able and sufficient men, which the Eldershipp rightly established must needs be: Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership. &c.

7 Examination belongeth vnto them which may most perswade the people of his sufficiency, and so procure gretest

reuerence vnto him in his place : But the examination by the Eldership is such : Therefore it belongeth to the Eldership, &c.

Therefore if they that are to ordain, must examine : if it The conclusion be a matter of gretest waight in the gouernment of the Church, and they the most able to dispatch it ; if by them his sufficiency or insufficiency be best found out ; if they be hardliest carried away with affection or parcialitie ; if the examination was suche in the Apostles time ; if the people may (in reason) giue most credit to the examination that is by such ; if that kinde of examination perswade the people best of his sufficiency, and procure him greatest reuerence in his place : then must it needs folow, that it pertaineth to the Eldership to examine those that are to bee admitted to any office in the Church.

There is nothing obiected against this, that hath any shew of reason in it, and therefore it were needles to set any thing downe.

## CHAP. 6.

**B**Efore consent be giuen to any man vnto any calling in the Church, it must appeare (by sufficient tryall, and due examination) that he is quallified with those giftes, that the worde of God requireth in one of that place, Discipl. Ecclesiast fol. 44. T.C. 2. booke : 1. part page 368. and in many other places.

They gainsay this in two points : first in mainteining their reading ministry : secondly, in gouerning the Church, by their commissaries and officialls : which both shalbe ouerthrown, if we prooue these two propositions following, to be true by the worde of God.

No man ought to bee receiued vnto the ministry, but such The 1. Proposition. as be able to teache the trueth and conuince the gainsayers.

The 2. proposition. The Church ought not to be gouerned by commissaries officialls and chauncellors.

**1** H e that may be receiued into the ministry, must be able to teach the people, whatsoever Christe hath commaunded, Matth. 28. 20. Onely he that is The 1. proposition is thus prooued able to teache the trueth, and conuince the

gainsayers, can teach the people whatsoever Christ hath commanded: Therefore none must be receiued into the ministry, but such as be able to teach, &c.

2 That which is to be done conditionally, may not be done, if that condition be not kept: Men are to be receiued into the ministry conditionally, that is, if they bee vnreproouable, Tit. 1. 5. 6. Therefore if they be not such as bee there discribed, they may not be receiued: and consequently, none may be receiued, but such as be able to teach. &c.

3 That which cannot be done without the manifest brech of Gods commandement, may not be done at all: To receiue any that be not able to teach, is a manifest breach of Gods commaundement. 1. Tim. 3. 1. Tit. 1. 9. Therefore no man ought to be receiued into the ministerye, that is not able to teach, &c.

4 They whome the Lorde refuseth to be his ministers, may not be receiued into the ministry: for the ministry being the Lords haruest, we may admit none to labour therein, but onely such, as he hath giuen liking of, by the rules of his worde: The Lorde refuseth to be his ministers, all those that cannot teach: Hosea 4. 6. Therefore such as are not able to teache, may not be receiued, and consequently none may be receiued, but those that be able to teach, &c.

5 He that may be admitted into the ministry, must be able to deuide the word of God aright, 2. Tim. 2. 15. Onely he that is able to teach and conuince the gainesayers, can deuide the worde of God aright: Therefore none may be admitted into the ministry, but he that is able to teach, &c.

6 He that may bee admitted into the ministry, must haue a treasury, furnished with olde thinges and newe, and must be able to bring it forth as occasion shal serue: Matth. 13. 52. Onely hee that is able to teache, &c. is such a one: Therefore onely he may be admitted &c.

7 He that can espy the enemy, and giue warning aforehand how to resist him, may be receiued into the ministry, Ezek. 33. 7. None can espy the enemy, and giue warning aforehande howe to resist him, but he that is able to teach: &c. Therefore none may be admitted into the ministry, but he that is able to teach, &c.

8 He that leadeth himselfe, and his people into hel, may

not be admitted into the ministry: He that is not able to teache and conuince the gainsayer, leadeth himselfe and his people into hell. Matth. 15. 14. Therefore he that is not able to teache, &c. may not be admitted into the ministry.

August. lib  
de past.

**9** Hee that preacheth not, but holdeth his peace murdereth.

Gregor. 1.  
epist. 33.

**10** Hee that preacheth not, is not sent, and so he begetteth no fayth in man.

Ierome ad  
Oecumenium.

**11** In that S. Paule requireth that a byshop should be wise, he barreth those, that vnder the name of simplicitie, excuse the follye of ministers.

Confes.  
Heluet.

**12** We condemne all vnmeet ministers, not endued with gifts necessary for a shepherd that should feed his flocke.

Therefore, if a minister must teache vnto his people all that Christe hath commaunded; if none may be made ministers, but conditionally, if they be quallified with gifts meete for the same; if vnpreaching ministers cannot be made without the manifest breach of the commaundement of God; if they may not bee made ministers, whom the Lord refuseth to haue; if euery minister must haue a treasure well furnished, and be able to bring forth of it when need requireth; if euery minister must haue skill to see the enemie, and to giue warning aforehand how to resist him; if vnlearned ministers draw their people to hell after them; if he that preacheth not, be a murtherer; if he be not sent, and so doe no good: if he be barred from the ministry: lastly, if he be condemned, as not to be in such a place: then must it needes followe, that none may be receiued into the ministry, but such as be able to teach the trueth, and to conuince the gainsayer.

Many are the arguments that be alleaged to this purpose, and many moe may be alleaged, (for the whole course of the scriptures tende therevnto) the testimony of all sorts of writers, is very plentifull for this purpose: yea of the very Canon law, (as the authour of the *Abstracte* hath learnedly prooued) and yet doe not our prelates rest in the same, but haue sett themselues (though in a silly manner) against it, in this sort that followeth.

**1 Obiection** There must bee reading in the Church, therefore a reading ministry, *VWhitgift* page 252.

**Ansvvere** By that reason we muste haue an officer for euery particular action, for there must be breaking of bread in the Church, and powring of water; but it followeth not, that therefore there must bee one, whose office must bee onely to breake bread, or to powre water.

**2 Obiection** It is better to haue readers then none, for preachers cannot be had for euery congregation.

**Ansvvere** It is not better, for if they had non[e], they would seek for him that they should haue; whereas nowe, they that haue a reader onely, thinke themselues in case good enough: but if there be such want of prechers, why are so many of the most diligent and able ones turned out.

**3 Obiection** It is impossible to haue prechers euery where, and suche as can be had, must bee taken.

**Ansvvere** Sometimes you say all is well: and is it now impossible that our state shoulde obey the Lordes ordinance; this is the greatest disgrace to it that can be: and yet it followeth not, for no necessitie may warrant vs, to violate the decrees of the highest.

**4 Obiection** It were vncharitablenes to turne them out that be bare readers, for so they, their wiues and children might beg.

**Ansvvere** This is to sell mens souls for morsels of bread: shall we rather feare the begging of 3. or 4. then the damnation of 1000. but they may bee otherwayes prouided for; they neede not beg, many of them may returne to their occupations againe.

So that al these obiections notwithstanding, the conclusion remaineth sure, which is grounded vpon so many certaine and vnmoouable foundations.

*The Church ought not to be gouerned by Commissaries, and officialls, and Chauncellors.*

**1** They which are no Elders of the Church, haue nothing to do in the gouernement of the same, 1. Tim. 5. 17. These chauncellors, commissaries and officialls, are no Elders in the Church; whether we expound Elder for a minister, and him also, that is assistant vnto the minister in ouerseeing the Church, or for a minister onely as they do: for none of them be ministers, and if they be, they doe not rule in this respect, that they are ministers: Therefore the Church ought not to be gouerned by them.

The 2. proposition is thus prooued.



2 They that must gouerne the Church of God, must haue a warraunt for their so doing, from Iesus Christ the head of the Church: But Chauncellors, &c. haue no warraunt so to doe, from Iesus Christe the heade of the Church: Therefore the Church ought not to be gouerned by them.

3 Those whose names offices and practize, be deriued from Antichrist, may haue nothing to do in the gouernement of the Church: for who will suffer his wife to be gouerned by the Master of a brothelhouse: But the names, offices, and practize of Chauncellors, officialls and commissaries be such, which is playne by this, that they haue their grounde in that filthie dunghill the cannon law: Therefore they may haue nothing to do in the gouernement of the Church.

4 They that being inferiours, doe proudly tyrannize ouer their superiours, ought not to rule the Church of God, for it is meet it should be ruled by modest, humble and orderly men: But such are they (for being inferiors to the ministers of the word, as our aduersaries doe confesse, and is plaine also by the cannon lawe they crow ouer them as if they wer their slaues :) and if they doe not so, they can doe nothing: Therefore they ought not to rule the Church of God.

5 They that liue by the faultes of men, are not fit to rule the Church of God: for they wil rather increase offences (that their gayne may increase) then orderly lessen them, as experience (also) proueth: But suche are all Chauncellors, commissaries and officialls: Therefore they ought not to rule the Church of God.

Therefore, if chauncellors, commissaries and officialls be no Elders of the Church; if they haue no warraunt from Iesus Christe, the head of the Church; if their names, offices and practize, be deriued from Antichrist; if their office compel them (being inferiors) to tyrannize ouer their superiours; if they liue onely by the faults and offences of men: then it must needs followe, that the Church of God ought not to be gouerned by them.

## CHAP. 7.



Very officer of the Church must be ordayned by the laying on of the handes of the Eldershipp, T.C. 2. booke, 1. part page 274. Discip. Ecclesiast. fol. 53.

They say it ought to be done by the bishopp alone, *VWhitgift* page 196. their dayly practize doth likewise shew it.

**T**he former is prooued, and the latter disprooued by these reasons following.

**1** As Church officers were ordayned in the Apostles time, so must they be continually, for they did lay the plot, accord- ing wherevnto the Church must be built vnto the ende: but they were ordayned in the Apostles time by the laying on of the hands of the Eldership, Act. 6. 6. and 13. 3. Therefore the Church officers must be ordayned by laying on of the handes of the Eldership.

**2** Church officers must bee ordayned by them that haue warrant from the worde, to assure the parties ordayned, that they are called of God: Onely the Eldership hath suche a warrant, 1. Tim. 4. 14. Therefore they ought to bee ordayned by the Eldership.

**3** Many of the sentences alleadged before, out of Councells, Emperors, lawes, histories, and sound writers both olde and newe, for election not to be by one, but by diuers; speake also of ordination, and so are forcible to this purpose.

**4** Euagrius came to the office of a bishopp vnlawfully, because onely Paulinus ordayned him, contrary to the tenure of many Cannons, which prouide, that they should not be ordayned, but by all the bishops of the prouince, or (at the least) by three.

Theodoret  
booke 5.  
cap. 23

**5** When a Bishop is to be ordayned, &c. one bishop shal pronounce the blessing, and the rest of the bishops with the Elders present, shall all lay on their hands.

4. Concil.  
Carthag.  
cap. 23.

**6** When a bishopp was to be ordayned, the bishops adioyning did ordayne him.

Cyprian lib. 1  
Epist. 4.

Therefore if Church officers were ordained in the Apostles time, not by one, but by the Eldership, consisting of many; if they be to ordayne, that haue warrant out of the worde, to assure the parties ordayned, that they are called of God; if ordination by one bishop be vnlawfull and contrary to many canons of Councells; if the bishops and Elders were to laye on their hands: lastly, if the bishops adioyning were to ordayne; then must it needes followe, that Church officers are not to be ordained by one man, but by the laying on of the handes of the Eldership.

The Conclusion

But they fight hard against this, because it striketh at a maine pillar of their kingdome, their chiefe grounds be these.

**1 Obiection** Paule and Barnabas ordayned Elders, where is no mention of any Eldership.

**Ansvvere** They are said to ordaine, because they being the chiefe procured it; so is Ioshua, 5. 3. saide to circumcise, which was the Leuites office, so say we, the Queene hath made a lawe, and yet not she alone maketh any.

**2 Obiection** Though it were so then, yet is it not so required nowe, no more then the communitie in the Apostles time.

**Ansvvere** There was no more communitie then (for they that thinke otherwise, are in that point Anabaptists) then is to be required now, so that instance maketh for vs.

**3 Obiection** Examples are no general rules to be followed.

**Ansvvere** Examples not contraying anye rule, or reason of the Scripture, be to be followed, as if they were commaundementes, so that notwithstanding any thing aledged to the contrary, it remaineth vpon the former groundes most stedfast, that it belongeth to the Eldership to ordaine those Church officers that are to be employed in the publike seruice of God.

## CHAP. 8.



He ordaining of Church officers must be done with humble prayer of the Eldership, and the congregation, Discipl. Ecclesiast. fol. 50.

Their vnreuerent beginning and proceeding therewith in a corner, is contrary to this: which is condemned by the prooffe of our assertion by these reasons.

**1** We are to behaue our selues in these actions, as they by whom we haue direction to doe them, haue set vs an example: But the Apostles and Elders, when they ordayned Church officers, did alwayes commende the action to God by prayer, together with those congregations, ouer which they placed them, Act. 6.6. and 14.23. Therefore the ordeyning of Church officers must be done by humble prayer of the Eldership, and congregation.

**2** The greater the action is that is in hand, the more carefull must they be that haue it in hand, to humble themselues by prayer, for the Lords assistance therein: But the ordeyning



of Church officers, is an action of most weightie importance : Therefore they that haue it in hand (which be the Eldershipp to ordayne him, and congregation to receiue him) ought to humble themselues in earnest prayer before hand.

3 They that shall haue part in the comfort or discomfort of the action, are to ioyne together in prayer vnto God for the better euent, and against the worse : But the Eldershipp and people, shall both haue part in the euent of the action : Therefore they are to ioyne together in humble prayer before hand, &c.

## CHAP. 9.



Church officers must be ordayned by laying on of hands; in this they agree with vs, concerning the ceremonie it selfe, albeit neyther in the parties by whome, nor on whome it must be conferred. The prout of this ceremonie appeareth in the reasons following.

1 That which stirreth vp euerye partie, to pray with more feruencie, is profitable to be vsed : But such is this ceremonie, for it affecteth the ordeyners, when they feele him for whom they pray ; and the ordeyned when he feeleth a calling and charge from God (as it were) sensible comming vpon him, and the congregation, when they see him seperated from the rest, by whome they shall reape muche comfort or grieue : Therefore the vse of it is very profitable.

2 That which helpeth forward the party ordained in his care, to walke with a good conscience in his calling, is profitable to be vsed : Such is the imposition of hands, for both it declareth vnto him, that he is separated of God for that purpose, and also giueth him hope, that his hand who allotted him therevnto, will alwayes assist him in the course of that calling : Therefore it is of a profitable vse.

3 That which worketh a more acknowledgment of Gods ordinance in the heartes of the people, is profitable to be vsed : Such is the laying on of handes, for it declareth vnto them, that the Lorde has placed him in that calling ouer them : Therefore it is profitable to bee vsed.

Therefore seeing the ceremonie of layinge on handes is forcible, to increase the feruencie of euery The conclusion partie, when they pray ; seeing it assureth the calling to

the partie ordayned, and giueth him an argument of good hope, for the blessing of God vppon him in the course of the same; and seeing it procureth a more perswasion in the people, that he is allotted vnto them from the Lord himselfe; it is eident that it is not a vaine and idle ceremonie (as manie do imagine) but of good and profitable vse, in al ordinations.

## CHAP. IO.

**T**He Lord hath ordayned that there should be one byshop or pastor (at the least) president ouer euery congregation, who are of equall authoritie in their seuerall charges, and in the generall gouernement of the Church, T.C. 1. booke, page 22. and 2. booke, 1. part, page 515.

They maintaine contrary vnto this, these two.

**1** That one may haue two or mo chardges, and be absent from them, as their dispensations and practize do prooue.

**2** That one minister may haue a soueraigntie, and Lordshipp ouer his fellowe ministers,

Which both being disprooued, the former assertion will remaine still sure.

Reasons  
against the 1.  
proposition.

**1** **O**ne man may not haue mo charges then he is able in any measure to discharge: No man is able in anye measure, to discharge the dutie that is belonging vnto mo flocks then one, seeing he cannot preach vnto them, both in season and out of season: Therefore no man may haue mo charges then one.

**2** That which maketh an open entrance to the enemie to spoile, cannot be lawfull: for one to haue mo charges then one, maketh open entrance for the enemie to spoyle, for the wolffe watcheth to deuoure, whilst the shepheard is absent: Therefore no man may haue mo charges then one.

**3** That whiche hath neither precepte, nor president for it, eyther in Gods worde, or anye approoued writer, but onely from Antichriste, is vnlawfull: But such is the hauing of mo charges then one: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

**4** That which declareth a minister to bee more desirous of the fleece, then to profite the flocke, that same is vnlawfull: But such is the hauing of mo charges then one, for were it

not for the gaine, they would thinke one a burden as heauie as they could beare: Therefore it is vnlawfull.

5 All the reasons that bee alleadged in the third chapter, against nonresidence, are forcible to this purpose, for if he may not be nonresident, he may not haue mo charges, vnlesse he be willing to be quartered, that euey chardge may haue a piece of him.

He reckoneth them among theeues, and their action to be theeuery, condemned by that Hooper vpon 8. command. commandement.

Therefore, if one man cannot in any tollerable measure discharge mo charges then one; if to haue mo The conclusion maketh an open entrance to the enemie to spoyle; if it haue neyther precept, nor president for it, but onely in the kingdome of Antichrist; if it declare the practizers to be more desirous of the fleece, then to feede the flocke; if all the reasons that condemne nonresidency be against it; lastly if it be playne theeuery: then must it needes followe, that one may not haue two, or mo charges.

Their obiections (such as they be) are set downe in the 3. chapter, and the answers vnto them.

*The second proposition that they hold is thus.*

One minister may haue a soueraigne authoritie, and Lordshipp ouer his fellowe ministers: which is thus disprooued. Thesecod proposition that they holde, and reasons against it.

1 They that haue their commission indifferently giuen them, without difference betweene one and another, are of equall authoritie, and may not be one ouer another: But such is the commission of all Gods ministers indifferently, as appeareth, Matth. 28. 19. 20. Therefore they are of equall authoritie, and may not haue any dominion one ouer another.

2 That which Christe hath directly forbidden, that may not in any case be allowed but is euer vnlawfull: But Christe hath directly forbidden, that one minister should haue dominion ouer another. Matt. 20. 25. Luk [e]. 22. 25. Therefore one minister may not haue superiority or dominion ouer another.

3 They that may not bee Lordes ouer the people of God, may much lesse be Lordes ouer the ministers, for the ministers be (in respect of the ministry) aboue the people: But a minister may not be Lordly ouer Gods people (as is testified

by him on whome they woulde father the greatest lordlines) 1.Pet.5.3. Therefore one minister may not be Lord, or haue superiority ouer another.

**4** It is ordayned, and is equall and right, that euery mans cause be heard, where the fault was committed: and it is meete to handle the matter there, where they may haue both the accusers, and witnesses of the fault; which sheweth that euery minister had autoritie ouer his own flocke, and no other to meddle.

**5** Bishoppes, wheresoeuer they be in all the world, are equall to our bishoppes, or parrishe ministers and preachers; of none it can be sayde one is Lorde, another is seruauant: whatsoever belongeth to the Church, belongeth equally to all, sauing that some are of better giftes then others, howbeit such gifts cause no inequalitye or Lordship in the Church.

**6** In the Apostolike Church, the ministers of the word, were none aboue another, and were subiect to no head or president, &c.

**7** The honor of a bishopp, being taken from the rest of the ministers, and giuen to one, was the first step to papacie.

**8** Christ did most seuerely forbid vnto the Apostles and their successors, primacie and dominion.

**9** Equall power and function is giuen to all ministers of the Church, and that from the beginning, no one preferred himselfe before another, sauing onely that for order, some one did call them together, propounded the matters that were to be consulted off, and gathered the voyces.

Therefore, if all ministers haue their commission indifferently giuen vnto them; if Christe haue forbidden, that one minister should haue dominion ouer another; if no minister may exercise dominion ouer Gods people; if autoritie to handle controuersies, belonged to euery seuerall congregation; if a bishopp and parish minister be all one; if in the Apostles time, no minister was aboue another; if the superioritie of one aboue another, was the first step to the papacie; lastly, if they haue equall power and function from the beginning: then must it needs followe, that no minister may haue superioritie, or exercise dominion ouer another.

Their obiections herevnto (so many as are worthy any answer) be these.

**1 Obiection** Christ Matth. 20. 25. forbiddeth onely ambition, and not dominion, as Musculus expoundeth it.

**Ansvere** Musculus his iudgment appeareth in the 6. and 7. reasons, the place is expounded against superioritie by Caluin, Bullinger, Zwinglius, Gualter, Hemingius, &c. But let it bee so expounded: that dominion is ambition, because it causeth a man to aspire aboue his fellow ministers.

**2 Obiection** The Greeke word signifieth rule with oppression, which is the thing that is forbidden.

**Ansvere** That is not so, for Luk[e]. 22.25. vseth the single verbe *Keurieuem*, [*κυριεύω*] which signifieth simplie to rule: the sonnes of Zebedeus desired not to oppresse but to rule, which desire he reprooued.

**3 Obiection** Christ sayth not, no man shalbe so, but he that will be so, desiring it.

**Ansvere** But Luke sayth, let the greatest be as your seruant, and therefore that is but a silly shifte.

So that their assertions beeing ouerthrown, and their obiections answered, it remayneth, that we prooue yet more directly, that the Lorde hath ordayned, that there should be a bishop resident ouer euery congregation; which is thus prooued:

A bishop should  
be in euery  
congregation.

**1** If a bishop and minister be all one, then must there be a bishop in euery congregation, for euery man will confesse that euery congregation ought to haue a minister: But a bishopp and a minister is all one, as appeareth by this that S. Paule describeth not one quallity for the bishop, but it is also the quallitie of euery good minister; and also in that hee describeth no other minister but the bishop: Therefore there ought to be a bishop in euery congregation.

**2** S. Paules bishopps and his deacons, were appoynted to one place, as appeareth both in the description of them, and the practize of the Apostles: But the deacons were in euery congregation, which appeareth Phil. 1. 1. Actes. 6. 2. that office being needfull euery where; and in that it continued so, longer then the office of bishops, Athanasius Apol. 2. Ierome *Contra Luciferianos*. &c. Therefore there ought to be a byshop in euery congregation.

**3** That which Paule enjoyned to Titus, is also to be practized alwaies in the like case: But he commanded him to



ordaine Elders in euery citie, Tit. 1. 5. which are expounded in the next verse to be bishops: Therefore there must be a bishop in euery congregation.

Ignatius ad Ph(il)ladelph. 4 Euery Church should haue her Communion table, and euery Church her bishop.

5 Where there was found any worthy to be a bishopp, there a bishopp was appointed, and where there was not to furnish both bishop and preaching elder (he meaneth the doctor) there the Apostles made a bishop, and left the elder.

6 If a bishop run into a slaunder, and manye bishops cannot suddenly be gathered; his cause shalbe heard of twelue bishops, &c.

7 If an elder be accused, he may call sixe bishops from the places hard by.

8 Stories make mention of bishops of little townes, as <sup>a</sup>Soticus bish. of the village Cuman: <sup>b</sup>Mares, bishop of a small towne called Solicha: <sup>c</sup>Gregory, bishop of a smal citie, called Nazianzum: <sup>d</sup>The bishop of a Castle.

9 A minister, that is to say, a bishopp, and (a little after) the Apostle doth plainly teach, that a minister and a bishop is all one, and (vpon Titus) a bishopp and a minister are the same: and (*ad Oceanum*) with the ancient fathers, bishopps and Elders were all one.

10 D. Barnes (in his sixt article) sayth, I will neuer beleue, neyther can I euer beleue, that one man may by the law of God, be a bishop of two or three cities, yea of a whole countrie, for that it is contrary to the doctrin of S. Paul, who writing to Titus, commandeth that he shoulde ordayne a bishop in euery towne.

11 It is pitie to see howe farre the office of a bishop is degenerated from the originall in the Scripture; it was not so in the beginning, when bishops were at the best, as the Epistle to Titus testifieth, that willeth him, to ordaine in euery citie, &c. They know the primitiue Church had no such bishops as we haue, vntill the time of Silvester the first.

Therefore, if a bishopp and a minister be all one; if bishops were to be where Deacons are, who were in euery congregation; if Paule enioyned Titus to ordayne bishops

in euery city; and if euery church had her bishop a long time after the Apostles, as appeareth by the testimonies of Councils, Histories and learned writers, both olde and newe: then must it needes follow, that there ought to be a bishop in euery congregation.

## C H A P. II.

**I**R Or the further reuealing of the trueth, God hath ordayned, that there shoulde be in the Church Doctors, whose office is to be employed in teaching of doctrin[e], and is an office different from that of the Pastour.

The latter part of this proposition, is the thing which especially they doe deny, which is thus prooued to be true.

**1** Those whiche the Apostle (in speaking of distinct officers) doth distinguish one from another, are seuerall and distinct one from another: But the Apostle doth distinguish the Pastoure and teacher, one from another, Rom. 12. 7. 8. and Ephes. 4. 11. euen as hee distinguisheth man and woman. Gal. 3. 28. See the Greek of them both: Therefore the office of pastour and Doctor are distinct one from another.

**2** As are the gifts that adorne offices, so are the officers themselues, for the execution of the office, consisteth in the employing of the gifts: But the gifts of the pastour and Doctor are diuers, as apeareth 1. Cor. 12. 8. and by experience, for some hath an excellent gift in doctrine, and not in application, and others excel in application and exhörtation, that are verye meane, in deliuering of doctrine: Therefore the office of a pastor and teacher, are distinct one from another.

**3** Those that are to take a diuers course in teaching are diuers, and different in their functions, for els why should they be enioyned to take a diuers course: But the pastor is to take one course, and the Doctor another, for the one is to direct himselfe principally to exhort, and the other to attend vpon doctrine. Rom. 12. 7. 8. Therefore the office of pastour and Doctor, be distinct offices the one from the other.

**4** The Ecclesiastical stories (especially speaking of the Church of Alexandria) doe vsually make a difference betwixt the bishopp and the Doctor.



5 Cathedrall Churches haue yet som shew thereof left in them, who (besides the bishopp) haue also one that readeth a Lecture in diuinitie,

6 If the distinguishing of them, make more for the buylding of the Church, then the vniting of them; then are they to be distinguished, and not made all one: But the former is true, as appereth by this, that hardly is a people broght to a sounde knowledge of godlines, by him that instructeth in doctrine continually, and as hardly are wee stirred vp to a zealous care of our duetie, though we be exhorted continually; which both shoulde bee with lesse continuance, if one man were to performe all: Therefore they are to be esteemed distinct offices, and not parts of one office, which one is to perform.

Therefore, if the Apostle Paul distinguisheth them one The conclusion from another; if God do vsually bestow doctrine and exhortation vpon seuerall persons, wherein eche is found to excell, and to be no bodie in the other; if the pastor be commanded to take one course in teaching, and the Doctor another; if Ecclesiasticall stories doe vsually distinguish them; if Cathedrall Churches haue yet some steps left of the distinction; if to distinguish them, maketh more to the building of the Church, then to vnite them: then must it needs follow, that the office of pastour, and Doctour be distinct, and different the one from the other.

## CHAP. I 2.



Very congregation ought to haue Elders to see into the maners of the people, and to be assistaunt vnto the ministers, in the government Ecclesiasticall. T.C. book 1. pag. 174. Disc. fol. 120. which they denie, *VWhitgift* p. 627. and their practize in keeping them out of the Church:

But it is prooued to be true, by these reasons following.  
1 That which the Apostles established in euery congregation, ought still to continue, seeing the Church must bee ruled by the same lawes that it was ruled by then, and needeth as great furtherance now, as it did then: But the Apostles established Elders in euery congregation, Act 14. 23.

which cannot be vnderstood of preaching Elders onely; considering that the scarcitie of them was suche, as Paule was constraigned to sende Timothie and Titus to great cities, which he could hardly spare, as he often testifieth: Therefore there ought to be suche Elders, as are onely to assiste in gouernment in euery congregation.

**2** Those which God hath ordayned to help forward the building of the Church, ought to be in euerye congregation, vnlesse it may appeare that some congregation needeth not so much helpe as Christ hath appoynted: But Christ hath ordayned Elders in the Church, for the helping forward of the building of the Church. 1. Cor. 12. 28. Therefore suche Elders ought to be in euery congregation.

**3** That which being wanting, the bodie can not be entire, that same must be in euery congregation: But the Elders cannot be wanting, and the Church be an entire bodie, Rom. 12. 8. which euery congregation should be, Rom. 12. 4. Therefore there ought to be such Elders in euery congregation.

**4** If the word of God doe describe such Elders in the Church, then ought they to be in euery congregation, which is cleare by this, that euery congregation hath need of them, as well as any: and that euery congregation must haue all the other officers of the Church: and that euery congregation is of equall dignitie in the bodie of Christ: But the worde of God describeth vnto vs such Elders. 1. Tim. 5. 17. Therefore they ought to be in euery congregation.

**5** There is no Church that can stand without hir Eldership or councill.

Ignat. ad Trall.

**6** It belongeth onely to the bishopp to baptize, and the Elder and Deacon may not do it, but vpon the bishops licence.

Tertul. de Baptist.

**7** Neither Elder nor deacon haue right, but vpon the bishops commandement (so much as) to baptize.

Ierome contra Lucif.

**8** Elders fell away thorow the ambition of the teachers.

Ambros. vpon 1 Tim. 5.

**9** Valerius the bishopp did contrary to the custome of the Apostolicall Churches, in appoynting Augustine to preache, being but an Elder.

Possidonius in vita Augustini

**10** After that Arrius was conuicted of hæresie, it was decreed that elders should no more preach.

Socrat. libr. 5. cap. 22.

**11** The number of the Elders of euery Church,

Bucer de regno Christi book 1.

ought to be increased, according to the multitude of the people.

**12** Speaking of the Elders that were to assist the minister, P. Martyr vpon Rom. 12. he lamenteth that it is so fallen out of the church, that the name doth scarce remaine.

**13** Certain of the people were ioyned with the pastor, in the government of the Church, because the pastor was not able to doe all himselfe. The same vpon 1. Cor. 12.

**14** There were elders that did assist the minister, in the government of the Church, &c. Caluin Institut. lib. 4. cap. 3. sect. 8.

**15** *VWhitgift* confesseth, that in the primitiue Church, they had in euery Church certain Seniors, pag. 638. Let it then appeare out of the word, to satisfie the conscience how it may bee left out.

**16** If the platforme set down to Timothie and Titus be for all Churches, then must Elders be in all; for these Elders are there described: But it is a platforme for all Churches, and that to the ende of the world, 1. Tim. 6. 14. Therefore they ought to be in euerye congregation.

**17** That which is contained in euery ministers commission to teache and practize, must be in euery congregation: but the ordination and practize of that office, is in euery ministers commission, Matth. 28. 20. or els they ordayned Elders without warrant from Christ, which none dare affirme: Therefore there must be Elders in euery congregation.

**18** Wheresoeuer a bishoppe must be, there must also the Elders bee, whiche appeareth by this, that where the one is described, there is the other also: But a bishopp must be in euery congregation, as I haue prooued sufficiently in the 10. Chap. Therefore there ought to be elders in euery congregation.

**19** If the Apostles laboured for vniformitie in the least things, and established in all Churches one order, then must there be Elders in euery congregation, for they were in some, as al men do confesse: But the former is true, as not onely the view of their practize declareth, but also the Apostles expresse words; Thus I teach in all Churches: Therefore the latter is true also, that in euery congregation there must be such Elders.

Therefore, if the Apostles established Elders in euery congregation; if Christe hath esteemed their helpe

needfull to further the buylding of his Church; if without them a congregation cannot be entire; if the worde of God say that they ought to be in the Church; if it was continued so long after the Apostles time: and be approoued by the testimonie of manie very learned, both olde and newe writers, and confessed by the greatest aduersary vnto them; if they be within the compasse of euerye ministers commission; if they are to be, wheresoeuer a bishopp must be; if the Apostles established vniformitie, euen in the meanest thinges; then must it needs followe, that there ought to be such Elders in euery congregation, as are to assiste the minister in the gouernement of the same.

They confesse it was so in the Apostles time, but seeme to say somewhat that it cannot be vnder a christian magistrate thus:

**1 Obiection** God hath giuen the soueraigne authoritie ouer his Church to the Christian magistrate, which these Elders would abridge.

**Ansver** No more then the eldership abridged the soueraigntie of Dauid ouer Israell, for his gouernment is temporall, and theirs spirituall.

**2 Obiection** Gualter vpon the 1. Cor. 5. denieth it to be needfull vnder a christian magistrate.

**Ansverre** Gualter denieth excommunication vnder a christian magistrate, he is as partial in this argument as *VWhitgift*.

**3 Obiection** The prince hath the authority that the Elders had.

**Ansverre** That is no truer, then to saye the prince hath authoritie to preach the word, &c. for these be thinges, that his high authoritie must see done, but he may doe none of them himselfe.

But there be many reasons which may bee alleadged, to prooue that they are (at the least) as necessary vnder a Christian magistrate in these dayes, as they were in the time of the Apostles, as namely these:

Reasons  
proouing Elders  
as necessary  
vnder a christian  
magistrate, as in  
the Apostles  
time.

**1** The lesse able that ministers are to direct their people in the wayes of godlines, the more neede they haue of the assistance that God hath allowed them in his word: But ministers are now lesse able (especially vnder Christian

magistrats, when men are ouertaken with ease and peace, which quench good things) then they were in the time of the Apostles: Therefore there is as great (if not greater) need of Elders now, then was in the time of the Apostles.

**2** If christian magistrates be to maintayne the order that Christ hath set down for the gouernement of his Church, then must there be Elders in it vnder a Christian magistrate, for Elders are appointed of Christ, 1. Cor. 12. 8. But Christian magistrates are to mayntaine the order that Christe hath set downe for the ruling of his Church, Isai. 49. 23. Therefore there must be Elders in the Church, vnder a christian magistrate.

**3** If the rule of Christe cannot be perpetually obserued, tell the Church, vnlesse there be Elders; then must there be such vnder a christian magistrate: But the former is true, for by the Church is there ment the Senate of ministers and Elders, as shall be prooued in the chapter of Excommunication: Therefore there must be Elders vnder a Christian magistrate.

**4** If the whole gouernement of the Church described in the Epistles to Timothie and Titus, be to bee obserued vntill the ende, then must there bee Elders vnder Christian magistrates, for they are contayned in those Epistles: But the former is true. 1. Tim. 6. 14. Therefore there must be Elders vnder a christian magistrate.

**5** Where sinners are more outrageous, and the best most subiect to wax cold, there is greatest neede of all the helpes that God hath ordayned to punish sinne, and to cherish well doing: But so it is vnder a christian magistrate, especially in the peace of the Church, as *VWhitgift* confesseth, page 643. Therefore there is (at the least) as great neede of Elders (seeing they are helpers appointed of God) vnder a Christian magistrate, as at any other time.

Therefore if ministers be lesse able now, then in the The Conclusion Apostles time; if Christian magistrates must maintaine the order prescribed by Christ; if els the rule of Christ (tel the church) cannot be still obserued; if the whole gouernment described by S. Paule, must be kept for euer; lastly if there be, (at the least) as great neede of all the helpes that can be, as euer there was: then must it needs follow, that Elders are as necessary in the Church vnder a christian magistrate, as in the time of persecution.



CHAP. 13.



Here ought to be in euery congregation certaine Deacons, endued with those quallities, whiche the worde of God describeth; whose office is onely in receiuinge the liberallitie . of the Saints, and distributing it vnto the needie, T.C. 1. booke, page 190. Discip. Eccles. fol. 119.

This assertion hath two braunches, whiche both are gain saide by our aduersaries, the first whereof is this. The office of the Deacon, consisteth onely in receiuing and distributing vnto the poore, the liberallitie of the saints, which they denie, *VWhitgift* page 582. The booke of ordering, &c. that maketh it a degree of the ministry: but the proposition being prooued true, maketh their opinion and practize appeare false, which is thus:

1 That wherein Steuen and the rest were employed, is the office of a Deacon: for the first institution of them by the Apostles, is in that example: But they were onely to attend vpon the prouision for the poore: Act. 6. 4. &c. Therefore the office of the Deacon, is only to attend vpon the distributing vnto the poore, from the liberallitie of the saints.

2 That which the Apostle maketh an ordinarye and distincte office from others in the Churche, must be attended vpon by them that are in the same office, and not be mingled with any other: But the Apostle Rom. 12. 8. maketh distributing in simplicitie, such an office as it is expounded by M. Caluin, Beza, Bucer, Martyr. &c. Therefore the Deacons office must be attended vpon, and consequently, it consisteth onely in distributing, &c.

3 That which the Apostles founde themselues insufficient for, that can no man now discharge in any tollerable measure, for they were more adorned with gifts then any be now: But they found themselues insufficient for the ministry of the worde, and distributing vnto the poore also, Act. 6. 2. Therefore no man can in any tollerable measure, discharge the office of a minister and Deacon also, and consequently, the Deacon is to attend vpon distributing onely.

**4** If the ministeries of the worde be perfect, without the Deacon, then may he not meddle in the same, for how may one lawfully labor, in that wherein there is no need of him: But such is the ministry of the word, where the seuerall ministers thereof are named, Ephes. 4. II. wherein the Deacon is not contayned, as *VWhitgifte* confesseth, page 308. and 309. Therefore the Deacon may not meddle with the ministry of the word, and consequently must be imployed onely in distributing, &c.

**5** If there bee no quallitie required in the perfect description of the deacon, which is proper to the ministry of the word, then is not he to medle with the same: But the former is true, as appeareth, 1. Tim. 3. 8. Therefore the latter is true also, and consequently, he must attend only vpon distributing, &c.

**6** If it belong to the deacons office, to meddle with the ministry of the worde and Sacramentes, then is it greater, then that of the pastor, for that the doing of both, requireth greater giftes then the one: But it is not a greater, but inferiour office to the pastor, as appeareth by all those places wherein they are described, that the Deacon is described after the bishopp: Therefore his office is not to meddle with both, and consequently he must attende vpon distributing, &c.

6. Concil.  
Constant.  
cap. 16.

**7** Deacons are ministers of tables, and not of holy things.

2. Concil.  
vasens. Can. 4.

**8** In the ministers sicknes, the Deacons shal read the Homilies of the Fathers.

Chrisost. vpon  
Act. 6.

**9** The Deacons haue need of great wisdom, although the preaching of the worde bee not committed vnto them: and further, it is absurd that they should do both the office of preaching, and caring for the poore, considering that they be not able to do both thorowly.

Bulling. decad  
5. serm. 2.

**10** Although (the goodes of the Church increasing) there were besides the Deacons, sub-deacons, and Arch-deacons, yet the Deacons remained still in their charge for the poor, and were not as yet mingled with the bishopps or priestes, and with the order of them whiche taught.

Bucer de reg.  
Christ. 14.

**11** The office of Deaconship, was religiously kept in the Church, vntill it was driuen out by Antichrist.



**12** This office muste of necessitie be restored as it is described. Act. 6. if England (for hee speaketh it in the behalfe of our Church) will receiue the Discipline of Christ.

The same de reg. &c. and vpon Ephes. 4.

**13** Speaking of these Deacons, lamenteth that this order, is so fallen out of the Church that the name doth scarce remaine.

P. Mart. rom. 12.

**14** Describing the Deacons of the Apostles time, sayth, that we after their example, ought to haue the like.

Caluin Insti. lib. 4. cap. 3. sect. 9

**15** The office of distributing the goodes of the church, is an ordinarie function in a church lawfully constituted; the which, sect. 30. he calleth the Deaconship.

Beza. Confes. cap. 5. sect. 23.

Therefore if Steuen and the rest were employed, onely in distributing the goodes of the Church; if the Apostle maketh the Deacons office, an ordinary and distinct office from al others in the Church; if the Apostles were not sufficient for the ministry of the worde, and distributing; if the ministeries of the worde be perfect without the deacon; if in the description of the Deacon, no quallitie bee required, that is proper to a minister of the word; if to deale in both would make the Deacon a greater officer then the pastor; if the Councils, auncient writers, and the sounde writers of latter times, do declare that the Deacons were to be wholly employed in the distributing of the goods of the Church; then must it needs follow, that his office is not to meddle with anye part of the ministry of the worde and sacraments, but to attend onely vpon the distributing of the liberallitie of the Church, vnto them that stande in neede thereof.

The conclusion

Their objections herevnto, be these two that follow.

**1 Obiection** Phillip one of the seuen deacons did preache, Actes 8. 8. therefore Deacons may preach the word.

**Ansvere** Phillip was a deacon of the church at Ierusalem, while they abode together, but now he was not any more so, but an Euangelist, as he is euer tearmed after, by vertue of which office he did preach.

**2 Obiection** Steuen, beeing a Deacon, preached, Act. 7. 2.

**Ansver** He preached not; for all that is there, was but his Apologie at the seat of iudgement, which euery man in the like case may doe, and which many of the martyrs haue done.

So that the former proposition beeing true, vpon the groundes alleadged, notwithstanding these obiections, we are to procede to the second, which is this.

The 2.  
proposition.

**T**here ought to be such Deacons (as are described in the former proposition) in euery congregation, which is thus prooued.

**1** That office which euerye congregation hath need of, ought to be in euery congregation: But euery congregation hath need of the Deacons office, whiche appeareth by this, that they haue poore to prouide for, (or els they must regarde the necessitie of others) and the liberallitie of others to distribute: Therefore Deacons ought to be in euery congregation.

**2** That which is indefinitely appointed for the good of the Church, belongeth vnto euery congregation, as well as to any one: But suche is the appointment of the Deacons. 1. Tim. 3. 8. Therefore there must be deacons in euery congregation.

Ignat. ad  
Philadelph.

**3** Euery Church ought to haue their office of Deaconship.

**4** All the reasons (or the most of them) that are alleadged chap. 10. for a bishopp in euerye congregation, and chap. 12. for Elders in euery congregation; are forcible herevnto.

Therefore, if there be the like neede of Deacons in one congregation, that is in another; if they be appointed indefinitely for the good of the Church; if euery Church must haue their office of Deaconship; and lastly, if there be like resons to prooue they belong to euery Church, that be for bishopps and Elders: then must it needes follow, that there ought to be Deacons in euery congregation.

#### CHAP. 14.



**T**here ought to be in euerye congregation, an eldership, consisting of a pastor or pastors, doctor (if there be any) and elders, whose authoritie Christ hath ordayned to be perpetual in his church, to gouerne the same onely by the rules of gods word: T.C. 1. booke, page 175. Discip. Ecclesiast. 123. which containeth these 3. perticular propositions, defended by vs, and gainesaid by the BB. and their adherents.

**1** *The Eldership ought to be in euery congregation.*

2 *The office of the Eldership is perpetuall.*

3 *The Church must be governed, onely by the rules of Gods worde.*

The first is denied by them, *VWhitgift* page 627. The profe of the 1. proposition. and by their practize, in tying the government of many Churches to the BB. sea, it is thus prooued.

1 Whatsoever Christe hath ordayned, as a meanes, to keepe men in obedience to the gospell, that same must be in euery congregation, for particuler men are in particuler congregations: But Christ hath ordayned the Eldership for that ende, as appeareth, Matth. 18. 15. &c. where Chrisost. expoundeth: *Tell the Church*: that is sayth he, the gouernors of the Church: Therefore the Eldershipp ought to be in euery Church.

2 Where all sortes of Elders ought to bee, there must be also the ioyning of their offices in one, for the good of that congregation ouer which they are placed: But all sorts of Elders ought to be in euery congregation, as is prooued in the 10. chap[ter] for bishoppes, the 12. for Elders, &c. Therefore here must be an Eldership in euery congregation.

3 If no perticular congregation haue greater priuiledges giuen therevnto by the word of God then others haue, then must there eyther be no Eldership at all (which is false, in that Elders are prooued to be by the worde of God in the Church) or els it must be in euery congregation: But euery congregation is of like priuledge, which appeareth by this, that it is a perfect bodie of it selfe: Therefore there must be an Eldership in euery congregation.

4 The same warrant that is in the worde of God, for to haue an Eldership in one place, is a warrant for it in all; for the word of God tyeth it, not to Churches in cities, but indefinitely to the church: But there is warraunt for it out of the worde to be some where, as appeareth by this, that the Apostles are sayd to establish it, and make mention of it: Therefore it must be in euery congregation.

Therefore, if the Eldershipp be ordayned by Christ, as a meanes to keepe men in obedience vnto the Gospell; The conclusion. if all sortes of Elders must be in euery Church; if euery congregation be of equall priuiledges; lastly if there bee

the lyke warraunt for it in euery Church, that is in any : then must it needs followe, that there ought to be an Eldership in euery congregation.

Whatsoever is objected against this, that hath any shewe in it, is answered in the 12. chap[ter]. of Elders.

The 2.  
proposition.

**T**he office of the Eldership is ordayned by Christ to be perpetuall, and ordinarie for the government of his church, T.C. 1. book 177 denied by them, *VVhitgift* 627. and by their practize in keeping it out : but the trueth of it appeareth by these reasons that do follow.

**1** If the causes why Christe woulde haue an Eldership in his Church be perpetuall, then must also the thing it selfe be perpetuall : But the causes are perpetuall, which be to gouerne the Church by the rules of his worde, and that ecclesiastically : Therefore the Eldership is perpetuall.

See the  
answere to D.  
Bridges page  
132.

**2** If Christ be the author of the Eldership, and left it by the Apostles to bee established in the Church, then it is perpetuall ; for his commission giuen to the Apostles, is to be obserued vnto the end of the world : But Christ is the author of it, as appereth both by his giuing of the gifts for the perticular members thereof, and the whole bodye of it ; as also in that the Apostles did establish it in the Church, who went not from their commission, 1. cor. 11. 12. Therefore the Eldership is perpetuall.

**3** Whatsoever is the commaundement of God, once deliuered by him, is neuer repealed againe, and to be acknowledged of euery spirituall man ; that same is to bee receiued by the Church of God to be perpetuall : But such is the government of the Church by pastors, doctors and Elders, and so of the whole Eldership, as appeareth in that they are all mentioned in the writings of S. Paule, which are so esteemed : 1. cor. 14. 37. Therefore the government of the Church by an Eldership is perpetuall.

**4** That whose seuerall parts is perpetuall, and which hath perpetuall gifts giuen, for the furnishing thereof for euer ; that same must needs be perpetuall : But the seuerall parts of the Eldership, as pastour, doctour and Elders, be perpetuall, as is proued in the 10. and 12. chap. Therefore the Eldership is perpetuall.

**5** Whatsoever is grounded vpon the generall commaundements, and rules of the scriptures, that same is perpetuall: But the gouerning of the Church by the Eldership, is such, as hath partly bene prooued in election and ordination, and execution of the seuerall Church offices, which is the greatest part of gouernement, and shall further appeare, in the censures of the Church hereafter: Therefore the gouernment of the Church by the Eldership, is perpetuall.

**6** Whatsoever manner of gouernment hath sufficient power, and that from God, to begin, continue, and strengthen, both the gouernors of the Church in their callings, and the people in the course of obedience vnto Christe; that same gouernment is to be perpetual: But such is the gouernment by the Eldership, as appeareth by this, that the Apostles vsed no other: Therefore the Eldership is to be perpetuall.

**7** That gouernment which the 12. Apostles, and Paule, before they consulted together, did vniformly agree in, that same must needs be of God, and consequently perpetuall, vnlesse the repealing of it doe appeare: but suche is the gouernement by the Eldership, (for all the aduersaries therevnto, confesse that it was in the Apostles time:) Therefore it is perpetuall.

**8** Whatsoever hath the same grounds, that the preaching of the word and ministration of the sacramentes haue, the same is perpetuall: But such is the gouernment of the Eldership, for it is grounded vpon the commaundements of Christ, and practize of the Apostles: Therefore it is perpetuall.

**9** That which hath the like groundes to bee perpetuall, that the Apostles, prophets, and Euangelists, had to be for a time, the same is perpetuall: But suche is the gouernement of the Church by an Eldership, which appeareth by this, that they are therefore ceased, because their gifts of im[m]ediate calling, &c. be gone, and the gifts of these, ioyntly and seuerally doe remaine: Therefore it is perpetuall.

**10** Whatsoever is the perpetuall and ordinary remedie to cure diseases of the Church, and strengthen the health of the same, that same is perpetuall: But suche is the gouernement by the eldership, as appeareth by the necessitie, and profite of the seuerall offices thereof, and of this, that we are still to obserue in causes of extremities: *Tell the Church*, Matth. 18. 17. Therefore it is perpetuall.



**11** That gouvernement whiche was in the Church appoynted of God vnder the Law, and continued (in respect of the substance) by christ and his Apostles, and bettered (in respect of the accedents) by them, that same is perpetuall: But such is the gouernment by the Eldership, as appeareth in the **12.** reason of the 1. chap: Therefore it is perpetuall.

**12** If there be any reason why this gouernment should be alterable (being once set in the Church by Christ) it is eyther in respect of the extraordinary offices ceased, or the addition of the magistrate: But not of the former, because the Church hath neuer had any neede of extraordinary giftes, but God hath giuen them, and so will hee euer: nor of the latter, for that the magistrates office is to defende the buylding of the Church by that order which Christe hath set downe, and not to alter any thing therein: Therefore it is perpetuall.

**13** Eyther this gouernment is the best and perpetuall, or els there is none, and so Christe should be thought to haue left his Church without a gouernment, which is disprooued in the **7.** and **8.** reasons in the 1. chap. for this was once established by Christ, and so was no other: But some gouernment must needes be the best and perpetuall: Therefore this is perpetuall.

**14** No man may iustly forbidd (speaking of the church gouernment) to returne to the old constitution of the church of God, and to receiue it before the custome of men.

**15** Experience teacheth this order (speaking of the church gouernment) was not for on[e] age, but necessary to all ages.

**16** Though the common wealth change hir gouernment, yet the church must keepe hers still.

**17** Lamenteth, that some were found among them that are csteemed forwardest, which would not haue the same discipline vsed now a dayes, that was in the Apostles times, obiecting the difference of times and men.

**18** The Apostles haue written these lawes, (speaking of Discipline) not for a daye, or for the firste age, but to endure for all times to come; and therefore haue ratified them with a most earnest obstestation: 1. Tim. 6. 14. that these commandements should be kept vntill the day of the Lord.

Confess. Heluet. Tigur. Bern. Geneva, Polonia, Hungaria, Scotland, cap. 18.

Caluin Institut. lib. 4. cap. 3. sect. 8.

P. Martyr. vpon Rom. 3.

Bucer de reg. Christ. 15.

M. Whitaker against Duræus

Therefore, if the causes of once ordaining an Eldership, be perpetuall; if Christ be the author of it, and left it The Conclusion. in the Church by the Apostles; if it be Gods commandement, not yet repealed; if the parts of it, and gifts for it be perpetuall; if it bee grounded vpon the generall commandements and rules of the scriptures; if it haue sufficient power from God, to begin, continue and confirme a church; if it was agreed vpon by the 12. Apostles, and Paule before they met together; if it haue the same grounds with the preaching of the worde; if it haue as good grounds to be perpetuall as the Apostles, &c. to be for a time; if it be the perpetuall remedie against all the diseases of the Church; if it was vnder the law, and enriched by Christe and his Apostles vnder the Gospell; if it be neyther alterable in respecte of the extraordinarie offices ceased, nor the magistrate added to the Church; if it be the onely gouernement, that challengeth authoritie from God; if no man may iustly forbid it; if it be necessarye for all times; if the common wealth may change hir gouernment, but not the Church; if the difference of times and men be nothing against it; lastly, if the rules that the Apostles gaue for it, be confirmed with a charge, to bee kept vntill the comming of Christ: then must it needs follow, that the gouernment of the Church by an Eldership, ought to be perpetuall.

They obiect that many inconueniences would follow vpon this gouernement, which are seuerally to be answered.

Obiections against the perpetuallie of the Eldership, and answers to the same.

**1 Obiection** By this euerie parrish shal follow their Seniors, and then there will be so many Elderships, so many diuers fashions, seeing one may not meddle with another.

**Ansvere** The gouernement desired is vniforme for euerie Church, and admitteth no change, no not in outward ceremonies, without a synode of the choyce men of seuerall Elderships.

**2 Obiection** If they being al mean men, chuse an Earle, he may not refuse, but be at their beck and commandement.

**Ansvere** No man that is chosen is compelled to an office against his will, but he that despiseth to consult with others in Gods matters, because they bee poore, reprocheth God that made them, Pro. 17. 5.



**3 Obiection** It ouerburdeneth the parrish, to prouide for the norishment of so many church officers.

**Ansvere** It is not necessary that they should prouide for any moe of them, sauing those that are exercised in the ministry of the worde, vnlesse any of the rest may need the liberallity of the Church.

**4 Obiection** It bringeth in a newe popedome and tyrannie into the Church.

**Ansvere** It is blasphemie to tearme the gouernment of Christ so, because we refuse the tyranny of the pope, shall we therfore doe what we list, and not yeelde obedience to the scepter of Christ.

**5 Obiection** It is a kind of Donatisme to challenge such authoritie ouer princes.

**Ansvere** And it is flattery to suffer princes to doe what they liste; this is the obiection of Gualter, who is a professed enemy to discipline.

**6 Obiection** It takes away princes authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall.

**Ansvere** No more then it did from Daudid in his time, nor so much as the Bb. do nowe, for the prince requireth but this, to see the church well ordered, which the Eldership aloweth and craueth.

**7 Obiection** It transformeth the state of the common wealth, into a meere popularitie, and will alter the gouernment thereof.

**Ansvere** It neither transformeth nor altereth any thing in it, for let it be shewed what damage would come by this discipline to any magistracie, from the princes throne, to the office of the headborow.

**8 Obiection** It wil breed contention and partiallity in iudgement.

**Ansvere** Where can be greater contention then the Bb. maintaine for their kingdome, or greater partiallitie then in them, to their kinsfolks, seruants, Sycophants, &c.

**9 Obiection** It wil be contemned, and so good order neglected.

**Ansvere** None euer deserued more contempt, then the BB. and their officers doe, for all their pompe: but God whose ordinaunce it is, will procure sufficient awe vnto it; marke how these obiections stand together, in the 4. it was tyrannie, and here it is too contemptible, these be contrary.

**10 Obiection** All alterations be dangerous.

**Answer** Neuer (where we change from the obedience of Antichriste, to the seruice of the liuing God) was it euer dangerous to amende things amisse, by that course which is described of god: if it were, let the perticular of it appear, this might wel haue bin Steuen Gardiners reason for popery, in the time of king H[enry]. the eight.

**T**he Church must be gouerned onely by the rules of Gods word, this is in effect, the proposition of the first chap[ter]. wherevnto all those reasons there alleadged may be referred; there is aduouched generally, the certayne grounds of the whole discipline, against the imagined libertie left to the Church: here is affirmed the perticular direction of the Churche gouernement, by the authoritie of the Eldershipp, to proceed according to the rules of Gods reuealed will, and not by that cursed and monstrous cannon law, which is made manifest vnto vs by these reasons.

The 3.  
 proposition.

**1** All gouernours are to execute their authoritie, by the same warrant from which they haue it: But the gouernours of the Church of God, haue their warrant to be gouernours only from the word, 1. Cor. 12. 28. Therefore they must governe the Church onely by the word.

**2** The Churche is to be gouerned by that which the ministers may teach vnto the same, for they are taught to the ende that they may obey, and so be gouerned by the same: But the ministers may teach nothing but the worde of God, 1. Cor. 11. 23. Therefore the Church is to be gouerned onely by the word of God.

**3** That which maketh the Churche obedient vnto Christ, must be the direction whereby it is to be gouerned: Onely the worde of God maketh the church obedient vnto christ. Therefore it is to be gouerned by the rules of Gods worde.

**4** Euery kingdome or houshold, must be gouerned onely by the laws of the king, or orders of the housholder: The Churche is the kingdome and house of God, and his worde is the onely law that he hath giuen for the same: Therefore it must bee gouerned onely by the worde of God.

**5** That which was ordayned to destroy the Churche of God, cannot be a good rule to governe the same by: But

such is the cannon law, for it was ordained to strengthen the kingdom of Antichrist: *Abstract.* Therefore it cannot be a good rule to direct the church by, and consequently, it must be gouerned by the worde, for no other rule is offered vnto vs, but the one of these twaine.

**6** That which was inuented by the dragon, that persecuteth the woman and her childe, that same cannot be good for the church, which is that woman: But such is the cannon law, for it was inuented by Antichriste, which is that dragon: Therefore it cannot bee good for the ruling of the church, and consequently, &c.

**7** That which strengtheneth the power of darknes and ignorance, cannot be good to guide them, that must walke in light and knowledge: But the cannon lawe strengtheneth the power of darknes and ignorance, for it increaseth popery, as appeareth by this, that there is scarce an officer towardses it, in these dayes of knowledge, but he is a papist: Therefore it cannot be good to guide the church of God.

**8** That which destroieth the church of God cannot be good to rule the same: But the cannon law destroieth it, for it crosseth euery faithfull minister in the discharge of his dutie, and euery good christian, walking in the wayes of godlines, and nippeth in the head euery good action, as experience teacheth vs: Therefore it cannot be a good rule to gouerne the church by.

**9** That which hath bred more trayterous papists in England, then the Seminaries at Rome and Rhemes, that same cannot be good to gouerne the church of God: But such is the cannon lawe, for it hath kept out discipline, nourished ignorance, and fostered superstition and popery, in all estates of people, that neuer came at those Seminaries: Therefore it cannot be a good rule to gouerne the church of God by.

**10** That which nourisheth the hope of Antichriste to returne hither againe, cannot bee good to direct in the gouernment of the church: But such is the cannon lawe, for it keepeth the cages for those vncleane byrds; as Archb. and L. BB. seas, arches, cathedral churches, &c: therefore it cannot be a good rule for the direction of the Church.

**11** That which all the Churches haue cast off, as vnfit for the gouernment of the Church, cannot be good for the same: But all the churches, that haue forsaken the pope (yea they

that haue not receiued the discipline of Christ wholly) haue cast of[f] the cannon lawe: Therefore it cannot be good for the same.

12 Yea, we our seluès mislike it, as appereth by a statute made vnder Ed[ward]. 6.

Therefore, if gouernours are to rule by the same authoritie whereby they are gouernours; if the Church must <sup>The Conclusion</sup> be gouerned, by that which the ministers may teache; if the worde of God onely, make the Church obedient vnto Christ; if euery kingdome must be ruled by the lawes of their king; and if the cannon lawe be ordained to destroy the Church; if it was inuented to persecute the church; if it strengthen the power of darknesse and ignoraunce, if it kill the Church of God; if it breede more traiterous papistes, then the Seminaries at Rome and Rhemes; if it nowrishe the hope of Antichrists returne: lastly if all the Churches that haue forsaken the pope, haue cast it of[f] also; yea if we our selues do mislike it: then must it needs follow, that the Church ought to be gouerned, onely by that golden rule of Gods word, and not by that leaden lump of the cannon law.

CHAP. 15.



He office of the Church gouernment, is meere Ecclesiastical, and therefore the gouernors of the Church may not meddle, but onely in church-matters, as for example, vocation, and abdication, deciding of controuersies, in doctrine and manners, so far as appertayneth to cons[c]iencie, and the church censures, T. C. booke 1. pag[e] 206 Discipl. Eccle. 126. but they thinke that church-gouernours, may also meddle in ciuill causes: *VWhitgifte* page 749: and their practize, that take vpon them to be Councillors of state, to iudge ciuilly, as punishe with imprisonment, &c.

But this is disprooued, and so the former prooued by these reasons.

1 That which our sauour Christ refused, because it belonged not vnto him, ruling and teaching the church, that same is not lawfull for any Ecclesiast[ical]. person to do: But christ refused to deuide the inheritance, Luke. 12. 14.

onely because he came to buylde a spirituall kingdome, for otherwise he being God, had authoritie ouer all thinges: Therefore it is not lawfull for Ecclesiasticall persons to bee iudges of ciuill causes.

**2** That which was forbidden the Apostles, is vnlawfull for euery Ecclesiasticall officer, for they were the chiefe vnder christ, and had (after a sort) all offices in themselues, vntil they could plant them in others: But such dominion was forbidden them, as the kinges of the nations, and other ciuill magistrates haue, Luk[e]. 22. 28. which is, to rule ciuilly: Therefore they may not exercise any ciuill authority.

**3** If necessary dueties are to be lefte, rather then our duties to the Church shoulde not be thorowly discharged, then may not a church officer deale in ciuill iurisdiction, which is lesse necessary vnto him: But the former is true, as appeareth by the words of Christ, to him that woulde haue buried his father, Luke. 9. 59. 60. Therefore they may not exercise any ciuill authority.

**4** If he that hath an office must attend vpon it, then may he not meddle in another, for hee cannot attend them both at once: But the former is true, Rom. 12. 7. Therefore may no church officer, meddle with temporall iurisdiction.

**5** As the Souldiour is in his warfare, so are church officers, in the ruling of Gods church: But the Soldior entangleth not himselfe in the things of this life, because they are of another nature to his warfare; which place Cyprian alleadgeth againste a minister, that became an executour to his friendes will: Therefore church-officers may not meddle with ciuill offices, because they are of another nature, then his calling.

**6** Those thinges that in themselues are of contrary quallitie, cannot concurre in one subiect: But the gouernments of the church and common wealth be such, not onely in this, that they are the next speciall members of one generall, but also, in that the one is spirituall, and the other temporall, the one respecteth the soule, and the other the bodie. Therefore they cannot bee in one man together, and consequently, &c.

**7** If the government of the church, both in euery particular mans office, and in the generall Eldership, be a matter of great waight, and the ability of man, very small in euery good action, then may not a church-officer meddle in another



calling, whereby he is made lesse able to discharge his dutie; But the former is true, as all men may see, that looke into the worde of God, what is required of such men, and knowe by the same worde, the manifolde infirmities and vntowardnes of man: Therefore the latter must needs be true also.

**8** If the Apostles (who were the most able of all others) found themselues vnfit for two offices, which were both Ecclesiasticall; then is the best church-gouernour vnfit for two, which be of more difference one from another, as be the government of the church and commonwelth: But the former is true, as appeareth, Actes 6. 2. Therefore the latter must needs be true also.

**9** That which we iustly reprocue in the papists, must needs (if we do like) be founde more vnlawfull and intollerable in our selues: But we iustly reprocue the papists, for hauing in their hands both the swordes, that is, the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill iurisdiction: Therefore it is more intollerable, being found in any of vs.

**10** If it be lawfull for an ecclesiasticall person, to exercise the office of the ciuill magistrate, then (on the contrary) it is lawfull for the ciuill magistrate, to exercise the offices of Ecclesiasticall persons, for there is as good reason for the one, as the other: But the latter is vnlawfull; for who would like of any L[ord]. Mayor, to step into the pulpit and preach, &c. Therefore the first is vnlawfull also.

**11** They may not intangle themselues with worldly offices, but attende vpon their Ecclesiasticall affaires.

Canon. Apost.  
cap. 80.

**12** None of the Clarkes or cleargie, shall receiue any charge of those whiche are vnder age, the cause of that decree, is there said to be, for that there were certain ministers, that were stuards to noble men; and in the 7. cannon, that none of them shoulde receiue any secular honors.

Council. Calced  
cap. 3. et 7.

**13** The BB. shall onely attende vnto prayer, reading and preaching.

4. Council.  
Carth. cap. 20.

**14** He bringeth diuers reasons to prooue, that neither vsurpe, nor take (being offered vnto them) any ciuill office.

BB. may  
Caluin  
Institut. lib. 4.  
cap. 11. sect. 9.

**15** He sheweth how the offices are to be distinguished, and in what sort it is sayde, that the fathers delt in the things of this life, and howe the corporal

Beza. confess.  
cap. 5. sect.  
32. & 42.



punishments by the Apostles were perticular and extraordinary.

**16** When both the offices meet in one man, the one hindereth the other, so that he that exerciseth the one, cannot minister the other.

P. Martyr.  
vpon rom. 13.

**17** There is no man so wise and holy, which is able to exercize both the ciuill, and Ecclesiasticall power, and therefore he that will exercize the one, must leaue the other.

Bucer vpon.  
Matth. 5.

Therefore, if Christ refused to iudge in temporall causes, because it belonged not to his office; if ciuill dominion was forbidden the Apostles; if necessary duties are rather to be lefte vndone, then our diligence in the matters of the Churche shoulde bee lessened; if hee that hath an office, must attende vppon it; if wee may not be intangled with any hinderance; if the ciuill and Ecclesiasticall functions, be of contrary natures; if euery office in the Church, be more then any one can perfectly discharge; if the Apostles found themselues vnfit for two offices of like nature; if we iustly reprooue the papists for their two swordes; if a magistrate may not preach; if they may not meddle with worldly offices, nor be tutors to Orphans, but attend only vnto the ministry of the word, &c.; if they may neither vsurpe, nor take (being offered) any ciuill office; if they be to be distinguished to seuerall persons, or els one hindereth the other; lastly, if none be able to execute both, then must it needs follow, that Ecclesiasticall officers may not beare ciuill offices: and consequently the office of the Church-gouernment, is meere ecclesiasticall.

*Their obiections hereunto be these.*

Objections for  
ciuill offices in  
ecclesiasticall  
persons.

**1 Obiection** It countenanceth and maintayneth religion, to haue ciuill authoritie.

**Ansvere** It is (in deed) the papists reason for their two swordes, which M[aster]. Caluin confuteth: Institut, booke 4. cap. II. sect. 9.

**2 Obiection** It is good to punishe vice by corporall punishment, that Gods word may be the better obeyed.

**Ansvere** It is good to preach Gods word to men, that they may obey their prince for conscience sake; may the

magistrate therefore preach? wee may not doe euerye thing that is good, but onely that which is agreeable to our callings.

**3 Obiection** Eli and Samuel, were both priests and Iudges.

**Ansvere** They were extraordinary (for God separated those two offices in Moses, and gaue the one vnto Aaron) and so was Eli[j]ahs killing of the false prophets, and Christes whipping of the buyers and sellers out of the Temple.

**4 Obiection** Peter killed Ananias, therefore BB. may haue prisons.

**Ansvere** It was by his worde onely, and not by anye ciuill punishment, if they can doe the like, Peters example will serue their turnes, if not, then must it be (with the former) extraordinarie.

## CHAP. 16.



**T**He placing and displacing of Church-officers, appertaineth vnto the Eldership. This is prooued in the 7. chap[ter]. and their objections are there answered for the first part, which is the placing: but the latter part is to be cleared by some mo reasons, because the BB. do displace the best ministers at their plesure, which is proued to be a most wicked action, by these resons.

**1** Those that are called vnto the ministry by the Lord from heauen, and outwardly by the meanes of men, so long as they are blameles in doctrine and conuersation, 1. Tim. 3. 10. cannot be displaced, without hainous wi[c]kednes against the manifest will of God: But suche are the ministers that the BB do daily displace, as they confesse themselves, when (euen) in their sermons they iustifie their doctrine, in saying that they differ onely in outward rites; and as their greatest enemies will saye, when they are asked of such mens liues: Therefore they cannot be displaced without great wickednes.

**2** Those that are carefull to discharge the dutie of Gods ministers, both in teaching, and giuing example to their flockes, cannot be displaced without great impietie: Such are these ministers, that are daily displaced, as appeareth by this, that they preache more diligently then any other, and that they followe not the course of the worlde, in adding liuing vnto liuing, but many of them (being as worthy for their giftes, as the worthiest) liue poorely, rather then they

will want the comfort of a good conscience : Therefore they cannot be put to silence without great sinne.

**3** To depriue Gods people of their spirituall comfort, is a grieuous and horrible wickednes : To put such to silence as are before mentioned is to depriue Gods people of their spirituall comfort : which if any man will denie, all the godly where such a one dwelleth, shall tell him hee lyeth : Therefore to displace such ministers, is a haynous and horrible wickednes.

**4** That which giueth occasion to the weake to stumble and fall away from the Gospell, is a haynous and horrible sinne : But such is the displacing of those ministers, as appeareth by this, that many doubt whether that which he hath taught be true, whom the professors of the gospell do displace, and by this, that many who had made good beginnings, by the discontinuance of their teachers, doe fall away : Therefore to displace those ministers, is a haynous and horrible sinne.

**5** Those whose labours God doth blesse, can not be displaced without fighting against God, and consequently great impietie : But such are these ministers that the BB. doe daily displace, as all that loue the Gospell in euery countrye can witnes : Therefore to displace them is great impiety.

**6** That action which giueth the common enemy iust cause to reioyce, and hope to get the victory, is a haynous and horrible offence : But such is the displacing of those ministers, as appeareth in euery country, where such ministers are displaced, and such enemies do dwell : Therefore to displace such, is a haynous and horrible offence.

**7** That action that causeth the doers therof to be esteemed enemies to the gospell, must needes be a haynous sinne : But such is the putting of those ministers to silence, for it maketh the people that haue any loue to religion, think that they are not of God in so doing, for say they he that loueth Christ, cannot crosse the course of the Gospel as these men doe : Therefore the displacing of them is a haynous sinne.

**8** That which letteth in more wickednes at once, then the diligent preaching of the worde could driue out in diuers yeeres, must needes be a haynous sinne : but suche is the displacing of these ministers : for, prophaning of the Saboth, and all disorder, commeth into a congregation the same day that such a minister, that hath long labored against it is

displaced, as experience in suche places proueth : Therefore to displace such ministers is a haynous sinne.

9 That which interrupteth the course of the Gospell, without warraunt eyther from Gods word, or the lawes of the land, is a haynous and horrible sinne : Such is the displacing of those ministers, as is proued in al the writings on our side ; and lastly, in the answere to D[octor]. Bridges : therefore to displace such ministers, is a haynous and horrible sinne.

Therefore if the ministers that bee vsually displaced, be called of God ; if they discharge the dutie of good <sup>The Conclusion</sup> ministers, both in doctrine and life ; if the displacing of them, bee to depriue Gods people of their spiritual comfort : if it giue occasion to some to doubt of the Gospell, and to fall away ; if God giue a blessing vnto their labours ; if the displacing of them giue the enemy matter to reioyce, and hope to ouercome ; if it cause the displacers to be esteemed enemies to the Gospell ; if it let in more wickednesse in one day, then preaching can throwe out in many yeeres ; if it interrupt the course of the gospell, without warrant eyther from the word of God, or lawes of the land ; then must it needs follow, that the displacing of those ministers is a most haynous, and horrible sinne against the Lord.

CHAP. I 7.



He Eldership is to admonishe euery one, by whome offence appeareth vnto them to grow in the Church : There is no question between vs, about admonition it selfe ; but this they deny, that the execution of any discipline (and therefore of this poynt) belongeth vnto the Eldership ; which point is proued in the seuerall chapters going before : so that I need not saye any thing of this, sauing with (a reason or twayne) to shewe the necessitie and benefit of it in the Church of God.

1 That whiche priuate men offended, are commaunded to seeke vnto for the redresse of the offender, is a necessarie, and an ordinary way for the amendment of them that doe offend in the Church of God : But such is the admonition of those that are in authoritie, and cary the name of the Church, Matth. 18.15. see chap. 14. and the 1. proposition of the same :

Therefore admonition in such cases by the Eldership, is a necessary and ordinary way, for their amendment that do offend.

**2** That which is more auaylable to bring the offender to repentance, then priuate admonition, eyther by one, or moe, that same is verye profitable and necessarie in the Church of God: But such is the publike admonition by the gouernours of the Church, as appeareth by this, that Christe maketh it a remedy, when the other two will not preuaile, Mat. 18. 15. Therefore it is very profitable and necessary in the church of God.

**3** That which maketh men more afraide to offend, then any admonition that priuate men can giue, is profitable and necessary in the church of God: But such is the Eldership, before whom men know they shalbe brought if they doe not amend: Therefore it is very profitable and necessary in the Church of God.

**4** That which hath a greater promise to do good, then priuate admonition, is very necessary in the Church of God: But such is the admonition that is giuen by the Eldership, because it preuayleth when the former doth not: Therefore it is profitable in the Church of God.

**5** That without which, all duties of charity cannot be exercised towards sinners, is needful to be in the Church of God: But without admonition by the Eldership, all duties of charitie cannot be exercised towards sinners: Therefore it is needfull to be in the Church of God.

**6** That which woulde bridle the outragious sinnes of some, and keepe in the derision and mockery, that priuate admonitions do receiue, is needful to be in the Church of God: But this would admonition by the Eldership doe; for if men knewe that they should answere vnto the Church for their ill demeanour, to them that rebuke them for sinning; they woulde refraine (at least for feare) from such kinde of outrage: Therefore it is needful to be in the Church of God.

Therefore seeing publike admonition by the Eldership is to  
The Conclusion be sought, by those that are offended, and cannot be satisfied; seeing it is more auayleable then priuate admonition; seeing it maketh men more afraid to offend; se[e]ing it hath a greater promise; seeing without it all duties of charity, cannot be exercized towards the sinner; lastly



seeing it would bridle the outrageous sinnes of many; Therefore it must needs followe, that it is very profitable, and necessary to be in the Church of God.

CHAP. 18.



Hose that be not reclaimed from their faultes by admonition, are by the Eldership to be suspended from the Lords supper, or being officers of the church, from the execution of their office, vntil they do eyther giue good testimony of their amendment, or iust cause to be further proceeded against. Neyther is there any controuersie betwixt them and vs, about this poynt; sauing that (as in the former) they will denie it to appertaine to the Eldership, which is prooued before.

I will therefore (for their vnderstanding that desire direction in the trueth) firste, shewe that it is a course that hath warrant in the scriptures; secondly, that it is of very profitable vse in the Church of God: the first is thus proued.

1 Whatsoever is enioyned, as a duetie to be done by euery christian, if he leaue it vndone, he is to be compelled by the gouernours of the Church to doe it, Luke. 14. 17. 23. But if a mans brother haue any thing against him, and he make no conscience to leaue his gifte there, and be first reconciled, Matth. 5. 24. he is to be compelled to do it: Therefore separation from the Lordes supper, is warranted by the word.

Suspention warranted by the word, being vpon such grounds as the worde setteth downe.

2 If that commandement of Christe, Matth. 7. 6. giue not that which is holy vnto doggs, can neyther be properly vnderstood of them, that were neuer of the Church, nor them that be excommunicated; then is it a warraunt for such separation of the vnworthy, and consequently, that separation is warranted in the word: But the former is true, as appeareth by this, that the meanest of the Iewes did knowe, that holy things belonged to neyther of them, and so the commandement had bene needlesse: Therefore suspention is warranted by the word.

3 If there be sinners that are not to be excommunicated, and yet it were offensiue to giue them the Lords supper,



then is this course warranted by the word, for els should Christ haue left his Church destitute of direction, in common and vsual difficulties, which is prooued in the first chap[ter]. to be otherwise: But such sinners there are as the notorious sinner repenting; men mainly suspected of notorious transgressions, &c. Therefore suspention hath his warrant in the worde.

**4** The course that God prescribed in the shadow, for corporall purifyings, must in the body (in respect of the substaunce) be obserued in the spirituall censing of euey member of the Church: But many were separated from the publike sacrifices for a season, by reason of their corporall vncleanes, who, yet were not worthy to be excommunicated: Therefore must also some be kept from the Lordes supper for a season, who yet appeare not so haynously to haue sinned, as to deserue excommunication.

**5** The church cannot without great offence, suffer one that hath fallen into some open sin, or that is vehemently suspected, to haue haynously offended, continue in the administration of any publike function: But the Church cannot iustly displace suche a man at the first, making shew of repentance, or standing vpon his purgation: Therefore he must be separated for a time.

**6** That which was commaunded vnder the law to be done to the priest, that was vncleane in body, or suspected to be a leaper; that same must much more vnder the Gospell, be done vnto the minister, or other Church officer, that hath sinned, or is suspected to haue committed a great sinne: But such a priest was to be separated from offering of sacrifices for a certaine time: Therefore much more must the like be done to a Church officer in the like case.

Therefore, if the Church bee to compell a priuate man to The Conclusion doe his duetie; if, giue not holy things to doggs, be vnderstood of them within the church; if there be sinners that cannot with out offence be admitted to the Lords supper, and yet deserue not excommunication; if for corporall vncleannes vnder the law, they were to abstaine a certaine time; and if the Church can not without great offence, suffer him that hath committed an open sinne (though he repent) or that is vehemently suspected of a notorious sinne, continue in the execution of his office, vntil the

congregation be satisfied; Lastly, if the priest that was vncleane, or suspected of leprosie, might not offer sacrifices: then is it plaine, that both the separation of some men from the Lords supper, and other from the execution of their publik[e] function for a time; is a thing warranted by the word of God.

The latter part, which is that this kind of suspension hath a profitable vse in the church of God, is thus prooued.

The vse of  
suspention  
profitable in  
the Church.

1 That whiche keepeth the godly in more carefull obedience, and keepeth in the hypocrites, that they breake not out, is very profitable for the Church of God: But such is the vse of the separation from the Lordes supper, and from executing publike function in the church: Therefore it is profitable in the church of God.

2 That which remooueth (euen) the appearance of offence, from the Church of God, is very profitable for the same: But such is the separation: Therefore it is profitable for the Church of God.

3 That which declareth vnto the world, that the Church of God is carefull to practize that which it professeth, is very profitable: But such is this separation, for it sheweth that they cannot away with vngodly life; no, not among themselues: Therefore it is profitable for the church of God.

4 That which giueth occasion to the church, to be exercised in the actions of religion, with more sound comfort, is profitable for the same: But such is this separation, for euery one shall see thereby, the vnworthy (for whose sakes, God might be angrie with them all, Iosh. 7. 11.) weeded from among them: Therefore it is profitable for the Church of God.

5 That whiche is a speciall meanes to procure the Lord (in mercie) to continue his word vnto his Church, is profitable for the same: such is this separation; for it is a notable meanes to keepe men in obedience to that which they professe: Therefore it is profitable for the church of God.

Therefore, if separation of the knowne, or suspected sinner, from the Lords supper, and such a church officer from the execution of his publike function, doe keepe men in obedience that be godly, and restrayneth

The Conclusion

hypocrites from outrage; if it remooue the very appearance of euil; if it let the world see, that the Church laboureth to practize that which it doth professe; if it make euery member of the Church to be exercized in the actions of religion, with greater comfort; lastly, if it be a special mean to procure the Lord in mercie, to continue his word; then must it needs follow, that it is of very profitable vse vnto the Church of God.

## CHAP. 19.

**W**hen neyther admonition, nor suspension will serue to reclaym the offender, but that it doth appeare, that he abydeth in impenitencie, and is incorrigible, the Eldership, after mature deliberation, and commending of the party vnto the prayers of the Church (hee yet remaining obstinate) is to proceed to excommunication: which containeth these propositions in question betwixt vs and the BB.

- 1 *It may not be done, but vpon great and wayghtie occasion.*
- 2 *It may not be done by any one man, but by the Eldership, the vvhole Church consenting therevnto.*

The former is holden by vs, T.C. 1. book, pag[e] 183. Discipl. Eccles. 130. and denied by them in their practize, that send it out (many times) for not paying of sixe pence.

**B**ut our assertion is thus prooued, and their godlesse practize disprooued.

**1** That which Christ hath ordayned for the last remedie against sinne, and onely to be vsed when neyther admonition, reprehension, nor separation from the externall communion of the saynts for a time will serue; that same is not to be vsed, but vpon great extremitie: But such is excommunication, as appeareth, Math. 18. 15. Therefore it may not be vsed, but vppon most wayghtie occasion, that is in the case (onely) of extremitie, when no other meanes will serue the turne.

**2** That whiche cutteth a man of [f] from the Church of God,

and giueth him ouer vnto Satan, as one in a desperate case, that same may not be vsed but in greatest extremitie: But such is excommunication, being vsed according as God hath left it vnto his Church, 1. Cor. 5. 5. Therefore it may not bee vsed, but in greatest extremitie.

**3** That which a man will doe in the cutting off, of his hand or his foote, that same must the Church doe, in excommunication; for it is the cutting off, of a member: But a man will trie all other wayes, and will neuer cut off his hande or his foote, vntill he see it incurable, and ready to infect the other parts of his bodie: Therefore excommunication may not be vsed, but in case of greatest extremitie.

**4** That which is contrary to naturall affection, and worketh that whiche a louing heart doth tremble to thinke of; that same may not be done but in greatest extremitie: But such is the excommunication, for it depriueth the party excommunicated of our loue, and throweth him into the most wretched case, that can befall vnto man in this life: Therefore it may not be done, but in cases of greatest extremity.

Therefore if excommunication be ordained of Christe, as a remedie, onely when all other helpes will not serue; if it cut the partie from Gods Church, and giue him ouer vnto Satan; it must be proceeded vnto, as a man doth to the cutting off of his hand or foote; lastly, if it be a worke contrary vnto the naturall affection of man, and effecteth that which a louing hart doth tremble to think vpon: then must it needs follow, that it is to be proceeded vnto, only in the cases of greatest extremitie, and after that all other meanes haue bene vsed, and do appeare not to preuaile.

The latter poynt (which is, that excommunication may not be done by one man, but by the Eldership, the whole Church consenting therevnto) is holden by vs, T.C. booke 1. page 183. Discipl. Ecclesiast: 130. &c. and denyed by them, *VWhitgift*, page 662. and their continuall practise; But our assertion is thus proued, and their opinion and practize, founde to be erroneus and vngodly.

The prooff  
of the 2.  
proposition.

**1** That which Christ commanded to be done by the Church, may not be done by one man, vnles you take my

L. Grace for the Church as *VWhitgifte* doth, page, 662. which needeth no confutation: But Christe commanded that excommunication should be done by the church, Matth. 18. 15. Therefore it may not be done by one man.

**2** That which Paule enioyned the Church, when they were met together, to doe, may not be done by one man But he commanded them to excommunicate the incestuous person, when they were met together, 1 Cor. 5. 5. Therefore it may not be done by one man.

**3** That which hath need of greatest aduice, and greatest authority, may not be done by one man: But such is the matter of excommunication, being the denouncing of that against a man, which he will most hardly beleue, and being the wayghtiest poynt of discipline: Therefore it may not be done by one man.

**4** Those must excommunicate, that are to deale in the other partes of discipline, as shall appear in the reasons following, and (as I think) no man will denie: But the other partes of discipline are exercized not by one, but by the Church, as hath bene prooued: Therefore not one, but the Church is to excommunicate.

**5** As it was ministred among the Iewes, so must it be in the Church for euer; which appeareth by this, that it is translated vnto vs from them (as the Greeke word *Synedrion*, being by a corrupt imitation, called *Sanedrim*, by the Rabbins, doth import) and had nothing ceremoniall in it: But it was executed among them by the Church, and not any one, Iohn 9. 22. Therefore the Church is to excommunicate, and not one man.

**6** Sayth, he would neuer do any thing in his charge, without the counsell of his Elders, and consent of the people.

**7** The elders, and other church-officers, haue as wel power to absolue, as the byshop.

**8** For so much as absolution belongeth vnto all, I alone dare not do it.

**9** If there be any that haue committed such a fault, that he is to be put away from the partaking of the prayers of the Church, &c. There do beare rule, certayne of the most approoued auncients or elders of the Church, which haue obtayned this honour, not by money, but by good report.

Cyprian lib. 3.  
epist. 10.

Epist. 14.

Epist. 19.

Tertul. Apol.  
cap. 39.



**10** It helpeth much to make the party more ashamed, that he be excommunicated by the whole Church: also in his bookes of Baptisme, against the Donatists often.

**11** The Elders haue interest in other censures of the Church, and the Church it selfe in excommunication.

Ierom ad  
Demetriad.  
Epist. 1.

**12** S. Paule accuseth the Corinthians, for that the whole Church had not excommunicated the incestuous person.

Bucer de regno  
Christi lib. 1.  
cap. 9.

**13** The Elders had the gouernement in excommunication.

P. Martyr in  
1. Cor. 5.

**14** It is very dangerous to permit so weightie a matter to one man, and therefore that tyrannie may be auoyded, and this censure executed with greater fruite and grauitie, the order that the Apostle there vseth, is still to bee obserued.

The same vpon  
the same place

**15** Hee sheweth that it pertayneth not to one man, that it is a wicked fact that one should take the authoritie to himselfe, that is common to others; that it openeth a way to tyrannie; taketh from the Church their right, and abrogateth the Ecclesiasticall senate, ordayned by Iesus Christ.

Caluin Institut.  
lib. 4. cap. 11.  
sect. 6.

**16** The byshops, when they excommunicated of themselues alone, did it ambitiously, contrary to the decrees of godly canons: See Bucer against Gropper, and vpon Ephes. 4. *De animi Cura*, also Zuinglius in Ecclesiast.

Chap. 12.  
sect. 6.

**17** It is plentifully forbidden (euen) by that filthie puddle, the cannon law, and therefore it must needs be a haynous sinne, when it findeth fault with it.

See Abstract  
page 165.

Therefore if excommunication be to be executed (by the commaundement of Christe) of the Church; if S. Paule enioyned it vnto the Church; if it haue need of greatest aduice and authoritie; if it belong to them that may execute the other partes of Discipline; if it was so executed among the Iewes; if to absolue, be as well in the Elders power, as the Byshops; if Cyprian durst not do it alone; if it was the action (in Tertul[i]ans time) of the most approoued Elders; if to be by the whole Church, helpeth much to make the partie more ashamed; if the whole Church haue interest in it; if the whole Church at Corinth was

The Conclusion



reproued, for not doing it; if it be too weighty a matter for one man; if the executing of it by one, ouerturneth the order appoynted by Christ; bringeth in tyrannie; maintayneth ambition; and lastly, be forbidden by the cannon law it selfe. Then must it needes followe, that it belongeth not vnto one man to excommunicate, but vnto the Eldershipp, and that with the consent of the whole Church.

**T**heir obiections herevnto in defence of their owne practize be these.

**1 Obiection** The right of excommunication, was in S. Paule and not in the rest.

**Ansvere** He gaue onely direction in that, as in all other matters, whiche hee wrote of vnto them, but if they had not throwne out the incestuous person, he had remayned still vnexcommunicated, for all that which S. Paule had sayd vnto them.

**2 Obiection** Christ gaue Peter and euery Apostle power to binde, and lose in earth and in heauen, which interpreters expound by Matth. 18. 15.

**Ansvere** That power was of denouncing Gods iudgements, or pronouncing his mercie in preaching, and not of this action: they are expounded one by another, because of the ratifying of them both in heauen alike.

**3 Obiection** Paule did excommunicate Hymeneus and Philetus.

**Ansvere** That is, being moderator of the action, he pronounced it, not that he did it alone; The same ansvere, is to be made vnto the fathers, as Ambrose, &c. who are said to excommunicate.

The Conclusion  
of the whole  
booke.

a Chap. 1.



Herefore vpon these grounds of Scriptures, Fathers, Councils, Emperours, Lawes, Histories, newe writers, and cleare light of reason. I conclude, that <sup>a</sup>Christ hath

prescribed vnto vs an exacte, and perfect platforme of gouerning his church at all times, and in all places; which is this <sup>b</sup>that there ought to be no ministers of the the word, but pastor and teachers,

b Chap. 10. & 11.

whiche are to be <sup>c</sup>called by the people, and c Chap. 4.  
 ordained by the Eldership, are of <sup>d</sup>equall autho- d Chap. 7.  
 rity in their seuerall congregations, muste <sup>e</sup>with e Chap. 10.  
 all faythfull diligence imploye themselues, in the f Chap. 10.  
 ministry of the worde and sacramentes, <sup>f</sup>that g Chap. 21.  
 there are to be in euery congregation certaine elders,  
 whose office is to ouersee the behaiour of the  
 people, and assist their pastour, in the gouernment  
 of the church; <sup>h</sup>also Deacons, who are to be h Chap. 13.  
 employed onely in receiuing, and bestowing the  
 liberallity and goods of the church to the reliefe  
 of the poore, and other necessary vses: <sup>i</sup>Lastly, i Chap. 14.  
 that there must be in euery congregation an elder-  
 shipp of pastour, teacher (if they can haue any) and  
 elders, who are in common, to see that the church  
 be well gouerned, not onely in maintayning the  
 profession and practize of the worde in generall,  
<sup>k</sup>but also in admonishing, reprehending, or <sup>l</sup>sepe- k Chap. 17  
 rating from the Lords supper, them that walke l Chap. 18.  
 offensiuely, and <sup>m</sup>lastly in excommunicating them, m Chap. 19.  
 that bye no other meanes can be reclaimed. So  
 that all and euery gouernement, contrary or be-  
 sides this, whether in part or in whol[e],  
 swarueth from that order, which  
 Christ hath set downe in his  
 word, and therefore  
 is vnlawfull.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

[These have been applied to the text.]



The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 5.

---

*The State of the Church of England &c.*

[April 1588.]



The English Scholar's Library of  
Old and Modern Works.

[Rev. JOHN UDALL.]

*The State of the Church of England  
laid open in a Conference between DIOTREPHESES  
a Bishop, TERTULLUS a Papist, DEMETRIUS  
a Usurer, PANDOCHEUS an  
Innkeeper, and PAUL a Preacher  
of the word of GOD.*

[April 1588.]

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A., etc.,  
LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

15 April, 1879.

No. 5.

(All rights reserved.)





# CONTENTS.



	PAGE
Bibliography ... ..	vi
INTRODUCTION ... ..	vii-xiv

---

*The State of the Church of England &c.* ... I

THE PRÆFACE ... .. 3-4

THE DIALOGUE ... .. 5-31

For Speakers, see title page at p. I.

\* \* \* The Scene of the Dialogue is in PANDOCHUS's Inn which is in a posting town, apparently in the North of England, on the high road from London to Edinburgh.

THE CONCLUSION .. .. 32-34

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For a list of the principal works up to 1606, on both sides of this Controversy, see PETER FAIRLAMPE, *The Recantation of a Brownist Or a Reformed Puritan.* 1606. 4to.

## I. SOME ANTECEDENT ENGLISH WORKS IN THIS CONTROVERSY.

[With Press Marks of some copies in the British Museum.]

1574.

[WALTER TRAVERS ] A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline owte off the word of God, and off the declininge off the churche of England from the same. Imprinted [evidently abroad] M.D.LXXIIII. [3932. e.] See p. 9.

1575.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT'S *Second Reply* to Dr. WHITGIFT'S *Second Answer.*  
[?] The History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

1577.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. *The rest of the Second Reply* to Dr. WHITGIFT'S *Second Answer.*  
See p. 10.

1582.

[ROBERT BROWN, *the Brownist.*] A book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians. Middleburg. [*Two copies are in Lambeth Library.*]

1583.

[?] An Abstract, of certaine Acts of Parliament: of certaine her Maiesties Iniunctions [697. f. 2/1]: usually referred to as the *Abstract.* There were two undated editions. One in black letter without pagination [697. f. 2/1]: the other in Roman letter and paged. [697. f. 15.] [See p. 12.]

1584.

[RICHARD COSIN.] AN Answer to the two first and principall Treatises of a certeine factious libell, put fourth lately, without name of Author or Printer, and without approbation by authoritie, vnder the title of *An Abstract &c.* [697. f. 2/2].

\*[DUDLEY FENNER, Minister at Middleburgh.] A Counter Poyson modestly written for the time, to make answeere to the obiections and reproches, wherewith the *answearer* to the *Abstract*, would disgrace the holy Discipline of Christ. [1360. a.] See p. 9.

[?] A Fruitfull Sermon, vpon the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. and 8. verses, of the 12. Chapter of the Epistle of *S. Paul* to the *Romans*, very necessary for these times to be read of all men, for their further instruction and edification, in things concerning their faith and obedience to saluation. [C. 46. a/2.] Printed by WALDEGRAVE. See p. 9.

[?] A Briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of those faithfull Ministers, that haue and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande: Which may serue for a just Apologie, against the false accusations and slaunders of their aduersaries. [C. 46. a/1.] Printed by WALDEGRAVE. *This work is usually referred to (from its headline) as A learned Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Government.* See p. 9.

1585.

[?] A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Suppl'ca'ion To The High Court Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministry. In Anno 1585. [4103. b.]

\*[?] The Vnlawful Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, The Maintainers Of The Discipline Of God. [111. a. 8.]

\*[?] The Judgment of a most reuerend and learned Man from beyond sees, concerning a threefold order of Bishops (*i.e. of God, of man, and of the Devil.*) [Not seen. See HERBERT'S AMES'S *Typ. Ant.* p. 1654. *Ed.* 1790.

∴ For printing these last three tracts, WALDEGRAVE is imprisoned, see p. xi.

\* These works are reprinted in *A Parte of a register &c.* [Edinburgh 1593.] [697. f. 14.]

## II. DIOTREPHESES.

### ISSUES IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

*As a separate publication.*

1. [April 1588. London. 8vo.] See title on p. 1.

### ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

*As a separate publication.*

2. 15 April 1879. Southgate, London, N. 8vo. The present impression.



## INTRODUCTION.



HIS satirical Dialogue, quoted for shortness at the time as *DIOTREPES*, was written against the administration of the Anglican Bishops, by the Rev. JOHN UDALL, the Preacher at Kingston upon Thames; and was printed to his utter ruin, by ROBERT WALDEGRAVE, the Puritan printer and publisher living at this date outside Temple Bar.

WALDEGRAVE was a Worcestershire man, as is proved by the entry of his apprenticeship in the Stationers' *Registers*—

GREFFETH ROBERTE WALGRAVE the sonne of RYCHARD WALGRAVE late of BLACKLAY in the Countye of Worcestre yeoman Deceased hath put hym self appretes to WYLLIAM GREFFETH, Cetizan and stacioner of London / from the feaste of the nativite of saynte John bapteste [24 June] anno 1568 viij yeres vjd.

*Transcript &c., i. 372. Ed. 1875.*

He would have been entitled to his freedom of the Company in the summer of 1576; but as the *Register* for that year has long been lost, there is no precise record of the date from which he would be entitled to publish a book in London.

He had in 1588, been actually publishing works, chiefly religious, for some ten years past: and—especially since the advent of WHITGIFT to the Primacy—had suffered many things at the hands of the Bishops, of some which *MARTIN MARPRELATE* has preserved to us the following accounts—

Which Harmonie / was translated and printed by that puritan Cambridg printer / Thomas Thomas. And although

the booke came out by publike authoritie / yet by your leaue the Bishops haue called them in / as things against their state. And trust me / his grace will owe that puritane printer as good a turne / as hee paid vnto Robert Walde-graue for his sawcines / in printing my frend and deare brother Diotrephes his Dialogue. Well frend Thomas I warne you before hand / look to your selfe.—*The Epistle* [Nov. 1588], p. 8. Ed. 1879.

Pitifully complayning / is there any reason (my Lords grace) why knaue Thackwell the printer / which printed popishe and trayterous welshe bookes in wales / shoulde haue more fauour at your gracelesse handes / then poore Walde-graue / who neuer printed book against you / that contayneth eyther treason or impietie. Thackwell is at libertie to walke where he will / and permitted to make the most he could of his presse and letters : whereas Robert Walde-graue dares not shew his face for the bloodthirstie desire you haue for his life / onely for printing of bookes which toucheth the bishops Myters. You know that Walde-graues printing presse and Letters were takken away : his presse being timber / was sawen and hewed in pieces / the yron work battered and made vnseruiceable / his Letters melted / with cases and other tooles defaced (by Iohn Wolfe / alias Machiuill / Beadle of the Stationers / and most tormenting executioner of Walde-graues goods) and he himselfe vtterly deprived for euer [of] printing againe / hauing a wife and sixe small children. Will this monstrous crueltie neuer bee reuenged thinke you ? When Walde-graues goods was to be spoiled and defaced / there were some printers / that rather then all the goods should be spoyled / offered money for it / towards the reliefe of the mans wife and children / but this coulde not be obtayned / and yet popishe Thackwell / though hee printed popish and trayterous bookes / may haue the fauor to make money of his presse and letters. And reason to[o]. For Walde-graues profession ouerthroweth the popedome of Lambehith / but Thackwels popery maintayneth the same.

And now that Walde-graue hath neither presse nor letters / his grace may dine and sup the quieter. But looke to it brother Canterburie / certainly without your repentance / I feare me / you shalbe \*Hildebrand in deed. Walde-graue A fyrebranc  
in deede. hath left house and home / by reason of your vnnaturall tyrannie : hauing left behinde him a poore wife and sixe Orphanes / without any thing to relieue them. (For the husband you haue bereaued both of his trade and goods) Be you assured that the crie of these will one day preuaile against you / vnlesse you desist from persecuting.—*The Epistle, pp. 22, 23.*

Concerning Walde-graue / its no matter how you deal with him / heez a foolish fellow / to suffer you to spoyle his presse and letters : an a had bin my worships printer / ide a kept him from your clouches. And yet it is pitie to belye the diuell : and therefore you shall not belye / him and goe scotfree. As for the presse that Walde-graue solde / he did it by order / vz. He solde it to an allowed printer / I.C. one of his owne companie / with the knowledge of his Warden / Henry Denham / &c. And cal you this fauor / in releasing him after long imprisonment ? But I will give you a president of great fauor in deede / wherein you may see what an vngrateful fellow Walde-graue is to his grace / who hath bin so good vnto him from time [to] time. There being a controuersie betweene another printer and Walde-graue (all matters of printing being committed by the LL. of the Counsell to his grace) Walde-graue made one of his company his friende (who could do much with his grace) to deale for him / who brake the matter to his worship / being at Croydon in his Orcharde : so soone as the partie named Walde-graue / he sweetly aunswered him / saying : if it had bin any of the company saue him / he would haue graunted the suite / but in no case to Walde-graue. Well Walde-graue / obtayned the R[ight]. H[onorable] Lord Treasurers letter in his behalfe to his grace / who when he had read it / said / I will answer my L. Treasurer : with that Walde-graue intreated for his fauorable letter to the Wardens of his companie / which in the end



through D. Coosins he obtained (though late) yet went home at night / thinking to deliuer it in the morning : but before he was ready / the Wardens were with him / and [ar]rested him with a Purciuant vpon his graces commandement / Walde-graue telling them there was a letter from his grace / which he received late the last night at Croidon : who answered / they knew it well inough / but this is his pleasure now : so they caried Walde-graue to prison / and in this / his grace was

A new reuenge  
for an old  
grudge. so good vnto him / as to help him with an hundred marks ouer the shulders. If this be your fauour / God keepe me from you / ka M. Marprelate. Bishops haue iustly received according to their desertes / hauing found greater fauour at my worships hands than euer they deserued / being notorious / disobedient and godlesse persons / vnthrifty spenders and consumers of the fruits / not of their own labors / (as you say Walde-graue was) but of the possessions of the church / persons that haue violated their faith to god / his church / hir majesty / and this whol[e] kingdom / and wittingly bring vs al without the great mercy of god to our vndoing : so that our wiues / children and seruants / haue cause to curse al L. Bb. Lo T.C. you see that I haue a good gift in imitation / and me thinkes I have brought your wordes into a marueilous good sense / wher as before in the cause of Walde-graue / they were ilfauoredly wrested : and as for his wife and children / they haue iust cause to curse Iohn of London / and Iohn of Canterburie / for their tyrannizing ouer him : by imprisoning and spoyling his goods / and vexing his poore wife and children / with continuall rifeling his house with their purciuants : who in Nouember [1588] last / violently rusht into his house / breaking through the maine wall thereof after midnight / taking away his goods / for some of the purciuants solde his books vp and downe the streats / to watchmen and others. Ah you Antichristian prelates / when will you make an ende of defending your tyrannie / by the blood and rapine of her maiesties subiectes ? You haue bin the consumers of the fruits of Walde-graues labors : for

haue you not sent him so often to prison / that it seemed you  
 made a common occupation thereof? For assoon as any book  
 is printed in the defence of Christs holy discipline / or for ye  
 detecting of your Antichristian dealings / but your rauening  
 purciuantes flye citie and countrie to seeke for Walde-graue /  
 as though he were bound by statute vnto you / either to make  
 known who printed seditious books against my L. O the greatnes  
of his graces  
faour.  
 Face / or to go to prison himselfe / and threatned  
 with the racke. And are you not ashamed to say / that he  
 euer violated his fayth? you know wel inough / that he is  
 neither Archb. nor L. B. The case thus stood / after he had  
 remained a long time in prison / not that time when Hartwell  
 his graces secretary wisht that his grace might neuer eat bit  
 of bread after he released him. Nor at that time when you  
 profane T.C. told him / that all puritans had traiterous hearts.  
 Nor at that time Walde-graue tolde his grace / that he was  
 worse than Bo[n]ner in regard of the time. Nor that time  
 when he was straungely released by one of the Lorde of good  
 Londons Swans. Neither was it at yat time / when his grace  
 (good conscionable noble man) violated his promise / in that  
 he told the wardens of the stacioners / that if Walde-graue  
 woulde come quietly to him / and cease printing of seditious  
 bookes / he would pardon what was past / and the wardens  
 promised his wife / that if he were committed / they would  
 lye at his graces gate til he were released / and for al this /  
 yet he was committed to the white Lyon / where he laye sixe  
 weekes. Nor it was not at that time / when his grace allowed  
 Watson the purciuant / to take of Walde-graue / 13.s.4. pence /  
 for caryng of him to the white Lyon. But it was that time /  
 when his grace kept him 20. weekes together in the white  
 lyon / for printing the Complaint of the comminaltie / the  
 Practize of prelatz / A learned mans iudgment / &c. Means  
 being vsed for his liberty / his frend who was bound for him  
 told him / his liberty was obtained in maner following. You  
 must be bounde saith he / in a 100. pounds / to print no more  
 books hereafter / but such as shalbe authorized by hir Maiesty

or his grace/or such as were before lawfully authorized: wherunto he answered/that it was not possible for him to containe himselfe within the compasse of that bond/neither should his consent euer go to the same (the same wil D. Coosins witnes (that maidenly Doctor/who sits cheek by ioll with you) if he will speake a trueth/which words Walde-graue vttered to him/going in the old pallas at westminster with his keeper before he was released) yet he woulde gladly haue his libertie if he might lawfully. For saide he/I being a poore workeman to my companie / cannot possibly obserue it. For many bookes heretofore printed/had *cum priuilegio*, and yet were neuer authorized: and againe/that it were but a folly for him to sue to her Maiestie/the office were very base and vnfit for her. And he might be wel assured that Caiphas of Cant. would never authorize any thing for his behoofe/and so it fell out. And thus Martin hath prooued you in this/as in all other things/to be lyars. And what is it that you Bb. and your hangones will not saye by Walde-graue /whom you would hang if you could.—*Hay any worke for Cooper* [23 March, 1589], pp. 43-46. Ed. 1880.

As we shall see in our *Introductory Sketch &c.*, that it was WALDEGRAVE himself that set up in type these different accounts of his maltreatment, as parts of these two Martinist productions printed by him at the wandering secret press; we cannot but regard them as his personal contribution to the Controversy.

## II.



HE process of WALDEGRAVE'S ruination is thus officially described in the *Records* of the Stationers' Company—

May 13, 1588. Whereas Master COLDOCK Warden, THOMAS WOODCOCK, OLIVER WILKES, and JOHN WOLF, on the 16 of April last, vpon search of ROBERT WAL[DE]GRAUES house, did seise of his and bring to Stationers hall, according to the late decrees of the Starre-

chamber, and by vertue thereof A presse with twoo paire of cases, with certaine Pica Romane, and Pica Italian letters, with diuers books entituled: *The state of the Churche of England laid open &c.* For that the said WAL[DE]GRAVE without authority, and contrary to the said Decrees had printed the said book. Yt is now in full court—ordered and agreed by force of the said decrees, and according to the same, That the said books shall be burnte, and the said presse, letters and printing stuffe defaced and made vnserviceable.

W. HERBERT's Edition of AMES's *Typ. Ant.*, ii. 1145. *Ed.* 1786.

In the Stationers' *Registers* at this date also occur the following entries—  
*Item* Delyvered to JOHN WOLF the xvj<sup>th</sup> day of Apryll [1588]  
 to goe to Croydon to my Lordes grace about WAL[DE]-  
 GRAVE iiiij<sup>s</sup> /  
 for breakinge a presse and meltinge of letters . . . xij<sup>d</sup> /  
*Transcript*, i. 528. *Ed.* 1875.


Strangely enough, in another part of the *Registers* occurs the following entry on the very day of the promulgation of the above decision—

13 Maii [1588].

ROBERTE A copie whereof he is to bring the title vj<sup>d</sup>  
 WAL[DE]GRAVE *Transcript*, ii. 490. *Ed.* 1875.

This title he never did bring : but disappears from all avowed printing from this date until March 1590, when he is established in Edinburgh as the Royal Printer for Scotland ; from which country he did not return till the accession of JAMES I. to the English throne.

### III.

 HIS *Dialogue*—which also helped to bring about JOHN UDALL's premature death—is but a brief, yet quietly sarcastic statement of the general social War between the Bishops and the Presbyters in England, which will be more fully noticed in our *Introductory Sketch &c.* ; and in respect to its effects on UDALL himself, in our reprint of his *Demonstration of Discipline*.

There are some striking points incidentally touched upon in this tract. It is an additional confirmation, if any were wanted, of Lord BURLEIGH's

*Execution of Justice in England*, that there had not been even a slight casual persecution of Roman Catholic Englishmen, as *Roman Catholics*, under Queen ELIZABETH; as there had been of Protestants, under her sister MARY.

It is a testimony to the rapid growth of Puritanism in the four years that had now elapsed since WHITGIFT's advance to the Primacy, and so is another evidence of the utter futility of a policy of repression in matters of religious belief.

The stolid obduracy of the Bishops, their utter unwillingness to make the least concession, and so to satisfy moderate men; that significant absence in them of least movement for reform in Parliament, which drew on them the censure of Lord BACON in his *Advertisement*, is also clearly brought out in this, the forerunning tract of the *MARTIN MARPRELATE* Controversy.

The strong delusion in all the religious teachers of the time—Protestant as well as Puritan—that the Lending of Money at Interest was a sin, is depicted in the character of **Demetrius**. It was not (as may be seen in Lord BACON's Essay on *Usury*, 1626) till another generation had passed away, that Political Economy, aided by the growing surplus wealth of the nation, overcame this vulgar error, which sprang from a confusing of things human and divine.

Lastly, we may note, the vast influence which the mind of CALVIN still exercised on the faith of millions: so that to differ from his views, was thought to be a departing from GOD. This comes out clearly in the following attack on the "freewil men;" that is, on the Arminians before ARMINIUS.

**Diotrep.** Doe you not also like of the preaching of predestination?

**Paul** Yea, or els should I dislike of preaching the trueth, for it is a part of Gods reuealed will.

**Diotreph** So do not I in these daies, when there be so manye weake ones, I thinke it to be a very break-necke of all religion.

**Paul** I haue heard of freewil men that haue saide so, but I neuer heard [a] man of learning affirme it, but one that was a byshoppe in a Sermon, but his wordes were no lesse than blasphemie, and so are yours, and al they that say or think the same are guiltie of no lesse sinne.—*pp.* 14-15.

Altogether, while written with a quietude of expression which must have been difficult to the writer, this *Conference* is as vigorous a bit of Puritanism as anything that has come down to us from that age.

## The state of the Church of

Englande, laide open in a conference  
betweene *Diotrephes* a Byshopp, *Tertullus* a  
Papiste, *Demetrius* an vsurer, *Pandochus* an  
Inne-keeper, and *Paule* a preacher of the  
worde of God.

### PSAL. 122. 6.

*Pray for the peace of Hierusalem, let them  
prosper that loue thee.*

### REVEL. 14.9 10.

*And the third Angel folowed them, saying  
with a loud voice, if any man worship the  
beast and his image, and receiue his marke in  
his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall  
drinke of the wine of the wrath of God.*





## THE PRÆFACE.



Gentle Reader, I haue sette down here in a Dialog, the practize of Satan which he vseth (as I haue obserued by experience) to subuert and vtterly ouerturne the course of the Gospel here in England; the names of the speakers, containe in them for the most part, the matter that they defend, and the affection that they are of. For thou knowest that *Diotrephes* was he of whom S. Iohn speaketh in his third Epistle, verse 9. that louing to haue the preheminance, disturbed the course of good things in the Church, and therefore sustaineth the person of a Byshopp, or Byshoply prelate. *Tertullus* is he of whom Luke speaketh in the 24. Acts, that was the speaker in the ambassage from Ierusalem to Fœlix the gouerner, against *Paule*, in the defence of ceremonies abrogated, for the ouerthrowe of the Gospel, and so representeth the papists, that maintaine their traish, to the rooting out of true religion. *Demetrius* is he of whom mention is made, in Actes 19. that was enemie to *Paule*, because he liued by an vnlawfull trade, and for that cause doth play the part of an vserer. *Paule* was the defender, you knowe of the Gospel in sinceritie, and he whose pen the holy Ghost did vse to expresse the discipline of the church most clerely, and therefore speaketh for the ministers of our time, that stand for reformation. *Pandochus* is an In-keeper in Greeke, and it is as much as to saye, a receiuer of all, and a soother of euerye man for his gaine; so that the persons in their nature thus considered: it remaineth that thou wouldest be intreated by me, whosoever thou art, to whom this little booke shall come, that thou wouldest in reading of it, set al affection aside, and neither belieue it, because on[e] of thy disposition did pen it, neither yet reiect it, because it was not composed by one of thy complexion; but consider well of the speeches vttered by euerye partie, and compare them with the practize of the worlde, and then looke what it is, that so

hardeneth Pandochus in atheism, Demetrius in vsery, and Tertullus in papistrie; and you shall (I doubt not) plainly perceiue, that the cause of all vngodlines so to raigne in euery place, and of the papists so to increase in strength and number, ariseth from our byshops and their vnlawfull gouernement; on the other side, look into the answers that Diotrephes maketh to Paul, and the counsel that Tertullus giueth to Diotrephes, and compare them with the practize of the B. in all poyntes, and you shall euidently perceiue that the cause why the gospel beeing so longe preached, hath taken so little root, ariseth from them onely, forsomuch as they haue weakened the knees of the true preachers, and euery way crossed them in all good actions. I haue touched thinges verie briefly of purpose, partly for that they who see what reformation meaneth, wil quickly vnderstand my meaning, and partly for that I would haue him that vnderstandeth not mine intent and would be resolued, to confer at large of it with some godly learned of his further instruction. Now I pray thee, let me intreat thee to think thus of mine intent; namely, that it is not of purpose to disgrace any man, albeit we ought to disgrace them, by whom the sonn of God is disgraced: but especially to this end, that euery man in his calling, might see howe he is or hath beene made an instrument to do harme, or for want either of knowledge, or prouident forecast, being ouertaken vnder collour of right and law, and lastly that we all seing the subtleties of the deuill against the kingdom of Christ Iesus, may first of al returne to God by speedy repentance, from the wickednes that wee haue in our hands, which in deede is the cause of this curse vpon vs; and then praye vnto his Maiestie, that he would detect the craftie subtilties of all his aduersaries, reueale the trueth to those that are seduced and abused, and erect the kingdome of his sonne Christ Iesus amongst vs, by the forme of that discipline that his owne worde

expresseth vnto vs.

## *The state of the Church of England.*

**Diotr**



Ine hoste, I pray you staye with me and my friende M[aster]. Tertullus, and tell vs some newes, for wee are lately come out of Scotland, and would heere before wee com nere London, in what state things doe stande, lest we comming on a sudden, speede as ill as we did at Edenborough, and S. Andrewes.

**Pandoch** Good my Lorde, I can tell you no great newes, for I go not so farre as to Church once in a moneth, but if I doe happen to go, one of my seruants doth come for me in all haste, to make merrie with one gweste or other, but there bee two in this house, that came from London, if it please your L[ordship]. I wil intreat one of them to come vnto you, it may be he can tell you some thing.

**Diotr** I pray thee doe so? you are welcome my friend, I vnderstand that you came from London, I pray you tell me some newes, for I hauing bene in Scotlande some space, haue not hearde muche of the state of England.

**Demet** My L[ord]. I heare no newes, but that our byshoppes (Gods blessing haue their harts for it) say prettie well, by one and by one, to these precise and hot preachers, for some of them are put to silence, some of them close prisoners in the Gate-house, some wel loaden with yrons in the White-lyon, and some in the Clinke, I hope to see them one day all put downe, for they trouble the whole land, and are neither contented to obey the authority of these holy fathers, neither yet will suffer vs to liue as our fore-fathers haue done before

vs, and here is a good fellowe, which I met yesterday vpon the way, who is iust of their opinion.

**Pandoch** I know not what religion he of whom you speake is of, but I am sure that hee hath many of our preachers quallities, for which I like him the wors[e], for since our preacher came, I haue not gained halfe so much as heretofore I did, but if I had but euerye night suche a guest, within one moneth all men would refraine from comming to mine house, and so I might beg.

**Diotre** Why mine hoste, what are his quallities, that you dislike so much?

**Pandoch** What? I will tell you, as soone as euer he lighted, my man that tooke his horse, chanced but to swear by God, and he was reproouing of him by and by, and a gentleman cannot come all this euening, in any place where he is, but he is finding faut with him for one thing or another: and when he should go to supper with other gentlemen, sitting at the lower ende of the table, he would needs saye grace (forsooth) before and after supper, and so stay them that were hungrie, from their meat the longer, and from their sleepe afterward: but one wiser then the rest, serued him in his kind, for he started vp, saying my father had no grace before me, neither wil I haue any.

**Diotr.** I perceiue he is one of these peeuish Puritanes, that troubled the Churche, when my friend and I went into Scotland, haue not the bishops yet suppressed them, neither by countenance, nor by authoritie?

**Tertul** Suppressed? No my Lord, a friende of mine writt vnto mee, that one of theyr Preachers said in a pulpit, hee was perswaded that there were 10000. of them in Englande, and that the number of them encreased daily in euerie place of all estates and degrees.

**Diotreph** I am sorie for that, I maruel that you neuer told me of it?

**Tertul** I did of purpose conceale it, least, together with your ill successe that you, and so consequently I, had in Scotland, your grieffe should haue bene agrauated, for I know how that the growing of them doth grieue you.

**Diotr.** You may be sure that it would haue grieued me, if you had told mee that, when you tolde mee of the increasing of your friendes the papistes, I thinke I should haue died for sorow.

**Tertul** I knowe that, therefore did I keepe it cloase, but if newes had come in like manner, of the growing of the Catholique religion vnto your man, that puritane knaue, hee would haue tolde it you at the firste, and so haue molested you the more.

**Diotre** You say well, and I perceiue it is better to haue a papist, then a puritane in an house, and more charitie to doe for them.

**Pandoch** Your Lorshippe asked me for some newes, but your speeche of your being and ill successe that you hadd in Scotland, giueth me occasion, to enquire of you (if I may bee so bolde) some Scottish newes.

**Diotr.** Ah my hoste, though it grieue mee to thinke vpon it, yet it easeth my stomacke to tell it. The puritanes in Scotland, hadd got vp their discipline, and vtterly ouerthrowen all the soueraigntie of byshopps, by which they preuailed so mightilie, that wee feared our fall in England shortly to ensue, wherevpon I was sent together with this my friend, who came out of Fraunce into England, to goe and seeke the subuersion of their generall assemblies, and the rest of their iurisdiction, wherein I preuailed a while, but now it is worse, then euer it was.

**Pandoch** How came it to passe, that when you had gotten some ground, you helde it not?

**Diotr** Because the whole land cried out for Discipline againe, and the noble men so stiffely did stand to it; and lastly, the Ministers that came home from England, dealte so boldly with the king that I was vtterly cast out wythout all hope, euer to do any good there again, and nowe I make homewarde in haste, least I loose all there also, but I praye you helpe me to speake with that puritane, I shall learne more by him, because he is better acquainted with the cause then eyther of you.

**Demetri** Hee may soone knowe more in that case then I, for I promise you, mine onely studie is in my counting house, to see my money, and when eache parcell is due vnto me.

**Pandoch** And I meddle with nothing but my In-keeping, as for these controuersies and this Scripturing, I neuer trouble my selfe with it, but I will go to him to see whether I can get him to come to your Lordship, but before I goe, I must beseech you to saye nothing to him as



from me, for you know, I must be frendly to all, least I leese my custome, and driue away some of my guests.

**Diotr.** Great reason, for euerie man muste liue of his trade, neither must you tell him what I am.

**Pandoch** Sir, heere bee certaine gentlemen in another chamber, that hering of your comming from London, would gladly speake with you.

**Paul** Whence are they, can you tell ?

**Pandoch** They are English men, but they are new come out of Scotland.

**Paul** I am willing to goe to them, though it be late, and so much the rather, because I long to heare some good news from thence.

**Pandoch** Here is the Gentleman that you desired to speake withall.

**Diotre** You are welcom my friend, I was desirous to speak with you for that I perceiue you came from London, I praye you can you tell vs any good newes ?

**Paul** No surely, for I am a verie ill obseruer of such things.

**Diotr.** You seeme to be a minister, can you tell me what good successe my Lordes the bishops haue in their proceedings ?

**Paul** They haue too good successe, they wax worse and worse, they growe euen to the heighth of their iniquity, so that I hope their kingdom wil not stand long ?

**Diotr.** Why sir: what do they, that they offend you so grieuously ?

**Paule** They stop the mouth of the sheepeheards, and set at libertie the rauening wolues, and turne the foxes among the lambes.

**Diotr** I muste desire you to expresse youre minde more plainely, for you seeme to bee so possessed with discontentment that it maketh you to speak (as it were) snatchingly ?

**Paul** I confesse my selfe discontented, and greatly griued, but yet not so much, as to make me lesse able to expresse my minde.

**Diotr.** I pray you therefore, laye open your former speches that I may vnderstand your meaning ?

**Paul** My meaning is this, there are three abominations committed by them: The firste is, that they doe beare suche an enimitie against the kingdome of Iesus Christe, that they put to silence one after another, and will neuer cease (if God bridle them not) vntill they haue rooted out of the Church, al the learned, godly, and painfull teachers: The second is, that they enlarge the libertie of the common enemies the papists: The last is, that they commit the feeding of the flockes of Christe, vnto those that prey vpon them, and either cannot, or will not labour to reclaime the wandering sheepe. So that the conclusion that may bee gathered vpon their actions, must needes be the euersion and ouerthrow of the gospell, and so consequently the bringing in of popery and atheisme.

**Diotr.** They put none to silence, but the puritans, who do in deed more hurt then good.

**Paul** I know no puritanes, if there be any, it is meete that they be put to silence, But Sathan taught the papistes, so too name the ministers of the Gospell, and you are his instrument in continuinge the same terme.

**Diotr.** I meane them, that are not contented with the state, but mislike the gouernment of the Church, and woulde haue a newe forme of gouernement, which would marre all.

**Paul** Woulde you haue them contented with Anti-christian prelates, to be rulers of the spouse of Christ, when as the word of God hath prescribed expresly, another form direct contrary to that?

**Diotre** I am a doctor of diuinitie at the lest, and yet coulde I neuer read any thinge in the worde of God, contrarie to this gouernement, neither yet to speake of any other, but that the ordering of the Church is left to the discretion of the wise and learned.

**Paule** Yes, you haue read it, if God had giuen you eies to see it: But if your studie had bene principally to aduaunce Gods glorie and benefite his Church, (which you neuer aimed at, but rather preferred vaine glorie and gaine) you shoulde easily haue found it. I pray you therefore, when you come to London, see if you can get these books: the *Ecclesiastical Discipline: a lerned discourse of Ecclesiastical gouernement: The Counterpoison: a Sermon on the 12, to the romans*, and

M. Cartwri[gh]tes last reple: some of which bookes haue beene extant this dozen yeres, and yet are none of them answered, and you shall finde it otherwise.

**Diotr** If their Lordsh[ips]. were taken away, the credit of the Gospell would fall to the ground, and men would not regard it.

**Paule** Nay, their iurisdiction maketh it not to bee regarded, for the simplicitie of the gospell, cannot matche with suche outward pompe, it was of more credit before their calling was hatched, then cuer it was since.

**Diotr.** I hope neuer to see them ouerthrown, and I thinke they wil neuer giue ouer their bishoppricks?

**Paul** I am of your minde, that they wil neuer giue them ouer, they haue suche experience of the gaine of them, the vse of the bagg, preuailed so much with one of the Apostles, that rather then hee woulde lacke money he would sell Iesus Christ himselfe.

**Diotr.** You speak too vnreuerently and vncharitably of these holy fathers.

**Paul** Sure I haue so much experience of their impious dealing, that I canne no better esteeme of them in respecte of their places, then of the enemies of God, but as they be men, I wil not ceas[e] to pray for them, that God would open their eyes, that they may see their sins, and repent, whiche is the best way to deale charitably with them.

**Diotre** I pray you tell me why these men be put to silence, I am sure it is for their notorious misdemeamour.

**Paul** I will tell you wherefore some of them were put to silence, one had conference with a bishop about subscription, and he was restrained for that hee gaue his friende a copie of his conference, another because he taught that the Church of Antichrist was no parte of the Church of God, another because his prayers before and after sermons were too long, and such like.

**Diotre** A way, it is rather for not obseruing the book of common prayer, then for any such thing as you speake of.

**Paul** Indeed many are suppressed therfore but if any man will giue them their titles and authoritie, they will giue him leaue to vse his discretion wyth the book, as we see by experience, for they vse the booke and ceremonies as bridles to curbe them that kicke at their lordlines, which is the onely thing that they minde.

**Diotrep.** Well, I loue not to heare these reuerend fathers so abused, and therefore I praye you talke no more of it, but if it please you, you may depart.

**Paul** I am contented, onely let me request you this one thing, that for so much as God hath giuen you som[e] lerning, you woulde praye vnto God, to guyde you with his grace, that you abuse it not to your owne destruction, but imploye it to his glory, and the good of his Church

**Diotr** I thanke you for your good counsel, and so fare you wel, we will talke more in the morning.

**Paul** With a good will ; I praye God our talke may tend to a good end.

**Diotr.** M[aster]. Demetrius and mine host, howe like you this fellow ? is he not a sawcie merchant ? to presume thus to speake against those that were preachers before he was borne ? but this is the myserie of our nation, that euerye yoong boy will take vpon him to teache t<sup>h</sup>e ancient, and to reprove them, for that their greene heades thinke not to bee true ?

**Pandoch** Your Lordship saith verie well, I pray you forget not to vrge him with that in the morning : For it muste needes make him mute.

**Demet** I promise you, he is a bolde fellowe, it is no maruaile if suche as hee is, doe stand stiffe against vs that be vnlearned, seeing they be so bolde with you, I tell you, he tooke me vp as if I had bin but a kitchin boye, and all because I saide I liued by my money, and was of no other trade, calling me caterpillar, thief, and murtherer, and saide plainly, that he that robbed in Stan-gate-hole, was an honester man then I.

**Diotre** You must take heed, that you do not oppresse your brother too muche, but as for these fellowes, it is their manner to be so bitter and sharpe, that they do euer with their preaching, more hurte then good.

**Demet.** I hope you wil course him to morow for it ; but I pray you my L[ord]. let me haue a little talke between you and me, of a matter that now commeth in my minde ; this man that is with you, and went and came in your company, what is he ?

**Diotrep.** To be plaine with you he is a papist.

**Demet** Papists are enemies to the Queenes religion and lawes; I do therefore much marvail, that he should be put in trust by the byshops?

**Diotre** The cause is this, he light into the familiaritie of one of our friendes, who confuted a booke called the *Abstract*, and helped him so painefully with reasons out of the Rhemishe Testament, and other such like writers, to confute the Puritans, that he was thought a fit man aboute all other of his religion, to goe with me.

**Demetri** Why? could you not haue had another of your religion, but you muste needes haue a papist your assistant?

**Diotr.** No no, if I had not had a papist with me, I could neuer haue looked to haue preuailed.

**Demetri** Why so? I pray you tel me the reason of that.

**Diotr** Because our dignities and gouernement, commeth wholly and euery part thereof from the Pope, and is ruled and defended by the same canons, wherby his popedome is supported. So that if I had wanted their helpes, I had had none authoritie, eyther from God or man, no helpe either by reason or learning, whereby I could haue bene furthered.

**Demetri** Why did you not rather take some doctour of the Arches, to go with you?

**Diotreph** That was consulted vppon before I went, but it was not thought meet, because the most of them woulde neuer deale in that lawe at home, but onely because they knowe not else howe to liue, and therefore it was feared that they would not be sufficientlie diligent in a matter that concerneth others. And for the rest (who in deed) be the same men they were in Queen Maries time, we durst not carrie anie of them from home, for none defend our kingdome thorowly but they.

**Demet.** Me thinks this man should be an vnfit assistant, for he be a right papist, he will labor to erect the popes kingdom, and so crosse you.

**Diotr** No question but hee did so, and that made for vs, for all be it wee woulde if wee might, of the twaine, keepe rather the protestantes religion with our dignities then the other, yet had we rather change our religion, then to forgo our priuiledges: this I tel you between you and me, but I would haue it go no further?

**Demetri** Do the old popish doctors stand you in such

gret steed, me think you might haue had learned lawyers for euerye place before this time, and haue turned them out?

**Diotre** It is true, but we haue retained them of purpose (man) for we can beare, I tel you, with their religion, so that they do beare vp our authoritie; doe you not see likewise, that we haue reserued many popish prists in the ministry, wherof diuers doe yet remaine, which wee haue done vpon special consideration; to wit, lest there should bee too many learned, not one whereof wil stand to vs, saue onely that they either haue, or look to haue better preferment, or liue more easilie then S. Paules Epistles wil allow them.

**Demetri** I haue bin bolde to trouble your L[ordship]. I will now leaue you for this time, and wil come vnto you in the morninge, to breakfast.

**Diotr.** You shall be welcome vnto me at all times, for I perceiue you are none of them that fauour the puritans?

**Pandoch** My L[ord]. your breakfast is ready, wil you haue them come vnto you that were here yesternight.

**Diotr** I would haue him that taried yesternight so late, for hee is a verye honest gentleman and a quiet, but in any case let not the puritane come vntil breakfast be done, for he is to[o] precise: I must needes be mery, and if he be here, he wil not let to reprooue vs, if we do but fortune to swear at vnawares, so that I shal be a feard of him in euery word I speak

**Pandoch** Here is but simple cheare this morning, because it is fasting-day.

**Diotr** M[aster]. Tertullus wil eat no eggs to day: wil you M[aster]. Demetrius?

**Demetri** Yea by S. Marie, I am a protestant, for I loue to eat flesh on the Friday?

**Diotr.** It is wel saide, but I pray you, thinke not ill of M[aster]. Tertullus for it, for Saynte Paule hath taught vs, that we that eat, must not iudge them that eat not: for we being strong, must beare with the infirmities of the weake.

**Demetri.** You promised yester-night, to sende for the puritane, to talke further with him, I pray you do so, for I would haue him taunted thorowly?

**Diotrep.** By my trothe I had forgotten him, mine host cal him.



**Pandoch** Here is the gentleman you willed me to call?

**Diotr.** You are welcome, this Gentleman M[aster]. Demetrius telleth me that you and hee had great controuersie on the way yesterday, and he is very desirous that I might heare your reasons, and giue my iugement of them for his satisfaction.

**Paul** Sir, I saide nothing to him but the truth out of the word of God, in condemning of vsurie, by which he sayde he liued, and shewed him the horriblenes of the sinne, the inconueniences temporal that come of it in the commonwealth, and the iudgements of God against the practisers thereof.

**Diotrep.** Vsurie in deed in some sort is vnlawfull, but it seemeth that you dealt not with the man, as meaning to win him, but rather by such sharpenes as might harden him.

**Paul** Surely my desire was to winne him, and therefore my purpose in reasoning was, to lay open the sinne vnto him, and the cause why I dealt somewhat roundly, was this. He confessed the scriptures that I alleadged, but so cauelled and wrangled against the cleare light therin contained, that it appeared vnto me his purpose was, not onely to abide an vsurer, but also to iustifie it by the word of God.

**Diotre** Such chollericke fellowes as you doe mar all, for you cannot deale mildelie and so you trouble the conscience, and disquiet the minde of the weake.

**Paul** His conscience must be troubled by launcing, before that euer his soul can be cured.

**Diotre** Then I perceiue you like wel of them that pre[a]ch the law, so much as they do.

**Paule** Yea, or els shoulde I not like of bringing men vnto Christ, which can neuer be vntil they be humbled by the law, and made pore therby to receue the gospel

**Diotrep.** Doe you not also like of the preaching of predestination?

**Paul** Yea, or els should I dislike of preaching the trueth, for it is a part of Gods reuealed will.

**Diotreph** So do not I in these daies, when there be so manye weake ones, I thinke it to be a very break-necke of all religion.

**Paul** I haue hearde of freewil men that haue saide so, but I neuer heard [a] man of learning affirme it, but one that was a

byshoppe in a Sermon, but his wordes were no lesse than blasphemie, and so are yours, and al they that say or think the same are guiltie of no lesse sinne.

**Diotr.** Are you a preacher and speake so of these reuerend fathers, it may be it was your owne ordinary to whom you are sworne, to giue canonical obedience.

**Paul** It was the byshop indeed, who vsurped ouer the place where I dwelt, but I neuer sware him any obedience.

**Diotr.** Wel, wee are gone from our matter.

**Paul** And I praye you let vs tarrie a little longer from it, to consider one thing before we doe returne, whiche the talking of the byshops bringeth into my head.

**Diotr.** What is that ?

**Paul** Surely, that I thinke you are either a B. or els brought vp in the schoole of a B. and woulde faine bee one, for you doe vse your selfe verie like, as I haue knowne them do.

**Diotre** Wherein ?

**Paul** In this, that whereas we reasoning of vsurie, wherin your conscience is clear with me, you are contented for the fauor of him, and for that you like not me, to maintain the same, and to disgrace the truth, because of the partie that defendeth it, who is not according to your humor.

**Diotrep.** You may bee ashamed to speake so of these holy fathers, I dare saye that none of them euer did so.

**Paul** If mine eares had not heard it, mine eies not sene, and mine own person had not felt the experience therof, I should haue bene of your minde, for I once liked them, and their verie wicked dealings made me looke into the lawfulness of their calling, which I see now to be meere Antichristian, but shall I tell you one example among many ?

**Diotr** I am willing to heare you, but I can neuer be brought to thinke so.

**Paule** Yet will I tell it you, that you maye thinke of it, I was accused vnto the B. of suche crimes as were most slaunderous and false, whervpon I desired him to send for mine accusers, and see how they could prooue them, that I (if I were conuicted) might be punnished, or els they might haue the reward that molesters of the preachers of the Gospell do deserue: he graunted it me, and appoynted a day, which being come, rather then I (whom he thought not to fauour his authoritie) should haue any helpe at his handes, hee made

mee a sleeuelesse aunswere and sent me away. Thus are byshoppes contented to bee bawds vnto all kinde of sinners, rather then they wil any way seeme to further the ministerie of those whom they fauour not, and euen thus doe you: for your hatred vnto my person, maketh you to stand with that monstrous vsurer, but take heede of it, for God will not be mocked, he seeth your dealing, and wil iudge you accordingly, howsoeuer you can pretend the contrarie to the world.

**Diotr** As for mine owne parte, I passe not what you speake, but let me aske you one question concerning these holy fathers, and that is this, what reason is there that they should do any good in any respect vnto any of you, seing they knowe you to bee professed foes vnto their dignities?

**Paul** Because they taking them-selues to be the fathers of the Church, shoulde haue a regarde to the good cause, and defend it, without respect of persons.

**Diotr** No sir, I see no reason in that, for aboue all things, they must looke to themselues, without whose authoritie the Gospel would be troden vnder foote: and therefore they may defend no cause nor person further then may stand with their owne safetie.

**Paul** Suppose that were lawful, what hinderance is this to themselues, to see them that bee common and knowne drunkards, vsurers, adulterers, and profane persons punished, for that they are railers at mee, for teachinge the trueth of religion, and reproouing sharply their godles conuersation.

**Diotr** Oh you are a simple man, it is great hindrance, for they can doe nothing in defence of you, though it be in matters wherein you and they do agree, but it tendeth to the derogation of their owne estimation, such is the contarietie betwixt your building and theirs.

**Paul** By that meanes shal we be so wearied with aduersaries, that wee shall neuer haue any hope to doe good, but euen to be constrained to giue ouer the ministerie.

**Diotr.** I would I might see that once come to passe, we haue labored for it hitherto, and neuer could attaine vnto it, neither will the Church euer be in quiet vntill you be all turned out.

**Paul** So thought the Sodomites, that they should neuer be wel, so long as Lot was in their city, but when he was gone, fire from heauen consumed them: but I pray you tel

me, if all wee were turned out, how should the people be taught, for it is euident, that none els (almost) maketh a conscience of his duetie that way?

**Diotreph** You think teaching would fail without you: No sir, teaching woulde bee more regarded then it is.

**Paule** Shew me how that can be?

**Diotr.** We would haue none to preache aboue once a moneth, and then should he do it profoundly, and confirme his matter out of the fathers, and humane writers substantially, whereas you taking vpon you to prech three or four times a week, must not only of necessity, handle your matters very rawly, but also breed loathsomnes in the people.

**Paul** Surely my heart waxeth cold, and my flesh trembleth to heare you speake so monstrously: doth preaching consist in quoting of doctors, and alleading of poets and philosophers, in what part of his commission hath a minister warrant so to do: you finde fault with our often preachinge, because your selues cannot so doe, but if you would leaue off your vaine glorie, in hunting after promotion, and your couetousnesse in adding murther vnto theft, I meane liuing to liuing, and betake your selues to studie and prayer, bending your whol[e] endeour to the glory of God, and edifying of his people, you should see the blessing of God so abundantly vpon you, that you shold preach foure times euery weeke, with more fruit then you can doe now foure times euery yeere, for while you bee minded as you are. the lords iugement is vpon your gifts, and his curse vpon your labours, that you appeare ridiculous euen vnto children. And whereas you say often preaching cloyeth the people, you shewe your selfe plainly to haue no feelinge in the sweetnes of the worde of God: for it is so delightfull vnto the childe of God, that the more he heareth and readeth it, the more desirous is he to proceed therein, it is the propertie of the vngodly, to whom the word is folishnes to be cloyed with the same.

**Diotreph** You shal not be my teacher, neyther will I learne at your hands, I know well inough what I haue to do?

**Paul** I do not speak as a teacher vnto you, but in brotherly loue doe admonishe you, and if you refuse mine, or rather the councell of the holy Ghost vttered by me, you doe but as they doe, whose condition you defend, I pray God forgiue it you, and laye it neither to your nor their charge.

**Diotr.** They are great moates in your eyes, they know better what to do then you can tel them, they see what is meet for the Church, being ancient graue men of long experience, better then a sorte of yong boyes start vp yesterday.

**Paul** Though some of vs be but yong, yet al are not so, for we haue som more ancient then they haue any, we haue of al ages and degrees in schools to compare with the best of them, and yet yeares, and humane learning, and experience, must not carrie away the matter, but the euidence of truth in the old and new testament, and as for experience, they haue none, for they were first brought vppe in the vniuersities, then became Deanes, and suche iollie fellowes, and now are made Mitred Lordes, so that they canot tell what it is to traine vp a people to the gospel, and reclaime them from ignorance and sinne, for they neuer stooped so low as to labour therein, but if they had euen my experience, they would sing another song, for before I came into the haruest to worke, I liked their hierarchy wel inough, but when I laid it to my labours to further them, I found that they could not possiblie stand together.

**Diotre** Did the Gospell euer so flourishe in England as it doth now at this present?

**Paul** No surely, God be praised for it, and encrease it more and more, but to what end do you speake it?

**Diotr** To prooue that the authoritie and wise gouernment of the byshops hath had good successe.

**Paule** I thought so, but it is (if you woulde look into the matter with a single eie) cleane contrarye, for the good that hath bin done, the Lord hath brought it to passe by these men whome you despise, and by that course whiche the bishops were euer enemies vnto.

**Diotr.** How can you proue that I pray you, let me hear your reasons that moueth you to think so, for I am perswaded of the cleane contrarie?

**Paul** It serueth not in this case what you are perswaded of, for a bishopruck hath so blinded your eies, and corrupted your iudgement, that you like nothing but that which agreeth therewithall, but I will shew you my reasons that maketh me of that iudgement, and if you look equallie into the matter, or aske anye indifferent man, you shall see it to bee so.

**Diotr.** Shewe mee them, for I long to heare them, I am sure they be wise stuffe?

**Paul** Firste for the men, what congregation, what towne or people is there in this land, that haue bene in the raigne of our soueraign Q Elizabeth, conuerted to the gospel, that those men haue not bene the instruments to perform, whome the bishops haue continuallie persecuted, and for the courses that haue been taken, and which God hath greatly blessed, whiche of them haue not bene ouerturned by the B. and the preachers put to silence, assoone as euer the gospell began to appeare? on the other side, tell me if you be able, of any such effect of the ministerie of a B. or bishoply preacher, in anie place of this land, though it hath bene vninterrupted these twenty years, as you shal see in many places by the other sort, euen in few moneths nowe and then, so that the matter is not onely cleare vnto all that will weigh it in the ballance of equitie, but vnto me, if I had no other reason, it is an euident profe that they take the right way, whose labours the Lord doth so blesse, and contrariwise, the curse of God is on the other, for their indirect dealing.

**Diotr** Thus you imagin, because you please your selfe in your owne peeuish waies, but tel me who are of your opinion? euen a few puritans like your selfe.

**Paul** Cal vs as you list, Christ was neuer the worse, for that his enemies called him a seducer and a deceiuer of the people, but I am sure, (all for the moste part that feare God) of euerye degree and calling are of the same minde, sauing those whome you by your subtilties haue bewitched.

**Diotr.** You wil haue but a fewe then in this lande that feare God, and so you will condemne the rest, which is the manner of you all.

**Paul** I condemne none, I wishe that not a few, but al (if it were possible) did truely feare God, but I woulde haue you learne of Christe with mee, who maye without disgrace bee your teacher, to try the tree by the fruite, and seeke me out that man which maketh a conscience of sinne, and hath a care to liue as a christian, that is not of the same mind with vs: on the other side, marke what kinde of men they bee, that are the patrons and defenders of the bishops, and you shal see them to be men that make no reckoning of sinne, but haue their wayes fraughted with all impietic, if they bee tried with the touchstone of Gods word.



**Diotr.** Wel then you confesse yet, that the general sway goeth on our side, and so long as it is so, we care not.

**Paul** I wil easily grant it, and so haue they from the beginning, and shal to the ending of the world (against al goodnes) but I wil tel you one thing euen of them, that few of them like you in deed.

**Diotr.** How can these two stande together, many are with vs, and few like of vs, they be meare contrary?

**Paul** I wil tel you how, the papist is on the B. side, because he can find shilter vnder them to hide his idolatry. The atheist is tooth and naile for them, because by them he inioyeth carnal liberty, the man of most notorious life defendeth them, because he can from them, redeem the corporal punishment of his sins by mony, but non[e] of these like of them indeed. The first, because they keep the possession of the seats of their popishe prelates, the other, because they are so greedie of their courts for money, that euen euerye man crieth shame on them, who then do loue them indeed, and stick to them, onely these three hangbies, that depende vpon them and liue by them, as their chaplins and seruants: the Cananit[e]s (I should say) the canonists: and such ministers as either cannot, or wil not labour in their function, to conuert soules vnto God, so that they doe stinke in the nostrels both of God and man, especially in these three last yeres of their tyrannie, that I do verily hope their sinne is very neere the heighth, and the Lord in mercie will ease vs of them shortly.

**Diotre** You are a strange fellow, and please your selfe with wonderful persuasions, but I pray you tel me what maketh you saye, they are nowe more hated, seeing that in these last yeeres, the best means haue bene vsed to establish the ministerye in a consent and conformitie vnto them?

**Paul** Let the meanes be as good as it will, I praise God for the successe of it, howsoever the contrary was ment.

**Diotre** Why praise you God for it, I am sure you neuer liked of it?

**Paul** The meanes in deede, I neuer liked, neither I thinke, did euer any reasonable man, but it being a brittle wal, daubed with vntempered mortar, had that successe that such sandie foundations do deserue.

**Diotrep.** Why man, what successe had it, I am sure the

greatest part, yea euen of your forwardest men subscribed : and those that did not, are not like to tary in the Church very long.

**Paul** Wel, sooth vp your selfe in your own perswasion, and brag of the multitude of subscribers, if it were to do againe, hundreds of them would neuer doe it, because they were subtilly circumuented and deceiued (they meaning wel, and tendring the peace of the Church) but (being now sorie for it) wil stand in defence of the cause (I dare say for them) with their brethren, euen vnto death : So that the bish[ops]. haue but their names written : And yet, that (if they would also shew the protestations, and conditions, by which they were induced, and wherof the B[ishops]. made allowance) it would plainly appeare, that either they dealt wickedly to admitte exceptions, if the articles were true, or more vngodly if they wer[e] not, euer to attempt any such matter.

**Diotre** Tel mee nowe, what is that wherein you seeme to reioyce, as though the issue of it fel on your side ?

**Paul** It is euen this, that the bish[ops]. straight dealing, made men looke so narrowly into the cause, and to seeke the reasons on both sides, for their owne satisfaction, that there are at this day (I am fully perswaded) ten times as many of all degrees, that are fully perswaded of the matters of reformation as were before, so gracious God is vnto his seruants, to make euen their enemies to do them good, and so tender is hee ouer his owne cause and glorie, that he wil make the very meanes intended to oppugne it, bee notable wayes to aduance it.

**Diotre.** I do not beleeeue you, albeit I cannot controlle you in it, because I haue not bene in England of late, but what wil come of it, if it be so ?

**Paul** Euen the gouernment of the church, by the rules of that Discipline whiche Christe himselfe hath prescribed in his word, which I do perswade my selfe to see before it bee long.

**Diotr** You woulde bee examined before a iustice and punished, for saying you hope to see an alteration, you cannot be the Q[ueen's]. friende that thus looke for innouations in the state.

**Paule** Examine me when you will, and punish mee as God shall giue you leaue, I will be tried to be so far the Q[ueen's].

friend, as that I wishe so wel vnto her as vnto mine owne soule, and al that I saye or desire, is not to inuert any thing in the state that is good, but to haue the corruptions therof remooued, and her Maiestie more honoured before God and men, in drawing more neere vnto her God, in aduancing the kingdome of his sonne more gloriously within her dominions.

**Diotr** These be but feigned words, I do not belieue that you speake as you thinke?

**Paul** It is because you measure me by your selfe, who in deede care neyther for Q[ueen]. Countrie, nor your owne soule, but for a byshoppricke, but I thanke God in Christ, my conscience beareth me witnesse, that they bee all verye deare vnto me.

**Diotr.** Away thou rayling hypocrite, I will talke with thee no longer, if I catche thee in London, I will make thee kiss the Clinke for this geare.

**Paul** In deede the Clynke, Gate-house, White-lyon, and the fleet, haue bin your onely argumentes whereby you haue proued your cause these many yeeres, but you shall preuaile no longer, for your wickednesse is made manifest vnto all men, which God will shortly repaye into your owne bosomes seuen folde, but pray to God to giue you repentance, that those things hapen not vnto you.

**Diotr.** Pray thou for thy selfe, and care not for mee? I knowe well inough what I haue to do without thy counsel, but it is your maner to teach all men?

**Tertul** Out vpon him, what a fellow is this my Lord: I neuer hearde such a one in my life,

**Diotr** I can tell you he gesseth shrewdlie, I perceiue that our course whiche wee haue taken, and our intent in our actions, haue bene descried by one means or other.

**Tertul** My Lorde, it was a thing obserued in the Puritans at Geneua, and in France, while I was in Rhemes, that we coulde neuer inuent any practize, for the furtheraunce of the Catholicke religion, but they knew it often before wee put it in execution, so that for the moste part, they preuent all our determinations.

**Diotrep.** Howsoever it be, I am wonderfullie sorie that they seeme so to triumphe, and that our matters haue no

better successe, it behoueth vs to looke about vs, we will speed our selues to London, to take some way in hast, least it be too late, in the meane while, I pray you tel me (for you must be my counsellor when al is done) what way you thinke best to be taken ?

**Tertul** I will doe the best I can, but I must first request one thing of you before I ioine to helpe you.

**Diotrep.** What is that? if it be not vnreasonable, you may assure your selfe of it, for you know, that I haue neuer bin strait laced againste you, or anye of your friends.

**Tertul** I doubt not of it, but how can I haue it before I aske it of you? you knowe, that we receiued letters from England, that there were very hard lawes made this last Parliament against the Catholiks: this is it therefore I must request, that you would vse meanes that the rigour of them be not inforced, for you knowe that wee haue manye both in Court and countrie, that shall else bee in great daunger.

**Diotr** I am very well contented to doe so, but what way shall I take to doe it?

**Tertul** Surely, suche a way as shall also make greatly for your owne cause, and that is this, complaine of the domesticall foes the puritans, and say, that they be woorse then we, and that you shall neuer preuaile against vs, vntill firste they be suppressed, and desire that wee may be let alone for a time, and that al men would bend their forces against them.

**Diotr.** This is excellent, I am verye willinge to do this, for it wil helpe forward our owne cause: nowe go on, and tell mee what is to be done further?

**Tertul** The first thing you must take in hand, must be the suppression of those preachers in London, and in other countries, that be of most speciall note, for their forwardnes against you, and you must do it very wisely: that is, you may not suppress them all at once, neyther all of them in a long time, for you must take heede that the world do not conceiue opinion of you, to be enemies to the Gospel, for then haue you no way but to turne wholie vnto vs.

**Diotr** That will be a verye good waye, but how shal we haue good matter against them, for their liues are thought to be very vpright, and they haue learned of late to be more pollitike then heretofore, for if they speak against any thing established, they doe it so cunningly, that aduantage cannot be taken against them by law?

**Tertul** Neuer doubt of that, was there euer any man that ment to beat a dogg, but he could easily finde out a staffe to doe it, you muste in this case preferre your safetie before your credite, or the estimation of anye that belongeth vnto you?

**Diotr.** Yea, but shew me some perticulars, for I promise you, I see not how to doe it?

**Tertul** You must be sure to let none preach at Paules crosse, but they of whom you haue experience to like well of you, and you muste giue them instructions before hand, that they inuey mightily against the reformation that your aduersaries desire, and there wil one or other of them speake against that, and so you may haue sufficient aduantage against them.

**Diotre** But these fellowes be verye sharpe to finde a faulte? what and if the matter which our friend preacheth be false, and so the other take occasion to confute it?

**Tertul** Then must you vrge him to defende that which he hath said, and so shal you haue more occasion to intrappe the aduersarie.

**Diotrep.** But in so doing, he whome we set on worke shall lose his credit.

**Tertul** what and if he doe, do you compare his credit with the waight of your byshopricks? there is no comparison?

**Diotr** You saye true, but what if it shall fall out, that the aduersarie be not blameworthy, neither in matter nor maner?

**Tertul** If he maintaine the controuersie, it is sufficient cause to put him to silence thogh he haue the better part, for you must maintain the peace of the church

**Diotr** But this is not all, for how shal we do for the courte, that is the place, whiche aboue all we must fortifie, or els we are gone?

**Tertul** In deede there is great care to be had of it, and there be many wayes to preuent vs there, but we will doe what we can in it. First you must take heed from time to time, what chaplains be put to the Q[ueen]. seeing they are the teachers of the whole court, namelie, that they be eloquent of toong, and good companions, not too precise in their conuersation.

**Diotr.** It is verie true, for they may els mar all, I haue hearde some of them speake daungerouslye, euen before her Maiestie.

**Tertul** Therefore you must take heede, that they be such as can be contented with the course of the worlde, and then if they happen to speake home now and then (as it is a thing incident vnto a rethorician to be girding) the courtiers will neuer regard his wordes, because they see hee walketh not according to that himselfe.

**Diotre** But I am afraid that the court shal in time come to knowlege by their preaching, and then we are gone.

**Tertul** Feare not that? I read once in a book made by one of the puritans, that if a man would haue the blessing of God (as he termed it) vpon his hearing, he must submit himselfe to an ordinarie teacher, which thing (I promise you) is some-what: for I see, that the greatest knowlege of their religion, is in those places, and men that haue the same ordinarie teacher: and therefore keep them from anye more preaching, than on euerye Sunday, and that by diuers men, and I warrant you that gappe is stopped for euer.

**Diotr.** It is something that you say, and I will not forget to looke vnto it, but there is another thing which is greater then that, which is, howe we may keepe the Queene on our side, for I haue often feared her, seeing (there is no question) but she is grounded in the foundation of religion.

**Tertul** How haue you kept in with her all this while?

**Diotr.** Marie thus, we haue bene verie careful to take heede who bee admitted to preache before her in the Lent: There was one Deering, that by our neglygence preached once: if he and such as he, had but continued the whol[e] Lent, I am afraide, there would haue bene neuer a Lord Byshop left in England before the next Lent had come againe.

**Tertul** That I like very well, but that is not all, they wil make books, and it cannot bee but some of them do come to her hands, how will ye do if she like well of them, and the matter of Discipline in them?

**Diotr.** I promise you I cannot tel, you must helpe vs at that dead lift, or else we are vndone.

**Tertul** It is an easie matter to remedie, you must when you hear her speake of such things, make her beleue that al is wel, and that the drift of these men is not seene, for they woulde haue no Magistrate, and so would pul downe Kinges and Princes, and this wil be sure to preuaile, and make them to bee esteemed the vilest men alieue.



**Diotr.** Howe can I tell her that all is well, when I haue beene constrained to tell diuers preachers, that haue so sore vrged me with the text, that I could wish things were amended: but the Q[ueen]. wil not at any hand?

**Tertul** Surely, you are a very simple man, my Lord, (as though) the Queene heares what you saye to them, or they, what you saye to the Queene, you must still continue that course of excusing all thinges to her, for shee beleeueth that you are learned, and lay all the blame when you talke with them on her, (for you cannot ouerthrow them by Scripture) and so you shall not onelye keepe the Q[ueen]. on your side: but also make the preachers haue a tollerable opinion of you, that you would haue some things reformed if it lay in you.

**Diotr.** That is a notable way, I will alwaies obserue and practise that, but there be many noble men, counsellors, and great courtiers, that seeme to like wel of our aduersaries: how shall we do to retayne them, or to bridle them that are gone from vs?

**Tertul** That wil be somewhat hard to doe: yet the best counsell I can see meete to be taken, is this: you must shewe your selues very affectionate vnto those that desire glorie and estimation, you must winke at the vices of all of them whatsoever they be, and not reprove them, much lesse correct them; and those of them that bee needie, you must haue them to beg the Byshoppricks, Deanries, and such great places, and let them that shall haue them pay wel for them. So shall you not onelye haue them beholding vnto you for a benefitte, but keepe them still on your side, in hope to haue the like bootie another time.

**Diotr.** This is very well, and shal bee alwaies obserued: but there is yet an other thing, I heard of late, that there be verie manye gentlemen and gentlewomen in the Court, that like vs not, and it hath often times bene, that kings and princes, haue beene induced by information of meane menne, to doe that which greate counsellours coulde not beat into their heads, how shall we do to stay the mischiefe that may come of these?

**Tertul** Easilie, you must consider that they be of two sorts: either they be such as bee highly in fauour, or they bee common courtiers, if they bee of the former sort, You

must when you haue o[p]portunity to speake to her, tel her, that shee must take heede of such, and such persons: for though they be verie wise and discreet (bicause you must not dyslike anye that shee liketh) yet are they (being of a good nature) deceiued, by the fair pretence of Puritans, and for the other you may say they do great harm, by reason of their countenance in the court, with fauoring the Puritanes, so that it shall come to passe, by these informations, that the Queene shall not onely reiect their speeches, (if they vse any against you) but also take them vp roundly, that they shall not dare to speake any more.

**Diotr.** This pleaseth mee at the very heart, but how shall we doe to be sure at the Counsell table, for they are wise, and manye of them like vs but from the teeth outwarde, and we haue receiued many a foyle there?

**Tertul** That is euen the hardest of all: I know not in the whole world any way but one.

**Diotr.** Tell me that one, for if once I knowe it, we will say wel to it, but we wil bring it to passe?

**Tertul** This is it, in King Edwardes dayes ther wer[e] Bb. of the counsel: now if you could get (though it were but one) to be a counseller, then might he very wel, whensoever any matter of complaynt came, tell the Lords it pertained to ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and he and his brethren woulde heere it at large: so might he stop their mouthes quickly, and then hee might for fashions sake, heare the cause, but sende the plantifes away with a flea in their eare. And thus very quickly would all complaintes to the counsell cease.

**Diotr.** Oh moste notable deuce, all our friends in England shal fayle vs, but we will haue this take place: there is yet another thing that must bee helped, and that is the vniuersities, for they haue great priuiledges, and puritanes starte vp there euey day.

**Tertul** So there will do some do what you can, vnlesse you haue fire and fagotte, (which weapon of ours, you only lack, and none else) the best course that I knowe to be taken is this, let no Colledge chuse his owne head, but let him haue a Mandamus, procured from the Queene, and see that he be such a one as hath bene a non-resident before, and let him haue diuers liuings: and so that will draw with it formalitie. Let him be the Q[ueen's]. chapline, or at the least brought nowe

and then to preache in the Lent, and that will so set him a gog for a Bishoppricke, that you shalbe sure he wil suppress your aduersaries as they arise, and let the heades of the houses be admonnished from time to time, that they chuse none to be fellowes that be puritans, but such as like the state, and for the more assurance, let them be vrged to subscribe, yea, to sweare to your authoritie, before they be admitted.

**Diotrep.** Shall we go to Cambridge, and see this put in execution as we go?

**Tertul** Nay soft, be sure of the court, before you enterprise any other where, least you marre all.

**Diotr.** You say very well: nowe how shall we doe for the parsons and vickers, of the countrie that like vs not?

**Tertul** I promise you, those that be in alreadie, will say harde vnto you, and those that bee to come also, if they will subscribe to the articles, so far as they concerne faith and sacraments, the statute law fauors them too much.

**Diotr** But haue we no helpe by the canon lawe?

**Tertul** Yes, there is helpe inough in the canon law, if they will take it: but I will tell you one thing in your eare, which I would not for a thousand pounds were knowne abroad, and that is this: if the statute made in the 28. of H. oct. cap. 19 and the reuiuing of it in the 1. of Elizabeth, cap. 1. were thorowly sifted, I am afraid, not any cannon lawe would be found good law in England, and so what woulde become of you, and your authoritie? but I knowe to whome I do speake it.

**Diotr** What shall we doe then?

**Tertul** You must set a good face vpon the matter, and pretend law, both statute, and cannon, especially cannon, bicause they know not that, then depriue them of their liuings, which if they (though they know you do them wrong) could remedie by law, yet are not their purses so wel filled as yours, and so lack of liuing wil make them to yeeld at length, as we see it hath done many.

**Diotr.** But may we not well suppress them, for not vsing the surplice, and book of common prayer in all points?

**Tertul** I tell you there is no law in England to hurt them, for any thing that they haue done concerning the surplice, the Iudges hauing bene set on by you and vs, haue indited

them for it, but it is more then they can warraunt by lawe, and as for the booke it is cleare, that the stricke keeping of it was meant against vs, but wee thanke you for turning the edge to them from vs. Summum ius, must be your best help in this case, and looke that you practize it continuallie.

**Diotrep.** This will do very wel, how shal we do to keep the Ministerie from too much knowledge, for that must bee doone, though we pretend the contrary?

**Tertul** In deede, it is a thing that you must looke narrowlye vnto, and therefore take heed aboue al things, that the exercises of prophesie come not vp again, for you know what harme they did vnto you in euery place where they were kept, and especiallie where men were moderators therin, that had bene beyond the seas, to see the practise of them at Geneua, and you must beware of the exercises that ministers haue at their meetings: for you knowe, that in Leicester-shire, they furthered knowledge greatly.

**Diotre** But how shall we do with this, the exercise of prophesie is expresly set down in the 14. of the 1. to the Cor. and it is knowne that they whome you and we set on worke to gette it forbidden, confessed since that they knewe it not, but tooke it to be foretelling of things to come, and not expounding of the scriptures.

**Tertul** You must answere it as you do the rest of their reformation, the particulars whereof are expressed in the newe Testament: namely, that they were things onely for that time, and for them that helped you, what if they confessed their ignoraunce? you must stil accuse their exercises to bee vnlawful assemblies, and conuenticles to breed sectes and schismes, and your authoritie wil beare you out in al this and more to[o].

**Diotr.** But what shall wee doe to make the worlde beleeeue we would haue the ministry learned?

**Tertul** Make them first ministers, and then set them too schoole, enioyning them to get som[e] part of M[aster]. Nowels Catechism, or of Bullingers Decades by heart, and so you shall seeme to desire a learned ministerie, as wel as these reformers.

**Diotr.** Wee wil not faile to put this also in practize, is there anye more that you knowe, that may serue our turnes, for the further establishment of our dignities?

**Tertul** No nothing of any great waight, but it may be referred to some one of these pointes, but the particulars of euerye braunche are many, which your owne wisdome may easily looke vnto.

**Diotr** Then let vs go, for I long vntil I do set these things abroach.

**Tertul** Yet I pray you remember to do somthing for vs poore Catholikes, seeinge you stande by our helpe especially.

**Diotr.** Great reason we should doe so, or els were wee vngrateful creatures, but you must devise what must be done?

**Tertul** You knowe that some of vs be in prison, and others abroad, for those that are restrained, I pray you that they may haue the libertie of the prison, and their friendes to come too them, and when anye of them come before you, that you would deale fauourably with vs.

**Diotr** Your request is verye reasonable, for the first you shal see that your friendes shal haue the best chambers in euerye prison, and when anye puritane falleth into our handes, you shal see him haue the most stincking place that can bee found. Now when any of you, yea if you your self com[e] before vs, you must be content to let vs rayle on you, and call you traitors, and threaten you greuously, but you shalbe sure you shall sustaine small harme, if you receiue any, you must impute it to the times and not to vs.

**Tertul** I thanke your Lordship, let vs now be going, for we haue tarried too long in our lodging this morning.

**Diotre** Hee neuer tarrieth too long that is wel imployed, as we haue beene, it was the best morning that euer I spent.

**Demet.** How now mine host, what say you to these ioly fellowes, had not they notable talke?

**Pandoch** Yes sir, I haue learned of them, that that will do me good I hope.

**Demet** What is that?

**Pandoch** I haue learned howe to course our preacher, and hee shall be sure of it, and though it cost mee the price of a tunne of wine.

**Demetri** Why, what doth he that deserueth coursing?

**Pandoch** What? He setteth men together by the eares, the towne was neuer at quiet since he came, he teacheth

such doctrine as some doo like, and some not, and so they fall at variance.

**Demetri** I pray you tell me some particulars of the worst of all.

**Pandoch** This for one: our towne standeth on vittelling, because it is a thorow-fare, and he preacheth against good fellowship (which hee calleth drunkennesse) and against playing at cardes and tables, wherein, if he might haue his wil, I and my neighbors might go on begging within one tweiue-moneths, and he hath so preuailed, that I take not so much by foure poundes in a weeke, as I was woont to doe: yea I haue had ten shillings of one man in a weeke for drincke onelie, that will nowe scarce spend three, but I will looke vnto him.

**Demetri** Well mine host, deceiue not your selfe, I perceiue that you and I are in a wrong boxe, you are an enemy to the Preacher, because he speaketh against your vnlawfull gaine, and so was I yesterday with him that tooke the same course to amend me: and I thought he had spoken falsly, because he was a Puritan: and when I came to heare my matter debated, the bishop disallowed my course, and yet tooke my parte. And why? Because I might defend him in his vnlawfull calling. But I see their iugling wel inough, and if the manne, with whome I was so offended be not gone, I will talke further with him, for I perceiue that hee meant better vnto me than they did.

**Pandoch** I perceiue we shall haue a Puritan of you, if you would so faine speake with him, he is but newe gone out at the gate, you may ride after him: but as for our Preacher, I will in hand with him, because I cannot tel howe I shall else gaine my liuing, and maintain my selfe as heeretofore I haue doone.

*Dixi.*



## THE CONCLUSION.



Brethren, ye see by lamentable experience, howe iniuriouſlie the church of GOD in England is dealt withall, by taking away, and ſtopping the mouths of their faithful teachers, and by thruſting vpon vs vnlearned and vnſufficient menne, which neither haue wil nor abilitie, with whoſome barking to driue away the wolfe, but contrariwiſe dooth giue priuie encouragement vnto the enemye, to continue in his wickedneſſe, whereby the church of God is aſſailed moſt dangerouslie: and Sathan doth not ceaſe by al meanes poſſible, to ouerthrow that good worke which is begunne in England: and therefore it behooueth vs brethren, to looke about vs, and not to ſuffer the enemye to growe ſo ſtrong againſt vs, if by anie meanes wee may let and hinder his wicked enterpriſes. And now, my brethren, what is to bee done on our partes? Surelie I am one of the ſimpleſt of a thouſand, to giue aduiſe to proceede in any good courſe in ſo waightie a matter. But this, in my iudgement were a good waye, euen to ioyne our ſelues together, ſo manie as feare GOD, and to frame our moſte humble ſupplication vnto her Highneſſe, ſhewing vnto her Maiestie the greate dammage and loſſe that the Church dooth ſuſtayne, for that they can not haue the voyces of their faithfull paſtors, which haue diligently, and with great paines labored to draw men backe from ſuperſtition, and the falſe worſhip of God, vnto the true and ſincere worſhip of his maiestie, and laying downe before vs moſt purely, the doctrine of the Scriptures, to the end, that we ſhould know what wee ought to doe, and what to leaue vndoone, leading vs, as it were, euen by the hand, vnto the true worſhip of God, and our loyall dutie vnto her Maiestie, and al her officers. And theſe men (we can not tel by what meanes) are letted and ſtopped

from dooing those notable dueties of their calling, and are not permitted to speake anie more vnto vs in the name of the Lord, whereby we hir poore subiects sustaine great dearth and scarcitie, euen of the foode of our soules. Therefore wee her loial subiects, most humbly do entreate her highnesse, that shee woulde looke vpon the affliction of the poore Church, and let vs haue our true teachers restored vnto vs againe. And so we her subiects should yeeld continual thanks vnto her highnesse, praying vnto God alwayes for her prosperitie. And (our brethren) if this way shall be thought good, when there shalbe some aduice taken vpon it. Then to choose out some fitt man that can indite and frame our supplication, one that feareth God, that hath a feelinge of this plague in his hearte (as the Scripture speaketh) I meane of the want and lacke of these good preachers.

And this beeing doone, then to appoint other godly and honest men, to present our supplication, two or three, as it shall bee thought good vnto you, and the rest to ayd them with money, or in what other daunger may fal out: so that they present it in the name of the whole congregation, or otherwise, if it shalbe thought good. First to moue our sute vnto some of the Byshops, as Winchester or Salisburie, or both, or anie other that you shall thinke good: I beseech you let vs not sit stil, when wee are touched so neer, but as those good men haue ventured their libertie and liuing for our good: so let vs take some paines for them, to aduenture some daunger of reproofe, or what else maye fall out.

Better is the day of death (saith Salomon) then the day of birth, man that is borne of a woman, liueth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries, but happie are the dead, that die in the Lord.

Man is borne of woman in trauell, to liue in miserie, man through Christe, doth die in ioy, and liue in felicitie. He is borne to die, and dieth to liue. Straight as hee commeth

into the worlde, with cries, hee vttereth his miserable estate, straight as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for euer. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadlie enemies assault him : after death no aduersary can anoy him : whilst hee is here, hee displeaseth God : when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life, here he dieth thorow sinne, in the life to come, he liueth in righteousnes, thorowe many tribulations in earth, he is still purged : with ioy vnspeakable in heauen, is he made pure for euer : here hee dieth euerie howre, there hee liueth continuallye : heere is sinne, there is righteousnesse : heere is time, there is eternitie : heere is hatred, there is loue : heere is paine, there is pleasure : heere is miserie, there is felicitie : heere is corruption, there is immortalitie : here we see vanity, there shall wee behold the maiestie of God, with triumphant and vnspeakable ioye in glorie euerlasting.

Seeke therefore the things that are aboue, where Christ  
sitteth on the right hand of God the father, to whom  
with the sonne and the holie ghost, be al  
honour and glorie, worlde  
without ende  
Amen.

The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 7.

---

*The Seven deadly Sins of London &c.*

[October] 1606.



The English Scholar's Library of  
Old and Modern Works.

THOMAS DECKER.

*The Seven deadly Sins of London*  
*drawn in seven several coaches, through*  
*the seven several gates of the*  
*City; bringing the plague*  
*with them.*

[October] 1606.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A., etc.

LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

SOUTHGATE LONDON, N.

15 April, 1879.

No. 7.

(All rights reserved.)





# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Scheme of the Triumphs of the Seven deadly Sins of London &c. ... ..	vi-vii
Bibliography ... ..	viii
INTRODUCTION ... ..	ix-xiv

## *The Seven deadly Sins of London &c.* ... xv

THE EPISTLE .... ..	1-2
[ADDRESS TO THE] READER .... ..	3-4
THE NAMES OF THE ACTORS.... ..	4
THE INDUCTION TO THE BOOK .... ..	5-10

### *Politick [i.e. fraudulent] Bankruptism or the first day's Triumph* ... .. 11-18

The qualities and policy of the fraudulent Bankrupt. His doom. His third generation is never heard of.

### *Lying or the second day's Triumph* ... .. 19-23

Lying is father to Falsehood, and grandsire to Perjury. Fraud (with two faces) is his daughter. Treason (with hairs like snakes) is his kinsman.

### *Candlelight [i.e. Deeds of Darkness] or the nocturnal Triumph* ... .. 24-29

A striking picture of London by night.

### *Sloth or the fourth day's Triumph* ... .. 30-34

Vintners. Dicing-houses. Bowling-alleys. Alehouses. Players. Physicians. Clergy.

### *Apishness [i.e. Changes of Fashions] or the fifth day's Triumph* ... .. 35-37

Was born when the Duke of ANJOU came over to marry QUEEN ELIZABETH, of a French Tailor and an English Court-seamster. Is supported by Tailors, Haberdashers, and Embroiderers. The women imitate men's fashions. [ANDREW BORDE'S] description of an Englishman stark naked, with shears in his hand, and cloth on his arm &c.

### *Shaving [i.e. Cheating] or the sixth day's Triumph* 38-41

Cruel and covetous landlords. Usurers. Shaving in false weights. Shaving of orphans, of poor clients, of prisoners, by brokers and by vintners. And the general shaving of man's consciences.

### *Cruelty or the seventh or last day's Triumph* ... 42-48

The 13 strong houses of sorrow [prisons] in London. Cruelty in forced marriages. Cruel creditors. Unconscionable masters. Want of sufficient places of burial in time of plague, and for those who die abroad in the fields.

### *The Conclusion* ... .. 48-50

THE SCHEME OF  
THE SEVEN DEADLY

---

BANKRUPTCY.

LYING.

HANDLE LIGHT.

The Sin whose Chariot is { drawn upon three wheels, that run fastest away, when they bear the greatest loads. } made all of whetstones. { Made all of horn, shaven as thin as changelings are.

is drawn by { two coach horses, COVETOUSNESS and COZENAGE. } Two horses, WANTONNESS, and EVIL CUSTOM. } Two rats.

is driven by HYPOCRISY. A Fool. A Chandler.

His Pages { CONSCIENCE, BEGGARY. } A couple of swearing Fencers. { PAINFULNESS, STUDY.

and Attendants. ——— { Knights of the Post, scrambling ignorant Pettifoggers, &c. } { DARKNESS, CONSPIRACY, OPPORTUNITY, STRATAGEMS, FEAR.

and Followers. { Tradesmen, Merchants, Serjeants, Bailiffs, &c. } Some of every trade. { Diggers in mines, Engravers, Scholars, Mariners, Nurses, Drunkards, Unthrifths, Shrode Husbands. INGRATITUDE.

Enters through Lud Gate. Moor Gate. Alders Gate.

*The Plague is threatened, but not described;*

# THE TRIUMPHS OF SINS OF LONDON ETC.

SLOTH,	APISHNESS.	SHAVING.	CRUELTY.
{ A horse litter overgrown with moss on the outside, and in the inside quilted throughout with down pillows.	{ Made of nothing but cages stuck full of parrots' feathers, in which are all the strangest and most outlandish birds that can be got.	Richly adorned.	{ Is framed of ragged flints, that as it runs, strike one another, and heat out fire that is able to consume cities. The spokes of the many wheels are the shin bones of wretches eaten by misery in prison
{ A couple of unshod Asses, SLEEP and PLENTY leading the fore Ass.	{ A Fawn and a Lamb in winter. In summer it goes alone by the motion of wheels.	Four beasts. A Wolf, and a She Bear, and after two Blood Hounds.	{ A couple of tigers, MURDER and RASHNESS.
{ A pursy double-chinned LÆNA riding by on a sumpter horse, is the Litter-driver.	{ An Italian mountebank (in winter).	An Informer.	SELF-WILL.
{ An Irish Beggar. One that says "He has been a soldier."	{ A Dancing boy, and a Tumbler, in light coloured suits, embroidered full of butterflies with wings that flutter with the wind.	{ Two disbarred Pettifoggers.	{ IGNORANCE, OBIDURATION.
{ SICKNESS, WANT, IGNORANCE, INFAMY, BONDAGE, PALENESS, BLOCKISHNESS, CARELESSNESS.	{ FOLLY, LAUGHTER, INCONSTANCY, RIOT, NICENESS, VAIN-GLORY.	{ WIT (his Steward) AUDACITY, SHIFTING, INEXORABILITY, DISQUIETNESS OF MIND.	{ None will stay long with him. Only REPENTANCE follows afar off.
{ Anglers, Dumb [i.e. unpreaching] Ministers, Players, Exchange wenches, Gamsters, Panders, Whores, and Fiddlers.	{ Tobaccoists, Shuttlecock-makers, Feather-makers, Cobweb-lawnweavers, Perfumers, Young country Gentlemen, Fools.	{ Skeldering Soldiers, and begging Scholars.	
Bishops Gate.	Cripple Gate.	New Gate.	Ald Gate.

*having been so recently experiencd.*

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.



## ISSUE IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

*As a separate publication.*

1. [Oct.] 1606. 4to. See title at *p.* xv.

The registration at Stationers' Hall is as follows:—

6 Octobris [1606.]

**Nathaniel Butter.** Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of master HARTWELL and master Warden white A Book called *The Seuen deadly synnes of London, drawen in 7 scuerall coaches throughe the. 7 gates of the City.* vj<sup>d</sup>. w.

*Transcript &c.* iii. 330. Ed. 1876.

\* It is stated in the copy (10,452) in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, that this is "the rarest of Dekker's pieces."

## ISSUES SINCE HIS DEATH.

A. *As a separate publication.*

2. 1866. London. 4to. Privately printed (edition of Forty copies only). *Illustrations of Old English Literature.* Vol. ii. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A. *The Seven deadly Sins &c.* is one of the distinct reproductions comprising this Series.

Mr. COLLIER says, "We are aware of nothing precisely like it in our language, either for invention, or for accuracy and vivacity of description."

3. 15 April, 1879. Southgate, London, 8vo. The present impression.

B. *With other works.*

None known.



## INTRODUCTION.



ALL of striking invention and imagery conceived in as religious a spirit as that of JOHN BUNYAN ; written in a strong yet quaint and bedecked style, which appears to be an engrafting of the punning of JAMES's reign on the Euphuism of Elizabeth's time ; so rich in words, similes, and allusions of the day as to be capable of almost indefinite annotation ; replete with so many graphic touches of life and character : this intensely

earnest Apologue—at once a sermon, a pageant, and a satire—dashed off in a week by one who was both a Poet and a Dramatist, will amply repay the close attention of the student of the Golden Age of our Literature.

### II.



F the framework and outward form of this old Interlude of *Iniquity*, the abstract given at *pp.* vi. and vii. will here suffice.

Let us see “what a number of colours are here grounded, to paint out” by a Londoner (*p.* 9), the sights and sounds of ordinary life in the metropolis in the fourth year of JAMES I. : sights and sounds which we can well suppose were as well noted by the observant eye of SHAKESPEARE, during his late residence of nearly twenty years in town, as then by his younger and lesser compeer DECKER.

Here is a short sketch of London by day.

In every street, carts and Coaches make such a thundring as if the world ranne vpon wheelles : at euerie corner, men, women, and children meete in such shoales, that postes are sette vp of purpose to strengthen the houses, least with iustling one another they should shoulder them downe. Besides, hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clinking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth : heere are Porters sweating vnder burdens, there Marchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape frog) skippe out of one shop into another :



Tradesmen (as if they were dauncing Galliards) are lusty at legges and neuer stand still: all are as busie as countrie Attorneys at an Assises. *p.* 31.

To which may be added an afternoon performance, say, at the Blackfriars Theatre.

The Players prayed for his comming, they lost nothing by it, the comming in of tenne Embassadors was neuer so sweete to them, as this our sinne was; their houses smoakt euerye after noone with Stinkards, who were so glewed together in crowdes with the Steames of strong breath, that when they came foorth, their faces lookt as if they had bene perboylde: And his *Comicall Tearme-time* they hoped for, at the least all the summer, because tis given out that *Sloth* himselfe will come, and sit in the two-pennie galleries amongst the Gentlemen, and see their *Knaueries* and their pastimes. *p.* 32.

And finally the arrival of candle light at nightfall.

No sooner was he aduanced vp into the moste famous Streetes, but a number of shops for ioy beganne to shut in: Mercers rolde vp their Silkes and Veluets: the Goldsmithes drew backe their Plate, and all the Citty lookt like a priuate Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe, as if some *Nocturnal*, or dismall *Tragedy* were presently to be acted before all the *Trades-men*. But *Caualliero Candle-light* came for no such solemnities: No he had other Crackers in hand to which hee wacht but his houre to giue fire. Scarce was his entrance blown abroad, but the Bankrupt, the Fellow, and all that owed any mony, and for feare of arrests, or Iustices warrants, had like so many Snayles kept their houses ouer their heads al the day before, began now to creep out of their shels, and to stalke vp and down the streets as vprightly, and with as proud a gate as if they meant to knock against the starres with the crownes of their heads. *p.* 25.

### I I I.



T the same time, mere description of life was not primarily intended by the writer. It is a half-religious, half-dramatic invective against the iniquity of the day that was unpunishable by law, such as DANIEL DE FOE might have written; and on account of which the writer prognosticates a renewal of the recent plague

of 1603. The various classes that are satirized in it, are specified in the *Contents* at *p. v.* Let us see his warning to the best of them, the clergy.

There is yet one more, whome I would not heare to *Cry Guilty*, because (of all others) I would not haue them slothfull. O you that speak the language of *Angels*, and should indeed be *Angels* amongst vs, you that haue offices about those of *Kinges*, that haue warrant to commaund *Princes*, and controle them, if they do amisse: you that are *Stewards* ouer the *Kings* house of heauen, and lye heere as *Embassadors* about the greatest *State-matters* in the world: what a dishonour were it to your places, if it should bee kuowne that you are Sloathfull? you are sworne labourers, to worke in a *Vineyard*, which if you dresse not carefully, if you cut it not artificially, if you vnderprop it not wisely when you see it laden, if you gather not the fruites in it, when they bee ripe, but suffer them to drope downe, and bee eaten vp by *Swine*. O what a deere account are you to make him that must giue you your hire? you are the *Beames* of the *Sun* that must ripen the grapes of the *Vine*, and if you shine not cleerely, he will eclipse you for euer: your tongues are the instruments that must cut off rancke and idle *Sprigs*, to make the bearing-branches to spred, and vnlesse you keepe them sharpe and be euer pruning with them, he will cast you by, and you shall be eaten vp with rust. The *Church* is a garden and you must weede it: it is a *Fountaine*, and you must keepe it cleere: it is her *Husbands Jewell*, and you must pollish it: it is his best beloued, and you must keepe her chaste.

Many *Merchants* hath this *Cittie* to her *Sonnes*, of al which you are the most noble, you trafficke onely for mens *Soules*, sending them to the *Land of Promise*, and to the heauenly *Ierusalem*, and receiuing from thence (in *Exchange*) the richest *Commoditie* in the world, your owne saluation. O therefore bee not you Slothfull: for if being chosen *Pilots*, you Sleepe, and so sticke vpon *Rockes*, you hazard your owne shipwracke more then theirs that venture with you.

*pp. 33, 34.*

## I V.



THE *Induction to the Book* and those numerous apostrophes in *London*, as *Thou, thy country's darling! Thou leader of so great a kingdom! Fair Troy-nouant!* show how much the mind of the writer was imbued with the style of the old Hebrew

prophets ; and how sure he was that that style would find a response in the hearts of his readers.

There is also the following quaint description of the human body, with which we must here conclude.

Man (doubtlesse) was not created to bee an idle fellow, for then he should bee Gods *Vagabond* : he was made for other purpose then to be euer eating as swine : euer sleeping as *Dormise* : euer dumb as fishes in the Sea, or euer prating to no purpose, as birdes of the ayre : he was not set in this *Vniuersall Orchard* to stand still as a *Tree*, and so to bee cut downe, but to be cut downe if he should stand still.

And to haue him remember this, he carries certaine *Watches* with *Larums* about him, that are euer striking : for all the *Enginous Wheelles* of the *Soule* are continually going : though the body lye neuer so fast bownde in Slumbers, the imagination runnes too and fro, the phantasie flyes round about, the vitall spirits walke vp and downe, yea the very pulses show activitie, and with their hammers are still beating, so that euen in his very dreames it is whispered in his eare that hee must bee dooing something. If hee had not these prompters at his elbowe ye euerie member of his body (if it could speake woulde chide him) if they were put to no vse, considering what noble workmanship is bestowed.

For man no sooner gets vpon his legges, but they are made so that either hee may run or goe : when he is weary, they can giue him ease by standing still, if he will not stand, the *Knees* serue like *Hindges* to bow vp and downe, and to let him kneele. His armes haue artificiall cordes and stringes, which shorten or flye out of their length at pleasure : They winde about the bodye like a siluer *Girdle*, and being held out before, are weapons to defend it.

At the end of the armes are two beautiful *Mathematicall Instruments*, with fiue seuerall motions in each of them, and thirtie other mouing *Engines*, by which they stirre both.

His head likewise standes vpon three *Skrewes*, the one is directly forward to teach him *Providence*, the other two are on eather side one, to arme him with *Circumspection* : How busie are both the eyes, to keepe danger from him. pp. 30, 31.

THE  
Seuen Deadly Sinnes

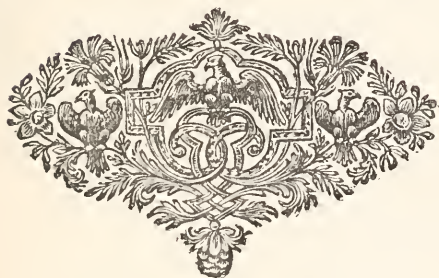
of London :

*Drawn in seuen seuerall Coaches,  
Through the seuen seuerall Gates of the  
Citie*

Bringing the Plague with them.

*Opus septem Dierum.*

Tho: Dekker.



At London

Printed by *E. A.* for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to bee sold  
at his shop neere Saint Austens gate.

1606.





*To the Worshipfull and very worthy*  
Gentleman *Henry Fermor* Es-  
quire, Clarke of the Peace for the  
Countie of Middlesex.



Am sory (deare Sir) that in a time (sò abundant with wit) I shold send vnto you no better fruit then the sins of a City: but they are not common, (for they were neuer gathered till this yeare) and therefore I send them for the *Rarity*: Yet now I remember my selfe, they are not the *Sinnes* of a Citié, but onely the picture of them. And a *Drollerie* (or Dutch peece of *Lantskoß*) may sometimes breed in the beholders eye, as much delectation, as the best and most curious master-peece excellent in that Art. Bookes being sent abroad after they are begotten into the world, as *This of mine is*, are in the nature of *Orphans*; But being receiued into a *Gardianship* (as I make no doubt but this shall) they come into the happie state of adopted children. That office must now be yours, and you neede not bee ashamed of it, for Kings haue beene glad to doe them honour, that haue bestowed such a neuer-dying honour vppon them. The benefite



you shall receiue, is this, that you see the building vp of a tombe (in your life time) wherein you are sure so to lie, as that you cannot bee forgotten; and you read that very Epitaph that shal stand ouer you, which by no *Ennie* can bee defaced, nor by any time worne out. I haue made choise of you alone, to bee the *onely Patron* to these my labours: by which word (*onely*) I chalenge to my selfe a kinde of *Dignitie*: for there hath beene a *Generation* of a sort of strange fellowes (and I thinke the race is not yet eaten out) who when a Booke (of theire owne) hath bin borne in the lawfull Matrimonie of Learning, and Industrie, haue basely compeld it either like a bastard, to call a great many father (and to goe vnder all their names) or else (like a common fellow at a Sessions) to put himselfe (as the tearme is) vpon twelue godfathers. In which case (contrarie to all law) the Foreman is most dishonoured. That art of *Skeldring* I studie not, I stand vpon stronger Bases. The current of a mans Reputation, being diuided into so manie Riuelets must needes grow weake. If you giue intertainment to this in your best affection, you will

binde me (one day) to heighten your name, when by  
some more worthy *Columne* (by me to be erected)

I shall consecrate that and your selfe  
to an euerlasting and sa-  
cred Memorie.

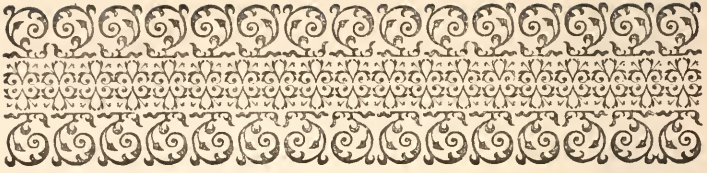
*Most affectionately desirous*  
*to be yours.*

Tho. Dekker.



## Reader,

**I**T is as ordinarie a custome (for vs that are Bookish) to haue a bout with thee, after wee haue done with a Patron, as for Schollers (in the noble Science) to play at the wooden Rapier and Dagger at the ende of a Maisters prize. In doing which we know not vpon what Speeding points wee runne, for you (that are Readers) are the most desperate and fowlest players in the world, you will strike when a mans backe is toward you, and kill him (if you could for shame) when he lies vnder your feete. You are able (if you haue the tokens of deadly Ignorance, and Boldnes at one time vpon you) to breede more infection on in *Pauls Church-yard*, then all the bodies that were buried there in the Plague-time, if they had beene left still aboue ground. You stand somtimes at a Stationers stal, looking scruily (like Mules champing vpon Thistles) on the face of a new Booke bee it neuer so worthy: and goe (as il fauouredly) mewng away: But what get you by it? The Booke-seller euer after when you passe by, pinnes on your backes the badge of fooles to make you be laught to scorne, or of sillie Carpers to make you be pittied: *Conradus Gesner* neuer writ of the nature of such strange beasts as you are: for where as we call you *Lectores*, Readers, you turne your selues into *Lictores*, Executioners, and tormenters. I wold not haue him that writes better than I, to reade this, nor him that cannot doe so well, to Raile, or if hee cannot chuse but Raile, let him doe it to my face: otherwise (to me being absent) it is done cowardly: for *Leonem mortuum mordent etian Catuli*: Cats dare scratch Lions by the face when they lie dead, and none but Colliers will threaten a Lord Maior when they are farre enough from the Cittie. I haue laide no blockes in thy way: if thou findest Strawes,  
(*Vade vale.*) *caue ne titubes.*



The names of the Actors in this  
old Enterlude of Iniquitie.

1 *Politike Bankruptisme.*

2 *Lying.*

3 *Candle-light.*

4 *Sloth.*

5 *Apishnesse.*

6 *Shauing.*

7 *Crueltie.*

Seuen may easily play  
this, but not without  
a Diuell.





## The Induction to the *Booke.*

**F**inde it written in that Booke where no vntruthes can be read: in that Booke whose leaues shall out-last sheetes of brasse, and whose lynes leade to eternity: yea euen in that Booke that was pend by the best Author of the best wisdome, allowed by a Deity, licensed by the Omnipotent, and published (in all Languages to all Nations) by the greatest, truest, and onely Diuine, thus I find it written, that for Sinne, Angels were throwne out of heauen; for Sinne, the first man that euer was made, was made an outcast: he was driuen out of his liuing that was left vnto him by his Creator: It was a goodlier liuing, than the Inheritance of Princes: he lost Paradice by it (he lost his house of pleasure:) hee lost *Eden* by it, a Garden, where Winter could neuer haue nipt him with cold, nor Summer haue scorcht him with heate. He had there all fruits growing to delight his taste, all flowers flourishing to allure his eye, all Birds singing to content his eare; he had more than he could desire: yet because he desired more than was fit for him, he lost all. For Sinne, all those buildings which that greate Worke-master of the world had in sixe dayes rayسد, were swallowed at the first by waters, and shall at last be consumed in fire. How many families hath this *Leuiathan* deuoured?

how many Cities? how many Kingdoms? Let vs awhile leaue Kingdomes, and enter into Cities. *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* were burnt to the ground with brimstone that dropt in flakes from heauen: a hot and dreadfull vengeance. *Ierusalem* hath not a stone left vpon another of her first glorious foundation: a heauy and fearefull downfall. *Ierusalem*, that was Gods owne dwelling house; the Schoole where those Hebrew Lectures, which he himselfe read, were taught; the very Nursery where the Prince of Heauen was brought vp; that *Ierusalem*, whose Rulers were Princes, and whose Citizens were like the sonnes of Kings: whose Temples were paued with gold, and whose houses stood like rowes of tall Cedars; that *Ierusalem* is now a dezert; It is vnhallowed, and vntrodden: no Monument is left to shew it was a City, but only the memoriall of the Iewes hard-hartednes, in making away their Sauour: It is now a place for barbarous Turks, and poore despised Grecians; it is rather now (for the abominations committed in it) no place at all.

Let vs hoyst vp more Sayles, and lanch into other Seas, till wee come in ken of our owne Countrey. *Antwerp* (the eldest daughter of *Brabant*) hath falne in her pride, the Citties of rich *Burgundy* in theyr greatnes. Those seunteene Dutch Virgins of *Belgia*, (that had Kingdomes to theyr dowries, and were worthy to be courted by Nations) are now no more Virgins: the Souldier hath deflowred them, and robd them of theyr Mayden honor: Warre hath still vse of their noble bodyes, and discouereth theyr nakednes like prostituted Strumpets. Famine hath dryed vp the fresh blood in theyr cheekes, whilst the Pestilence digd vp theyr Fields, and turned them into Graues. Neither haue these punishments bin layd vpon them onely; for blood hath bin also drawne of their very next neighbours. *France* lyes yet panting vnder

the blowes which her owne Children haue giuen her. Thirty yeeres together suffred she her bowels to be torne out by those that were bred within them : She was full of Princes, and saw them all lye mangled at her feete : She was full of people, and saw in one night a hundred thousand massacred in her streetes : her Kings were eaten vp by Ciuill warres, and her Subjects by fire and famine. Ogallant Monarchy, what hard fate hadst thou, that when none were left to conquer thee, thou shouldst triumph ouer thy selfe ! Thou hast Wynes flowing in thy veynes : but thou madest thy selfe druncke with thine owne bloud. The English, the Dutch, and the Spanish, stode aloofe and gaue ayme, whilst thou shotst arrowes vpright, that fell vpon thine owne head, and wounded thee to death. Wouldst thou (and the rest) know the reason, why your bones haue bin bruized with rods of Iron ? It was, because you haue risen in Arch-rebellion against the Supremest Soueraigne : You haue bin Traytors to your Lord, the King of heauen and earth, and haue armed your selues to fight against the Holy Land. Can the father of the world measure out his loue so vnequally, that one people (like to a mans yongest child) should be more made of than all the rest, being more vnruly than the rest ? O *Loudon*, thou art great in glory, and enuied for thy greatnes : thy Towers, thy Temples, and thy Pinnacles stand vpon thy head like borders of fine gold, thy waters like frindges of siluer hang at the hemmes of thy garments. Thou art the goodliest of thy neighbors, but the prowdest ; the welthiest, but the most wanton. Thou hast all things in thee to make thee fairest, and all things in thee to make thee foulest ; for thou art attir'de like a Bride, drawing all that looke vpon thee, to be in loue with thee, but there is much harlot in thine eyes. Thou sitst in thy Gates heated with Wines, and in thy Chambers



with lust. What miseries haue of late ouertaken thee? yet (like a foole that laughs when hee is putting on fetters) thou hast bin merry in height of thy misfortunes: She (that for *Qu. EL. abeths* almost halfe a hundred of yeres) of thy Nurse became *death.* thy Mother, and layd thee in her bosome, whose head was full of cares for thee, whilst thine slept vpon softer pillowes than downe. She that wore thee alwayes on her brest as the richest Iewell in her kingdome, who had continually her eye vpon thee, and her heart with thee; whose chaste hand clothed thy Rulers in Scarlet, and thy Inhabitants in roabes of peace: euen she was taken from thee, when thou wert most in feare to lose her: when thou didst tremble (as at an earth-quake) to thinke that bloud should runne in thy Channels, that the Canon should make way through thy Portcullises, and fire rife thy wealthy houses, then, euen then wert thou left full of teares, and becamst an Orphan. But behold, thou hadst not sat many howres on the banks of *King James* sorrow, but thou hadst a louing Father that adopted *his Coronation.* thee to be his owne: thy mourning turnd presently to gladnes, thy terrors into triumphs. Yet, lest this fulnesse of ioy should beget in thee a wantonnes, and to try how wisely thou couldst take vp affliction, Sicknes was sent to breathe her vnwholsome ayres into thy nostrils, so that thou, that wert before the only Gallant and Minion of the world, hadst in a short time more diseases (then a common Harlot hath) hanging vpon thee; thou suddenly becamst the by-talke of neighbors, the scorne and contempt of Nations.

Heere could I make thee weepe thy selfe away into waters,

*\*A Booke so called, written by the Author, describing the horror of the Plague in 1603, when*

by calling back those sad and dismal houres, wherein thou consumedst almost to nothing with shrikes and lamentations, in that *\*Wonderfull yeere,* when these miserable calamities entred in

at thy Gates, slaying 30000. and more as thou heldst them in thine armes, but they are fresh in thy memory, and the story of them (but halfe read ouer) would strike so coldly to thy heart, and lay such heauy sorrow vpon mine (*Namque animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit*) that I will not be thine and my owne tormentor with the memory of them. How quickly notwithstanding didst thou forget that beating? The wrath of him that smot[e] thee, was no sooner (in meere pittie of thy stripes) appeased, but howrely (again) thou wert in the company of euill doers, euen before thou couldst finde leysure to aske him forgiuenes.

Euer since that time hath hee winckt at thy errors, and suffred thee (though now thou art growne old, and lookest very ancient) to goe on still in the follies of thy youth: he hath ten-fold restor'de thy lost sonnes and daughters, and such sweete, liuely, fresh colours hath hee put vpon thy cheekes, that Kings haue come to behold thee, and Princes to delight their eyes with thy bewty. None of all these faouours (for all this) can draw thee from thy wickednes: Graces haue powred downe out of heauen vpon thee, and thou art rich in all things, sauing in goodnes: So that now once againe hath he gone about (and but gone about) to call thee to the dreadfull Barre of his Iudgement. And no maruaile: for whereas other Citties (as glorious as thy selfe,) and other people (as deare vnto him as thine) haue in his indignation bin quite taken from the face of the earth, for some one peculiar Sinne, what hope hast thou to grow vp still in the pride of thy strength, gallantnes and health, hauing seuen deadly and detestable sinnes lying night by night by thy lasciuious sides? O thou beautifullest daughter of two vnited Monarchies! from thy womb receiued I my being, from thy breasts my nourishment; yet giue me

*there dyed  
30573. of that  
disease.*

*King of  
England, and  
Christiernes  
King of  
Denmarke.*

leauē to tell thee, that thou hast seuen Diuels within thee, and till they be cleane cast out, the Arrowes of Pestilence will fall vpon thee by day, and the hand of the Inuader strike thee by night. The Sunne will shine, but not be a comfort to thee, and the Moone looke pale with anger, when she giues thee light. Thy Louers will disdayne to court thee: thy Temples will no more send out Diuine oracles: Iustice will take her flight, and dwell else-where; and that Desolation, which now for three yeeres together hath houered round about thee, will at last enter, and turne thy Gardens of pleasure into Church-yards; thy Fields that seru'd thee for walks, into *Golgotha*; and thy hye built houses, into heapes of dead mens Sculs. I call him to witnes, who is all Truth, I call the Cittizens of heauen to witnes, who are all spotlesse, that I slander thee not, in saying thou nourishest seuen Serpents at thy brests, that will destroy thee: let all thy Magistrates and thy officers speake for me; let Strangers that haue but seene thy behauiour, be my Iudges: let all that are gathered vnder thy wings, and those that sleepe in thy bosome, giue their verdict vpon me; yea, try me (as thy brabblings are) by all thy Petit and Graund Iurors, and if I belye thee, let my Country (when I expire) deny me her common blessing, Buriall. Lift vp therefore thy head (thou Mother of so many people :) awaken out of thy dead dangerous slumbers, and with a full and fearelesse eye behold those seuen Monsters, that with extended iawes gape to swallow vp thy memory: for I will into so large a field single euery one of them, that thou and all the world shall see their vglinesse, for by seeing them, thou mayst auoyd them, and by auoyding them, be the happiest and most renowned of Citties.



Politick Bankruptisme,  
Or,  
The first dayes Triumph  
of the first Sinne.



T is a custome in all Countries, when great personages are to be entertained, to haue great preparation made for them: and because *London* disdaines to come short of any City, either in Magnificence, State, or expences vpon such an occasion, solemne order was set downe, and seuen seuerall solemnedayes were appointed to receiue these seuen Potentates: for they carry the names of Princes on the earth, and wheresoe're they inhabit, in a short time are they Lords of great Dominions.

The first dayes Triumphs were spent in meeting and conducting *Politick Bankruptisme* into the Freedome: to receiue whom, the Master, the Keepers, and all the Prisoners of *Ludgate* in their best clothes stood most officiously readie: for at that Gate, his Deadlinesse challenges a kind of prerogatiue by the Custome of the Citie, and there loues he most to be let in. The thing they stood vpon, was a Scaffold erected for the purpose stuck round about with a few greene boughes (like an Alehouse booth at a Fayre) and couered with two or three threed-bare Carpets (for prisoners haue no better) to hide the vnhandsomnes of the Carpenters worke: the boughes with the very strong breath that was prest out of the vulgar, withered, and like *Autumnian* leaues dropt to the ground, which made the *Broken Gentleman* to hasten his progresse the more, and the rather, because *Lud* and his two sonnes

*The maner  
how Bank-  
ruptisme is  
entertained,  
and at what  
Gate.*

stood in a very cold place, waiting for his comming. Being vnder the gate, there stood one arm'd with an extemporall speech, to giue him the onset of his welcome: It was not (I would you should well know) the Clarke of a country parish, or the Schoolemaster of a corporate towne, yat euey yeere has a saying to Master Maior, but it was a bird pickt out of purpose (amongst the *Ludgathians*) that had the basest and lowest voice, and was able in a Terme time, for a throat, to giue any prisoner great ods for ye box at the grate: this Organ pipe was f[o]unde to rore for the rest, who with a lye sound and glib deliuery, made an *Encomiastick Paradoxicall* Oration in praise of a prison, prouing, that captiuity was ye only blessing yat could happen to man, and that a *Politick Bankrupt* (because he makes himselfe for euer by his owne wit) is able to liue in any common wealth, and deserues to go vp the ladder of promotion, when five hundred shallowpated feollowes shall be turnd off. The poore Orator hauing made vp his mouth, *Bankruptisme* gaue him very good words, and a handful or two of thanks, vowing he would euer liue in his debt. At which, all the prisoners rending the ayre with shouts, the key was turnd, and vp (in state) was he led into king *Luds* house of *Bondage*, to suruey the building, and to take possession of ye lodgings; where he no sooner entred, but a lusty peale of welcomes was shot out of Kannes in stead of Canons, and though the powder was

*Solamen  
miseris socios  
habuisse  
doloris.*

exceeding wet, yet off they went thick and threefold. The day was proclaymed Holiday in all the wardes; euey prisoner swore if he would stay amongst them, they would take no order about their debts, because they would lye by it too; and for that purpose swarmd about him like Bees about Comfit-makers, and were drunke according to all the learned rules of *Drunkennes*, as *Vpsy-Freeze*, *Crambo*, *Parmizant*, &c. the pimples of this ranck and full-humord ioy rising thus in their faces, because they all knew, that though he himselfe was broken, the linings of his bags were whole; and though he had no conscience (but a crackt one) yet he had crownes yat were sound. None of all these hookes could fasten him to them: he was (like their clocks) to strike in more places than one, and though he knew many Citizens hated him, and that if he were encountred by some of them, it might cost him deere,

yet vnder so good a protection did he go (as he said) because he owed no ill will euen to those that most sought his vndoing; and therefore tooke his leaue of the house, with promise, to be with them, or send to them once euery quarter at the least. So that now, by his wise instructions, if Misery makes men cunning. a Punny were there amongst them, he might learne more cases, and more quiddits in law within seuen dayes, than he does at his Inne in fourteene moneths.

The *Politician* beeing thus got into the City, caries himself so discreetly, that he steales into the hearts of many: In words, is he circumspect: in lookes, graue: in attire, ciuill: in diet, temperate: in company affable: in His qualities. his affaires serious: and so cunningly dooes he lay on these colours, that in the end he is welcome to, and familiar with the best. So that now, there is not any one of all the twelue Companies, in which (at one time or other) there are not those that haue forsaken their owne Hall, to be free of his: yea some of your best Shop-keepers hath he enticed to shut themselues vp from the cares and busines of the world, to liue a priuate life; nay, there is not any great and famous Streete in the City, wherein there hath not (or now doth not) dwell, some one, or other, that hold the points of his Religion. For you must vnderstand, that the Politick Bankrupt is a *Harpy* that lookes smoothly, a *Hyena* His disguises. that enchants subtilly, a Mermaid that sings sweetly, and a *Cameleon*, that can put himselfe into all colours. Sometimes hee's a Puritane, he swears by nothing but Indeede, or rather does not swears at all, and wrapping his crafty Serpents body in the cloake of Religion, he does those acts that would become none but a Diuell. Sometimes hee's a Protestant, and deales iustly with all men, till he sees his time, but in the end he turnes Turke. Because you shall beleue me, I will giue you his length by the Scale, and Anatomize his body from head to foote. Heere it is.

Whether he be a Tradesman, or a Marchant, when he first sets himselfe vp, and seekes to get the world into His policy. his hands, (yet not to go out of ye City) or first talks of Countries he neuer saw (vpon the *Change*) he will be sure to keepe his dayes of payments more truly, then Lawyers keepe their Termes, or than Executors keepe the last lawes that the dead inioyned them to, which euen Infidels themselues



will not violate : his hand goes to his head, to his meanest customer, (to expresse his humilitie ;) he is vp earlier then a Sarieant, and downe later then a Constable, to proclaime his thrift. By such artificiall wheeles as these, he wind[e]s himselfe vp into the height of rich mens fauors, till he grow rich himselfe, and when he sees that they dare build vpon his credit, knowing the ground to be good, he takes vpon him the condition of an Asse, to any man that will loade him with gold ; and vseth his credit like a Ship freighted with all sorts of Merchandise by ventrous Pilots : for after he hath gotten into his hands so much of other mens goods or money, as will fill him to the vpper deck, away he sayles with it, and politickly runnes himselfe on ground, to make the world beleue he had sufferd shipwrack. Then flyes he out like an Irish rebell, and keepe aloofe, hiding his head, when he cannot hide his shame : and though he haue fethers on his back puld from sundry birds, yet to himselfe is he more wretched, then ye Cuckoo in winter, that dares not be seene. The troupes of honest Citizens (his creditors) with whom he hath broken league and hath thus defyed, muster themselues together, and proclaime open warre : their bands consist of tall *Yeomen*, that serue on foot, commanded by certaine *Sericants* of their bands, who for leading of men, are knowne to be of more experience then the best Low-country Captaines. In Ambuscado do these lye day and night, to cut off this enemy to the City, if he dare but come downe. But the politick Bankrupt barricadoing his Sconce with double locks, treble dores, inuincible bolts, and pieces of timber 4. or 5. storyes hye, victuals himselfe for a moneth or so ; and then in the dead of night, marches vp higher into ye country with bag and baggage ; parlies then are summond ; compositions offred ; a truce is sometimes taken for 3. or 4. yeeres ; or (which is more common) a dishonorable peace (seeing no other remedy) is on both sides concluded, he (like the States) being the only gayner by such ciuill warres, whilst the Citizen that is the lender, is the loser : *Nam crimine ab vno disce omnes*, looke how much he snatches from one mans sheafe, hee gleanes from euery one, if they bee a hundred.

The victory being thus gotton by basenes and trechery, back comes he marching with spred colours againe to the City ; aduances in the open streete as he did before ; sels the

goods of his neighbor before his face without blushing: he iets vp and downe in silks wouen out of other mens stocks, feeds deliciously vpon other mens purses, rides on his ten pound Geldings, in other mens saddles, and is now a new man made out of wax, thats to say, out of those bonds, whose seales he most dishonestly hath canceld. *O velvet-garded Theeues! O yea-and-by-nay Cheaters! O ciuill, ô Graue and Right Worshipfull Couzeners!*

What a wretchednes is it, by such steps to clime to a counterfetted happines? So to be made for euer, is to be vtterly vndone for euer: So for a man to saue himselfe, is to venture his own damnation; like those that laboring by all meanes to escape shipwrack, do afterwards desperatly drown themselues. But alas! how rotten at the bottom are buildings thus raised! How soone do such leases grow out of date! The *Third House* to them is neuer heard of. What slaues then doth mony (so purchast) make of those, who by such wayes thinke to find out perfect freedome? But they are most truly miserable in midst of their ioyes: for their neighbors scorn them, Strangers poynt at them, good men neglect them, the rich man will no more trust them, the begger in his rage vpbraydes them. Yet if this were all, this all were nothing. O thou that on thy pillow (lyke a Spider in his loome) weauest mischeuous nets, beating thy braynes, how by casting downe others, to rayse vp thy selfe!

Thou *Politick Bankrupt*, poore rich man, thou ill-painted foole, when thou art to lye in thy last Inne (thy loathsome graue) how heauy a load will thy wealth bee to thy weake corrupted Conscience! those heapes of Siluer, in telling of which thou hast worne out thy fingers ends, will be a passing bell, tolling in thine eare, and calling thee to a fearefull Audit. Thou canst not dispose of thy riches, but the naming of euery parcell will strike to thy heart, worse then the pangs of thy departure: thy last will, at the last day, will be an Inditement to cast thee; for thou art guilty of offending those two lawes (enacted in the vpper House of heauen) which directly forbid thee to steale, or to couet thy neighbors goods.

But this is not all neither; for thou lyeest on thy bed of death, and art not carde for: thou goest out of the world, and art not lamented: thou art put into the last linnen yat euer

thou shalt weare, (thy winding-sheete) with reproch, and art sent into thy Graue with curses: he that makes thy Funerall Sermon, dares not speake well of thee, because he is asham'd to belye the dead: and vpon so hatefull a fyle doest thou hang the records of thy life, that euen when the wormes haue pickt thee to the bare bones, those that goe ouer thee, will set vpon thee no Epitaph but this, *Here lyes a knaue.*

Alack! this is not the worst neither: thy Wife being in the heate of her youth, in the pride of her beawty, and in all the brauery of a rich London Widow, flies from her nest (where she was thus fledg'd before her time) the City, to shake off the imputation of a Bankrupts Wife, and perhaps marries with some Gallant: thy bags then are emptied, to hold him vp in riots: those hundreds, which thou subtilly tookst vp vpon thy bonds, do sinfully serue him to pay Tauerne bills, and what by knauery thou got[est] from honest men, is as villanously spent vpon Pandars and Whores: thy Widow being thus brought to a low ebbe, grows desperat: curses her birth, her life, her fortunes, yea perhaps curses thee, when thou art in thy euerlasting sleepe, her conscience perswading strongly, that she is punished from aboue, for thy faults: and being poore, friendlesse, comfortlesse, she findes no meanes to raise her selfe, but by *Falling*, and therefore growes to be a *common woman*. Doth not ye thought of this torment thee? She liues basely by the abuse of that body, to maintaine which in costly garments, thou didst wrong to thine owne soule: nay more to afflict thee, thy children are ready to beg their bread in that very place, where the father hath sat at his dore in purple, and at his boord like *Diues*, surfeting on those dishes which were earnd by the sweat of other mens browes. The infortunate Marchant, whose estate is swallowed vp by the mercillesse Seas, and the prouident Trades-man, whom riotous Seruants at home, or hard-hearted debtors abroad vndermine and ouerthrow, blotting, them with the name of *Bankrupts*, deserue to be pitied and relieued, when thou that hast cozend euen thine owne Brother of his Birth-right, art laught at, and not remembered, but in scorne, when thou art plagued in thy *Generation*.

Be wise therefore, you Graue, and wealthy Cittizens; play with these Whales of the Sea, till you escape them that are deuourers of your Merchants; hunt these English Wolues

to death, and rid the land of them : for these are the Rats that eate vp the prouision of the people: these are the Grashoppers of *Egypt*, that spoyle the Corne-fields of the Husbandman and the rich mans Vineyards: they will haue poore *Naboths* piece of ground from him, though they eate a piece of his heart for it. These are indeede (and none but these) the *Forreners* that liue without the freedome of your City, better than you within it ; they liue without the freedome of honesty, of conscience, and of christianitie. Ten dicing-houses cheate not yong Gentlemen of so much mony in a yeare, as these do you in a moneth. The theefe that dyes at *Tyburne* for a robbery, is not halfe so dangerous a weede in a Common-wealth, as the *Politick Bankrupt*. I would there were a *Derick* to hang vp him too.

The *Russians* haue an excellent custome : they beate them on the shinnes, that haue mony, and will not pay their debts; if that law were well cudgeld from thence into *England*, Barbar-Surgeons might in a few yeeres build vp a Hall for their Company, larger then *Powles*, only with the cure of *Bankrupt broken-shinnes*.

I would faine see a prize set vp, that the welfed *Vsurer*, and the politick *Bankrupt* might rayle one against another for it : ô, it would beget a riming Comedy. The Challenge of the *Germayne* against all the Masters of the *Noble Science*, would not bring in a quarter of the money : for there is not halfe so much loue betweene the Iron and the Loadestone, as there is mortall hate betweene those two *Furies*. The *Vsurer* liues by the lechery of mony, and is Bawd to his owne bags, taking a fee, that they may ingender. The *Politick Bankrupt* liues by the gelding of bags of Siluer. The *Vsurer* puts out a hundred pound to breede, and let it run in a good pasture (thats to say, in the lands that are mortgag'd for it) till it grow great with Foale, and bring forth ten pound more. But the *Politick Bankrupt* playes the *Alchemist*, and hauing taken a hundred pound to multiply it, he keepes a puffing and a blowing, as if he would fetch the Philosophers stone out of it, yet melts your hundred pound so leng in his *Crusibles*, till at length he either melt it cleane away, or (at the least) makes him that lends it thinke good, if euery hundred bring him home fise, with Principall and Interest.

You may behold now in this *Perspectiue* piece which I haue

drawne before you, how deadly and dangerous an enemy to the State this *Politick Bankruptisme* hath bin, and still is: It hath bin long enough in the Citty, and for any thing I see, makes no great haste to get out. His triumphs haue bin great, his entertainement rich and magnificent. He purposes to lye heere as *Lucifers Legiar*: let him therefore alone in his lodging (in what part of the Citty soeuer it be) tossed and turmoyled with godlesse slumbers, and let vs take vp a standing neere some other Gate, to behold the *Entrance* of the *Second Sinne*: but before you go, looke vpon the *Chariot* that this *First* is drawne in, and take speciall note of all his Attendants.

The habit, the qualities and complexion of this Embassador sent from Hell, are set downe before. He rides in a Chariot drawne vpon three wheeles, that run fastest away, when they beare the greatest loades. The bewty of the Chariot is all in-layd work, cunningly and artificially wrought, but yet so strangely, and of so many seuerall-fashiond pieces, (none like another) that a sound wit would mistrust they had bin stolne from sundry worke-men. By this prowde Counterfet ran two Pages; on the left side *Conscience*, raggedly attirde, ill-fac'd, ill coloured, and misshapen in body. On the right side runs *Beggery*, who if he out-liue him, goes to serue his children. *Hipocrisy* driues the Chariot, hauing a couple of fat well-coloured and lusty Coach-horses to the eye, cald *Couctousnes* and *Cosnage*, but full of diseases, and rotten about the heart. Behind him follow a crowd of Trades-men, and Merchants, euery one of them holding either a Shop-booke, or an Obligation in his hand, their seruants, wiues and children strawing the way before him with curses, but he carelesly runnes ouer the one, and out-rides the other; at the tayle of whom (like the *Pioners* of an Army) march troope-wise, and without any Drum struck vp, because the *Leader* can abide no noyse, a company of old expert *Sarieants*, bold *Yeomen*, hungry *Baylifs*, and other braue Martiall men, who because (like the *Switzers*) they are well payd, are still in Action, and oftentimes haue the enemy in execution; following the heeles of this Citty-Conqueror, so close, not for any loue they owe him, but only (as all those that follow great men do) to get mony by him. We will leaue them lying in Ambush, or holding their Courts of *Gard*, and take a muster of our next *Regiment*.





## 2. Lying.

Or,

### The second dayes Triumph.



When it came to the eares of the *Sinfull Synagogue*, how the rich Iew of *London*, (*Barabbas Bankruptisme*) their brother, was receyued into the *Citty*, and what a lusty *Reueler* he was become, the rest of the same *Progeny* (being 6. in number) vovd to ryde thither in their greatest *State*, and that euery one should challenge to himselfe (if he could enter) a seuerall day of *Tryumph*; for so he might doe by their owne *Customes*. Another therefore of the *Broode*, being presently aptly accoustred, and armed *Cap-a-pe*, with all furniture fit for such an *Inuader*, sets forward the very next morning, and arriu'de at one of the *Gates*, before any *Porters* eyes were vnglewd. To knocke, hee thought it no policy, because such fellowes are commonly most churlish, when they are most intreated, and are key-cold in their comming downe to *Strangers*, except they be brybed: to stay there with such a confusion of faces round about him, till light should betray him, might call his Arriuall, being strange and hidden, into question; besides, he durst not send any *Spy* he had, to listen what newes went amongst the people, and whether any preparation were made for him, or that they did expict his approche, because indeede there was not any one of the *Damned Crewe* that followed his tayle, whom he durst trust for a true word. He resolues therefore to make his entrance, not by the sword, but by some sleight,



what storme or fayre weather soeuer should happen: And for that purpose, taking asunder his *Charriot*, (for it stood altogether like a *Germane* clock, or an English *Iack* or *Turne-spit*, vpon skrewes and vices) he scatters his Troope vpon the fielde and bye-way, into small companies, as if they had bene Irish beggers; till at last espying certayne Colliers with Carts most sinfully loaden, for the City, and behind them certayne light Country Horse-women ryding to the Markets, hee mingled his Footemen carelesly amongst these, and by this *Stratagem* of Coales, brauely thorow *Moore-gate*, got within the walles, where marching not like a plodding *Grasyer* with his *Droucs* before him, but like a *Citty-Captayne*, with a Company (as pert as Taylours at a wedding) close at his heeles, (because nowe they knewe they were out of feare) hee musters together all the *Hackneymen* and *Horse-coursers* in and about *Colman-streete*.

No sooner had these Sonnes and Heyres vnto Horse-shooes, got him into their eyes, but they wept for ioy to behold him; yet in the ende, putting vp their teares into bottles of Hay, which they held vnder their armes, and wyping their slubberd cheekes with wispes of cleane Strawe (prouyed for the nonce) they harnessed the *Grand Signiors* Caroach, mounted his *Cauallery* vpon Curtals, and so sent him most pompously (like a new elected *Dutch Burgomaster*) into the City.

He was lookt vpon strangely by all whom he met, for at the first, few or none knew him, few followed him, few bid him welcome: But after hee had spent heere a very little peece of time, after it was voyc'd that *Monsieur Mendax* came to dwell amongst them, and had brought with him all sorts of politick falshood and lying, what a number of Men, Women and Children fell presently in loue with him! There was of euery Trade in the City, and of euery profession some, that instantly were dealers with him: For you must note, that in a State so multitudinous, where so many flocks of people must be fed, it is impossible to haue some Trades to stand, if they should not *Lye*.

How quickly after the Art of *Lying* was once publicly profest, were false *Weights* and false *Measures* inuented! and they haue since done as much hurt to the inhabitants of Citties, as the inuention of *Gunnes* hath done to their walles: for though a *Lye* haue but short legs (like a Dwarfes) yet

it goes farre in a little time, *Et crescit eundo*, and at last prooves a tall fellow: the reason is, that *Truth* had euer but one *Father*, but *Lyes* are a thousand mens *Bastards*, and are begotten euery where.

Looke vp then (*Thou thy Countryes Darling*,) and behold what a diuelish *Inmate* thou hast intertained. The *Genealogy* of *Truth* is well knowne, for she was borne in Heauen, and dwels in Heauen: *Falshood* then and *Lying* must of necessity come out of that hot Country of Hell, from the line of *Diuels*: for those two are as opposite, as day and darkenes. What an vngracious *Generation* wilt thou mingle with thine, if thou draw not *this* from thee: What a number of vnhappy and cursed children will be left vpon thy hand? for *Lying* is *Father* to *Falshood*, and *Grandsire* to *Periury*: *Frawd* (with two faces) is his *Daughter*, a very *Monster*: *Treason* (with haire like *Snakes*) is his *kinsemen*; a very *Fury*! how art thou inclos'd with danger? The *Lye* first deceiues thee, and to shoote the deceit off cleanly, an oath (like an *Arrow*) is drawne to the head, and that hits the marke. If a *Lye*, after it is mo[u]lded, be not smooth enough, there is no instrument to burnish it, but an oath: *Swearing* giues it cullor, and a bright complexion. So that *Oathes* are *Crutches*, vpon whych *Lyes* (like lame soldiers) go, and neede no other pasport. Little oathes are able to beare vp great lyes: but great *Lyes* are able to beate downe great *Families*: For oathes are wounds that a man stabs into himselfe, yea, they are burning words that consume those who kindle them.

What fooles then are thy *Buyers* and *Sellers* to be abused by such hell-hounds? *Swearing* and *Forswearing* put into their hands perhaps the gaines of a little *Siluer*, but like those pieces which *Iudas* receiued, they are their destruction. Welth so gotten, is like a tree set in the depth of winter, it prospers not.

But is it possible (*Thou leader of so great a Kingdome*) that heretofore so many bonfires of mens bodies should be made before thee in the good quarrell of *Trueth*? and that now thou shouldst take part with her enemy? Haue so many *Triple-pointed* darts of *Treason* bin shot at the heads of thy *Princes*, because they would not take *Truth* out of thy *Temples*, and art thou now in *League* with false *Witches* yat would kill thee? Thou art no *Traueler*, the habit of *Lying* therefore will not become thee, cast it off.

He that giues a soldier the *Lye*, lookes to receiue the stab: but what danger does he run vpon, that giues a whole City the *Lye*? yet must I venture to giue it thee. Let me tell thee then, that *Thou doest Lye* with *Pride*, and though thou art not so gawdy, yet art thou more costly in attiring thy selfe than the Court, because *Pride* is the *Queene of Sinnes*, thou hast chosen her to be thy *Concubine*, and hast begotten many base Sonnes and Daughters vpon her body, as *Vainglory*, *Curiosity*, *Disobedience*, *Opinion*, *Disdaine*, &c. *Pride*, by thy *Lying* with her, is growne impudent: She is now a common Harlot, and euery one hath vse of her body. The *Taylor* calls her his *Lemman*, he hath often got her great with child of *Phantasticallity* and *Fashions*, who no sooner came into the world, but the fairest Wiues of thy Tennants snatcht them vp into their armes, layd them in their laps and to their breasts, and after they had plaid with them their pleasure, into the country were those two children (of the *Taylors*) sent to be nurst vp, so that they liue sometimes there, but euer and anon with thee.

Thou doest likewise *Lye* with *Vsury*: how often hast thou bin found in bed with her! How often hath she bin openly disgraced at the Crosse for a Strumpet! yet still doest thou keepe her company, and art not ashamed of it, because you commit Sinne together, euen in those houses that haue paynted posts standing at the Gates. What vngodly brats and kindred hath she brought thee? for vpon *Vsury* hast thou begotten *Extortion*, (a strong, but an vnmanly child,) *Hardnes of heart*, a very murderer, and *Bad Conscience*, who is so vnruely, that he seemes to be sent vnto thee, to be thy euerlasting paine. Then hath she Sonnes in law, and they are all *Scriueners*: those *Scriueners* haue base sonnes, and they are all common *Brokers*; those *Brokers* likewise send a number into the world, and they are all *Common Theeues*.

All of these may easily giue Armes: for they fetch their discent from hell, where are as many Gentlemen, as in any one place, in any kingdome.

Thou doost lye with sundrie others, and committest strange whoredomes, which by vse and boldnesse growe so common, that they seeme to be no whoredomes at all, Yet thine owne abominations would not appeare so vilely, but that thou makest thy buildings a *Brothelry* to others: for thou

sufferest *Religion* to lye with *Hipocrisie*: *Charity* to lye with *Ostentation*: *Friendship* to lye with *Hollow-heartednes*: the *Churle* to lye with *Simony*: *Iustice* to lye with *Bribery*: and last of all, *Conscience* to lye with euerie one, So that now shee is full of diseases: But thou knowest the medicine for al these Feauers that shake thee: be therefore to thy selfe thine owne Phisitian, and by strong Pilles purge away this second infection that is breeding vpon thee, before it strike to the heart.

*Falshood* and *Lying* thus haue had their day, and like Almanackes of the last yeare, are now gon out: let vs follow them a step or two farther to see how they ride, and then (if we can) leaue them, for I perceiue it growes late, because *Candle-light* (who is next to enter vpon the stage) is making himself ready to act his Comicall Scenes. The *Chariot* then that *Lying* is drawne in, is made al of whetstones; Wantonnes and euil custome are his Horses; a Foole is the Coachman that driues them: a couple of swearing *Fencers* sometimes leade the Horses by the reynes, and sometimes flourish before them to make roome. Worshipfully is this Lord of *Limbo* attended, for Knights themselues follow close at his heeles; Mary they are not *Post* and *Poyre*-Knightes but one of the *Post*. Amongst whose traine is shuffled in a company of scrambling ignorant *Pctti-foggars*, leane Knaues and hungrie, for they liue vpon nothing but the scraps of the Law, and heere and there (like a Prune in White-broth) is stucke a spruce, but a meere prating vnpractised Lawyers Clarke all in blacke. At the taylor of all (when this goodly Pageant is passed by) follow a crowde of euerie trade some, amongst whome least we be smothered, and bee taken to bee of the same list, let vs strike downe my way.

*Namque odi profanum Vulgus.*



### 3. Candle-light.

Or,

#### The Nocturnall Tryumph.



*Candle-light!* and art thou one of the *Cursed Crew*? hast thou bin set at the Table of Princes, and Nobelman? haue all sortes of people doone reuerence vnto thee, and stood bare so soone as euer they haue seene thee? haue *Theeues*, *Traytors*, and *Murderers* been affraide to come in thy presence, because they knewe thee iust, and that thou wouldest discover them? And art thou now a

harborer of all kindes of *Vices*? nay, doost thou play the capitall *Vicc* thy selfe?

Hast thou had so many learned *Lectures* read before thee, and is the light of thy *Vnderstanding* now cleane put out, and haue so many profound schollers profited by thee? hast thou doone such good to *Vniuersities*, beene soch a guide to the *Lame*, and seene the dooing of so many good workes, yet doest thou now looke dimly, and with a dull eye vpon al *Goodnes*? What comfort haue sickmen taken (in weary and irkesome nights) but onely in thee? thou hast been their *Phisition* and *Apothecary*, and when the rellish of nothing could please them, the very shadow of thee hath beene to them a restoratiue *Consolation*. The *Nurse* hath stilled her wayward *Infant*, shewing it but to thee. What gladnes hast thou put into *Mariners* bosomes, when thou hast met them on the *Sea*? What *Ioy* into the faint and benighted *Trauailer* when he has met thee on the land? How many poore *Handy-craftes* men by *Thee* haue earned the best part of their liuing? And art



thou now become a *Companion* for Drunkards, for leachers, and for prodigalles? Art thou turnd *Reprobate*? thou wilt burne for it in hell, And so odious is this thy *Apostacy*, and hiding thy self from ye light of the truth, yat thy death and going out of the world, euen they yat loue thee best, wil tread thee vnder their feete: yea I yat haue thus plaid the Herrald, and proclaimed thy good parts, wil now play the Cryer and cal thee into open count, to arraigne thee for thy misdemeanors.

Let the world therefore vnderstand, that this Tallow-facde Gentleman (cald *Candle-light*) so soone as euer the Sunne was gon[e] out of sight, and that darkenes like a thief out of a hedge crept vpon the earth, sweate till hee dropt agen, with bustling to come into the *Cittie*. For hauing no more but one onely eye (and that fierie red with drinking and sitting vp late) he was ashamed to be seene by day, knowing he should be laught to scorne, and hooted at. He makes his entrance therefore at *Aldersgate* of set purpose, for though the streete be faire and spatious, yet few lightes in mistie euenings, vsing there to thrust out their golden heads he thought that the aptest circle for him to be raised in, because there his *Glittering* would make greatest show.

What expectation was there of his comming? setting aside ye bonfiers, there is not more triumphing on Midsommer night. No sooner was he aduanced vp into the moste famous Streetes, but a number of shops for ioy beganne to shut in: Mercers rolde vp their silkes and Veluets: the Goldsmithes drew backe their Plate, and all the Citty lookt like a priuate Play-house, when the windowes are clapt downe, as if some *Nocturnal*, or dismall *Tragedy* were presently to be acted before all the *Trades-men*. But *Caualliero Candle-light* came for no such solemnitie: No he had other Crackers in hand to which hee wacht but his houre to giue fire. Scarce was his entrance blown abroad, but the Bankrupt, the Fellow, and all that owed any mony, and for feare of arrests, or Iustices warrants, had like so many Snayles kept their houses ouer their heads al the day before, began now to creep out of their shels, and to stalke vp and down the streets as vprightly, and with as proud a gate as if they meant to knock against the starres with the crownes of their heads.

The damask-coated Cittizen, that sat in his shop both



forenoone and afternoone, and lookt more sowerly on his poore neighbors, then if he had drunke a quart of Vineger at a draught, sneakes out of his owne doores, and slips into a Tauerne, where either alone, or with some other that battles their money together, they so ply themselues with penny pots, which (like small-shot) goe off, powring into their fat paunches, that at length they haue not an eye to see withall, nor a good legge to stand vpon. In which pickle if anye of them happen to be iustled downe by a post (that in spite of them will take the wall) and so reeles them into the kennell, who takes them vp or leades them home? who has them to bed, and with a pillow smotheres this stealing so of good liquor, but that brazen-face *Candle-light*? Nay more, hee intices their verie Prentices to make their desperate sallyes out, and quicke retyres in (contrarie to the Oath of their Indentures) which are seuen yeares a swearing, onely for their Pintes, and away.

Tush, this is nothing! yong shopkeepers that haue newly ventured vpon the pikes of marriage, who are euey houre shewing their wares to their Customers, plying their businesse harder all day then *Vulcan* does his Anuile, and seeme better husbands than *Fidlers* that scrape for a poore liuing both day and night, yet euen these if they can but get *Candle-light*, to sit vp all night with them in any house of *Reckning* (thats to say in a *Tauerne*) they fall roundly to play the *London* prize, and thats at three seuerall weapons, *Drinking*, *Dauncing*, and *Dicing*, Their wiues lying all that time in their beds sighing like widowes, which is lamentable: the giddie-braind husbands wasting the portions they had with them, which lost once, they are (like Maiden-heades) neuer recouerable. Or which is worse, this going a Bat-fowling a nights, being noted by some wise yong-man or other, that knowes how to handle such cases, the bush is beaten for them at home, whilst they catch the bird abroad, but what bird is it? the Woodcocke.

Neuer did any Cittie pocket vp such wrong at the hands of one, ouer whom she is so ieaious, and so tender, that in Winter nights if he be but missing, and hide himselfe in the darke, I know not how many Beadles are sent vp and downe the streetes to crie him: yet you see, there is more cause she should send out to curse him. For what Villanies are not

abroad so long as *Candle-light* is stirring? The *Scruing-man* dare then walke with his wench: the *Priuate Puncke* (otherwise called one that boords in *London*) who like a Pigeon sits billing all day within doores, and feares to steppe ouer the thresholde, does then walke the round till midnight, after she hath beene swaggering amongst pottle pots and Vintners boyes. Nay, the sober *Perpetuana* suited Puritane, that dares not (so much as by *Moone-light*) come neere the Suburb-shadow of a house, where they set stewed Prunes befor[e] you, raps as boldly at the hatch, when he knowes *Candle-light* is within, as if he were a new chosen Constable. When al doores are lockt vp, when no eyes are open, when birds sit silent in bushes, and beasts lie sleeping vnder hedges, when no creature can be smelt to be vp but they that may be smelt euery night a streets length ere you come at them, euen then doth this *Ignis fatuus* (*Candle-light*) walke like a Fire-drake into sundrie corners. If you will not beleeeue this, shoote but your eye through the Iron grates into the Cellers of Vintners, there you shall see him hold his necke in a Iin, made of a clift hoope-sticke, to throttle him from telling tales, whilst they most abhominably iumble together all the papisticall drinckes that are brought from beyond-sea: the poore wines are rackt and made to confesse anie thing: the Spanish and the French meeting both in the bottome of the Cellar, conspire together in their cups, to lay the *Englishman* (if he euer come into their company) vnder the boord.

To be short, such strange mad musick doe they play vpon their Sacke-buttcs, that if *Candle-light* beeing ouer come with the steeme of newe sweete Wines, when they are at worke, shoulde not tell them tis time to goe to bedde, they would make all the Hogges-heads that vse to come to the house, to daunce the Cannaries till they reeld againe. When the *Grape-mongers* and hee are parted, hee walkes vp and downe the streetes squiring olde Midwiues to anie house, (verie secretly) where any Bastards are to be brought into the worlde. From them, (about the houre when Spirits walke, and Cats goe a gossipping) hee visits the Watch, where creeping into the *Beadles* Cothouse (which standes betweene his legges, that are lapt rounde about with peeces of Rugge, as if he had newe strucke of [f] Shackles) and seeing the Watch-men

to nodde at him, hee hydes himselfe presently, (knowing the token) vnder the flappe of a gowne, and teaches them (by instinct) howe to steale nappes into their heades, because hee sees all their Cloakes haue not one good nappe vpon them: and vpon his warrant snort they so lowde, that to those Night walkers (whose wittes are vp so late) it serues as a Watch-ворde to keepe out of the reach of their browne Billes: by which meanes they neuer come to aunswere the matter before maister Constable, and the Bench vpon which his men (that shoulde watch) doe sitte: so that the Counters are cheated of Prisoners, to the great dammage of those that shoulde haue their mornings draught out of the Garnish.

O *Candle-light, Candle-light!* to howe manie costly Sackepossets, and reare Banquets hast thou beene inuited by Prentices and Kitchen-maidens? When the *Bell-man* for anger to spie (such a Purloyner of Cittizens goods) so many, hath bounced at the doore like a madde man, At which (as if *Robin Good-fellow* had beene coniu'r'd vp amongst them) the Wenches haue falne into the handes of the Greene-sickness, and the yong fellowes into colde Agues, with verie feare least their maister (like olde *Ieronimo* and *Isabella* his wife after him) starting out of his naked bed should come downe (with a Weapon in his hande) and this in his mouth: *What out-cryes pull vs from our naked bedde? Who calles? &c.* as the Players can tell you. O *Candle-light*, howe hast thou stuncke then, when they haue popt thee out of their companie; howe hast thou taken it in snuffe, when thou hast beene smelt out especially the maister of the house exclayming, that by day that deede of darknesse had not beene. One Vennie more with thee, and then I haue done.

How many lips haue beene worne out with kissing at the street doore, or in ye entry (in a winking blind euening?) how many odde matches and vneuen mariages haue been made there betweene young Prentises and there maisters daughters, whilst thou (O *Candle-light*) hast stood watching at the staires heade, that none could come stealing downe by thee, but they must bee seene?

It appeares by these articles put in against thee, that thou art partly a Bawd to diuerse loose sinnes, and partly a Coozener: for if any in the Cittie haue badde wares lying deade vpon their handes, thou art better than *Aqua vitæ* to

fetch life into them, and to sende them packing. Thou shalt therefore bee taken out of thy proude Chariot, and bee carted: yet first will wee see what workmanship, and what stufte it is made of, to the intent that if it bee not daungerous for a Cittie to keepe anie Relique belonging to such a crooked Saint, It may bee hung vp as a monument to shewe with what dishonour thou wert driuen out of so noble a lodging, to deface whose buildings thou hast beene so enuious, that when thou hast beene left alone by any thing that woulde take fire, thou hast burnt to the ground many of her goodlyest houses.

*Candle lights* Coach is made all of Horne, shauen as thin as Changelinges are. It is drawne (with ease) by two *Rats*: the *Coachman* is a *Chaundler*, who so sweats with yeacking them, that he drops tallowe, and that feedes them as prouender: yet are the lashes that hee giues the squeaking *Vermine* more deadly to them then al the the *Ratsbane* in Bucklersburie. *Painefulnesse* and *Studdy* are his two Lackeyes and run by him: *Darknesse*, *Conspiracy*, *Opportunitie*, *Stratagems* and *Feare*, are his attendants: hee's sued vnto by *Diggars* in *Mines*, *Grauers*, *Schollers*, *Mariners*, *Nurses*, *Drunkards*, *Vnthriftes* and shrode *Husbands*: hee destroyes that which feedes him, and therefore *Ingratitude* comes behinde all this, driuing them before her. The next Diuel that is to be commaunded vp, is a very lazie one, and will be long in rising: let vs therefore vnbinde this, and fall to other Charmes.





#### 4. Sloth

Or

The fourth dayes Tryumph.



An (doubtlesse) was not created to bee an idle fellow, for then he should bee Gods *Vagabond*: he was made for other purpose then to be euer eating as swine: euer sleeping as *Dormise*: euer dumb as fishes in the Sea, or euer prating to no purpose, as birdes of the ayre: he was not set in this *Vniuersall Orchard* to stand still as a *Tree*, and so to bee cut downe, but to be cut

downe if he should stand still. And to haue him remember this, he carries certaine *Watches* with *Larums* about him, that are euer striking: for all the *Enginous Wheelles* of the *Soule* are continually going: though the body lye neuer so fast bownde in Slumbers, the imagination runnes too and fro, the phantasie flyes round about, the vitall Spirits walke vp and downe, yea the very pulses shew actiuitie, and with their hammers are still beating, so that euen in his very dreames it is whispered in his eare that hee must bee dooing something.

If hee had not these prompters at his elbowe yet euerie member of his body (if it could speake would chide him) if they were put to no vse, considering what noble workmanship is bestowed vpon them. For man no sooner gets vpon his legges, but they are made so that either hee may run or goe: when he is weary, they can giue him ease by standing still, if he will not stand, the *Knees* serue like *Hindges* to bow



vp and downe, and to let him kneele. His armes haue artificiall cordes and stringes, which shorten or flye out of their length at pleasure: They winde about the bodye like a siluer Girdle, and being held out before, are weapons to defend it: at the end of the armes are two beautiful *Mathematicall* Instruments, with fiue seuerall motions in each of them, and thirtie other mouing *Engines*, by which they stirre both. His head likewise standes vppon three *Skrewes*, the one is directly forward to teach him *Prouidence*, the other two are on eather side one, to arme him with *Circumspection*: How busie are both the eyes, to keepe danger from him euerie way.

But admit hee had none of these *Wonderfull Volumes* to reade ouer, yet hee sees the clowdes alwaies working: the waters euer labouring: the earth continuallye bringing foorth: he sees the Sunne haue a hie colour with taking paines for the day. The Moone pale and sickly, with sitting vp for the night: the Stars mustring their armyes together to guard the Moone. All of them, and all that is in the world, seruing as Schoolemaisters, and the world it selfe as an *Academ[y]* to bring vp man in knowledge, and to put him still into action.

How then dares this nastie, and loathsome sin of *Sloth* venture into a Citie amongst so many people? who doth he hope wil giue him entertainment? what lodging (thinks he) can be taine vp, where he and his heauy-headed company may take their afternoones nap soundly? for in euerie street, carts and Coaches make such a thundring as if the world ranne vpon wheelles: at euerie corner, men, women, and children meete in such shoales, that postes are sette vp of purpose to strengthen the houses, least with iustling one another they should shoulder them downe. Besides, hammers are beating in one place, Tubs hooping in another, Pots clincking in a third, water-tankards running at tilt in a fourth: heere are Porters sweating vnder burdens, there Marchants-men bearing bags of money, Chapmen (as if they were at Leape frog) skippe out of one shop into another: Tradesmen (as if they were dauncing Galliards) are lusty at legges and neuer stand still: all are as busie as countrie Attorneys at an Assises: how then can *Idlenes* thinke to inhabit heere?

Yet the *Worshipfull Sir*, (that leades a Gentlemans life,



and dooth nothing) though he comes but slowly on (as if hee trodde a French March) yet hee comes and with a great trayne at his tayle, as if the countrie had brought vp some *Fellon* to one of our Gayles, So is he conuaide by nine or tenne drowsie Malt-men, that lye nodding ouer their Sackes, and euen a moste sleepee and still Triumph begins his entrance at *Bishopsgate*.

An armie of substantiall Housholders (moste of them liuing by the hardnesse of the hand) came in Battaile array, with spred Banners, bearing the Armes of their seuerall occupations to meete this *Cowardly Generall* and to beate him backe. But hee sommoning a parlee, hammered out such a strong Oration in praise of *Ease*, that they all strucke vp their Drums, flung vp their *Round-Cappes*, (and as if it had beene another *William the Conqueror* came marching in with him) and lodged him in the quietest streete in the Cittie, for so his *Lazinessse* requested.

Hee then presently gaue licenses to all the Vintners, to keepe open house, and to emptye their Hogsheades to all commers, who did so, dying their grates into a drunkards blush (to make them knowe from Grates of a prison) least customers should reele away from them and hanging out new bushes, that if men at their going out, could not see the signe, yet they might not loose themselues in the bush. He likewise gaue order that dicing-houses, and bowling alleyes should be erected, wherupon a number of poore handy-crafts-men, that before wrought night and day, made stocks to themselues of ten groates, and crowns a peece, and what by Betting, Lurches, Rubbers and such tricks, they neuer tooke care for a good daies worke afterwards. For as *Letchery* is patron of al your Suburb Colledges, and sets vp *Vaulting-houses*, and *Daunsing-Schooles*: and as *Drunkennesse* when it least can stand, does best hold vp Alehouses, So *Sloth* is a founder of the Almshouses first mentioned, and is a good Benefactor to these last.

The Players prayed for his comming, they lost nothing by it, the comming in of tenne Embassadors was neuer so sweete to them, as this our sinne was; their houses smoakt euerye after noone with Stinkards, who were so glewed together in crowdes with the Steames of strong breath, that when they came forth, their faces lookt as if they had

beene perboyld: And his *Comicall Tearme-time* they hoped for, at the least all the summer, because tis giuen out that *Sloth* himselfe will come, and sit in the two-pennie galleries amongst the Gentlemen, and see their *Knaueries* and their pastimes.

But alas! if these were the sorest diseases (*Thou noblest City of the now-noblest Nation*) that *Idleness* does infect thee with: thou hast Phisick sufficient in thy selfe, to purge thy bodie of them. No, no, hee is not slothfull, that is onely lazie, that onely waistes his good houres, and his Siluer in Luxury, and licentious ease, or that onely (like a standing water) does nothing, but gather corruption: no, hee is the true *Slothfull* man that does no good. And how many would crie *Guilty* vnto thee, if this were there *Inditement*? Thy Maiestrates (that when they see thee most in danger) put vp the swordes that *Iustice* hath guided, to their loynes, and flie into the countrie, leauing thee destitute of their *Counsell*, they would crie guilty, they are slothfull.

Thy Phisitions, that fearing to die by that which they liue, (*sicknes*) doe most vnkindely leaue thee when thou art ready to lye vpon thy death bed, *They* are slothful, *They* would crie *Guilty*. Thy great men, and such as haue been thy *Rulers*, that being taken out of poore Cradles, and nursed vp by thee, haue fild their Cofers with golde, and their names with honour, yet afterwards growing weary of thee, (like *Mules* hauing suckt their dammes) most ingratelfully haue they stolne from thee, spending those blessings which were thine, vpon those that no way deserue them. Are not *These Slothfull*? They would crie guiltye. There is yet one more, whome I would not heare to *Cry Guilty*, because (of all others) I would not haue them slothfull. O you that speake the language of *Angels*, and should indeed be *Angels* amongst vs, you that haue offices aboue those of Kinges, that haue warrant to commaund Princes, and controle them, if they do amisse: you that are Stewards ouer the Kings house of heauen, and lye heere as Embassadors about the greatest State-matters in the world: what a dishonour were it to your places, if it should bee knowne that you are Slothfull? you are sworne labourers, to worke in a Vineyard, which if you dresse not carefully, if you cut it not artificially, if you vnderprop it not wisely when you see it laden, if you

gather not the fruites in it, when they bee ripe, but suffer them to drope downe, and bee eaten vp by Swine. O what a deere account are you to make him that must giue you your hire? you are the Beames of the Sun that must ripen the grapes of the Vine, and if you shine not cleerely, he will eclipse you for euer: your tongues are the instruments that must cut off rancke and idle Sprigs, to make the bearing-branches to spread, and vnlesse you keep them sharpe and be euer pruning with them, he will cast you by, and you shall be eaten vp with rust. The Church is a garden and you must weede it: it is a Fountaine, and you must keepe it cleere: it is her Husbands Jewell, and you must pollish it: it is his best beloued, and you must keepe her chaste.

Many Merchants hath this Cittie to her Sonnes, of al which you are the most noble, you trafficke onely for mens Soules, sending them to the Land of *Promise*, and to the heauenly *Ierusalem*, and receiuing from thence (in *Exchange*) the richest Commoditie in the world, your owne saluation. O therefore bee not you Slothfull: for if being chosen Pilots, you Sleepe, and so sticke vpon Rockes, you hazard your owne shipwracke more then theirs that venture with you.

What a number of Colours are heere grounded, to paint out *Sloth* in his vglines, and to make him loathed, whilst he (yawning, and his Chin knocking nods into his brest) regardes not the whips of the moste crabbish *Satyristes*. Let vs therefore looke vpon his *Horse-litter* that hee rides in, and so leaue him.

A couple of vnshodde Asses carry it betweene them, it is all fluttishly ouergrowne with Mosse on the out-side, and on the inside quilted through out with downe pillowes: *Sleepe* and *Plenty* leade the *Fore-Asse*; a pursie double chind *Læna*, riding by on a Sumpter-horse with prouander at his mouth, and she is the *Litter-Driuier*: shee keepes two Pages, and those are an *Irish Beggar* one the one side, and *One that sayes he has been a Soldier* on the other side. His attendants are *Sicknes*, *Want*, *Ignorance*, *Infamy*, *Bondage*, *Palenes*, *Blockishnes*, and *Carclesnes*. The Retayners that wear his cloth are *Anglers*, *Dumb Ministers*, *Players*, *Exchange-Wenches*, *Gamsters*, *Panders*, *Whores* and *Fidlers*.



Apishnesse:  
Or  
The fift dayes Triumph



Loth was not so slow in his march, when hee entred the Citie, but *Apishnesse* (that was to take his turne next) was as quick. Do you not know him? It cannot be read in any Chronicle, that he was euer with *Henrie* the eight at *Bulloigne* or at ye winning of *Turwin* and *Turnay*: for (not to belie the *sweete Gentleman*,) he was neither in the shell then, no nor then when *Paules-steeple* and the *Weathercocke* were on fire; by which markes (without looking in his mouth) you may safely sweare, that hees but yong, for hees a feirse, dapper fellow, more light headed then a Musitian: as phantastically attyred as a Court Ieaster: wanton in discourse: lasciuious in behauour; iocond in good companie: nice in his trencher, and yet he feedes verie hungerly on scraps of songs: he drinckes in a Glasse well, but vilely in a deepe French-bowle: yet much about the yeare when *Monsieur* came in, was hee begotten, betweene a French Tayler, and an English Court-Seamster. This *Signior Ioculento* (as the diuell would haue it) comes prawncing in at *Cripplegate*, and he may well doe it, for indeede all the parts hee playes are but con'd speeches stolne from others, whose voices and actions he counterfeites: but so lamely, that all the Cripples in tenne Spittle-houses, shewe not more halting. The *Grauer Browes* were bent against him, and by the awfull *Charms* of *Reuerend Authoritie*, would haue sent him

downe frome whence he came, for they knew howe smooth soeuer his lookes were, there was a diuell in his bosome: But hee hauing the stronger faction on his side, set them in a Mutenie, *Sauitque animis ignobile vulgus*, the manie headed Monster fought as it had beene against Saint *George*, won the gate, and then with showtes was the *Gaueston of the Time*, brought in. But who brought him in? None but richmens sonnes that were left well, and had more money giuen by will, then they had wit how to bestow it: none but Prentises almost out of their yeers, and all the Tailors, Haberdashers, and Embroderers that could be got for loue or money, for these were prest secretly to the seruice, by the yong and wanton dames of the Citie, because they would not be seene to shewe their loue to him themselues.

Man is Gods Ape, and an Ape is *Zani* to a man, doing ouer those trickes (especially if they be knauish) which hee sees done before him: so that *Apishnesse* is nothing but counter-fetting or imitation: and this flower when it first came into the Citie, had a prettie scent, and a delightfull colour, hath bene let to run so high, that it is now seeded, and where it fals there rises vp a stinking weede.

For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens *Shee Apes*, for they will not bee behind them the bredth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will haue the French standing 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 himselfe.

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 Duple[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 speakes *Spanish*: *Polonia* giues him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster then 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 scruily becomes vs:

This sinne of *Apishnesse*, whether it bee in apparell, or in diet, is not of such long life as his fellowes, and for seeing none but women and fooles keepe him companie, the one will be ashamed of him when they begin to haue wrinkles, the other when they feele their purses light. The Magistrate, the wealthy commoner, and the auncient Cittizen, disdain to come neare him: wee were best therefore, take note of such things as are aboute him, least on a suddaine hee slip out of sight.

*Apishnesse* rides in a Chariot made of nothing but cages, in which are all the strangest out-landish Birds that can be gotten: the Cages are stucke full of Parats feathers: the Coach-man is an *Italian Mownti-banck* who driues a Fawne and a Lambe, for they drawe the Gew-gaw in Winter, when such beasts are rarest to be had: In Sommer, it goes alone by the motion of wheelles: two Pages in light coloured suites, embrodered full of Butterflies, with wings that flutter vp with the winde, run by him, the one being a dauncing boy the other a Tumbler: His attendants are *Folly*, *Laughter*, *Inconstancie*, *Riot*, *Nicenesse*, and *Vainglorie*: when his Court remoues, hee is folowed by *Tobacconists*, *Shittlecock-makers*, *Feathermakers*, *Cob-web-lawne-weauers*, *Perfumers*, young, Countrie Gentlemen, and Fooles, In whose Ship whilst they all are sayling, let vs obserue what other abuses the *Verdimotes* Inquest doe present on the lande, albeit they bee neuer reformed, till a second *Chaos* is to bee refined. In the meane time, *In noua fert Animus*.





Shauing:  
Or  
The sixt dayes Triumph.



Ow? *Shauing*! Me thinkes *Barbers* should crie to their Customers winck hard and come running out of their shoppes into the open streetes, throwing all their Suddes out of their learned Latin Basons into my face for presuming to name the *Mysterie* of *Shauing* in so villanous a companie as these seuen are. Is that Trade (say they) that for so many yeares hath beene held vp by so many heades, and has out-bearded the stowttest in *England* to their faces, Is that *Trade*, that because it is euermore *Trimming* the Citie, hath beene for many yeers past made vp into a Societie, and hath their *Guild*, and their *Priuiledges* with as much freedome as the best, must that nowe bee counted a sinne (nay and one of the *Deadly sinnes*) of the Cittie? No, no, be not angry with me, (O you that bandie away none but sweete washing Balles, and cast none other then *Rose-waters* for any mans pleasure) for there is *Shauing* within the *walles* of this *Great Metropolis*, which you neuer dreamed of: A shauing that takes not only away the rebellious haire, but brings the flesh with it too: and if that cannot suffice, the very bones must follow. If therefore you, and *Fiue* companies greater then yours, should chuse a Colonel, to lead you against this mightie *Tamburlaine*, you are too weake to make him *Retire*, and if you should come to a batteil, you would loose the day.

For behold what *Troopes* forsake the *Standard* of the Citie, and flie to him: neither are they base and common souldiers, but euen those that haue borne armes a long time. Be silent therefore, and be patient: and since there is no remedie but that (*this combatant that is so cunning at the sharp*) wil come in, mark in what triumphant and proud manner, he is marshalled through *Newgate*: At which *Bulwarke* (and none other) did he (in policy) desire to shew himself. First, because he knew if the Citie should play with him as they did with *Wiat*, *Newgate* held a number, that though they were false to all the world, would be true to him. Couragiously therefore does he enter: All of them that had once serued vnder his colors (and were now to suffer for the *Truth*, which they had abused) leaping vp to the Iron lattaces, to beholde their *General*, and making such a ratling with shaking their chaines for ioy, as if *Cerberus* had bin come from hell to liue and die amongst them. *Shauing* is now lodged in the heart of the Citie, but by whom? and at whose charges? Mary at a common purse, to which many are tributaries, and therefore no maruell if he be feasted royally. The first that paid their mony towards it, are cruel and couetous Land-lords, who for the building vp of a Chimny, which stands them not aboue 30.s. and for whitening the wals of a tenement, which is scarce worth the daubing raise the rent presently (as if it were new put into ye Subsidy book) assessing it at 3. li. a yeer more then euer it went for before: filthy wide-mouthd bandogs they are, that for a quarters rent will pull out their ministers throte, if he were their tenant: And (though it turn to the vtter vndoing of a man) being rubd with quicksiluer, which they loue because they haue many consciences, they will let to a drunken *Flemming* a house ouer his own countryman head, thinking hees safe enough from the thunderbolts of their wiues and children, and from curses, and the very vengeance of heauen, if he get by the bargaine, but so many Angels as will couer the crowne of his head.

The next that laide downe his share, was no Sharer among the Players, but a shauer of yong *Gentlemen*, before euer a haire dare peepe out of their chinnes: and these are *Vsurers*: who for a little money, and a greate deal of trash: (as Fire-shouels, browne-paper, motley cloake-bags, &c.) bring yong Nouices into a fooles Paradise till they haue sealed the

Morgage of their landes, and then like Pedlers, goe they (or some Familiar spirit for them raizde by the *Vsurers*) vp and downe to cry *Commodities*, which scarce yeeld the third part of ye sum for which they take them vp.

There are likewise other Barbers, who are so well customed, that they shaue a whole Citie sometymes in three dayes, and they doe it (as *Bankes* his horse did his *tricks*) onely by the eye, and the eare: For if they either see no Magistrate comming towards them, (as being called back by the Common-weale for more serious imployments) or doe but heare that hee lyes sicke, vpon whom the health of a Cittie is put in hazard: they presently (like Prentises vpon *Shoue-tuesday*) take the lawe in their owne handes, and doe what they list. And this Legion consists of Market-folkes, Bakers, Brewers, all that weigh their Consciences in Scales. And lastly, of the two degrees of Colliers, *viz.* those of Char-coles, and those of *New-castle*. Then haue you the *Shauiug* of Fatherlesse children, and of widowes, and thats done by Executors. The *Shauiug* of poore Clients especially by the Atturneyes Clearkes of your Courts, and thats done by writing their Billes of costs vpon *Cheuerell*. The *Shauiug* of prisoners by extortion, first, taken by their keepers, for a prison is builded on such ranke and fertile ground, that if poore wretches sow it with hand-fulles of small debts when they come in, if they lie there but a while to see the comming vp of them: the charges of the house will bee treble the demaund of the Creditor. Then haue you *Brokers* yat *shaue* poore men by most iewish interest: marry the diuils trimme them so soone as they haue washed others. I wil not tell how Vintners shaue their Guestes with a little peece of Paper not aboue three fingers broade; for their roomes are like Barbar Chaires: Men come into them willingly to bee *Shauen*. Onely (which is worst) bee it knowne to thee (*O thou Queene of Cities*) thy Inhabitants *Shaue* their *Consciences* so close, that in the end they growe balde, and bring foorth no goodnesse.

Wee haue beene quicke (you see) in *Trimming* this *Cutter* of *QueeneHith*, because tis his propertie to handle others so, let vs bee as nymble in praysing his *Household-stuffe*: The best part of which is his *Chariot*, richly adorned, It is drawn by foure beasts: the 2. formost are a *Wolfe* (which will eate till he be readie to burst) and hee is Coach-fellow to a *she-Bear*,

who is cruell euen to women great with childe: behinde them are a couple of *Blood-houndes*: the Coach-man is as *Informers*. Two *Pettifoggers* that haue beene turned ouer the barre, are his Lackies; his *Houshold seruants* are *Wit* (who is his Steward) *Audacitie*: *Shifting*: *Inexorabilitie*: and *Disquietnesse of mind*: The Meanie are (besides some persons before named) skeldring soldiers, and begging schollers.





## Crueltie;

Or

### The seuenth and last dayes Triumph.



What a weeke of sinfull *Reueling* hath heere bin with these *six* proud Lords of Misrule? to which of your *Hundred* parishes (O you *Citizens*) have not some one of these (if not all) removed their Courts and feasted you with them? your Percullises are not strong enough to keepe them out by day your Watchmen are too sleepy to spie their stealing in by night. There is yet another to enter, as great in power as his fellowes, as subtill, as full of mis-chiefe: If I shoulde name him to you, you would laugh mee to scorne, because you cannot bee perswaded that such a one should euer bee suffered to liue within the freedome: yet if I name him not to you, you may in time, by him (as by the rest) bee vndone. It is *Crueltie*, O strange! me thinkes *London* should start vp out of her sollid foundation, and in anger bee ready to fall vppon him, and grinde him to dust that durst say, shee is possest with such a deuill. *Cruelty!* the verie sound of it shewes that it is no English word: it is a *Fury* sent out of hel, not to inhabit within such beautifull walles, but amongst Turkes and Tartars. The other sixe Monsters transforme themselues into Amiable shapes, and set golden, inticing Charmes to winne men to their *Circæan* loue, they haue *Angelical* faces to allure, and bewitching tongues to inchaunt: But *Cruelty* is a hag, horred in forme, terrible in voice, formidable in threates, A tyrant in his very lookes, and a murderer in all his actions.

How then commeth it to passe that heere he seekes entertainment? For what Cittie in the world, does more drie vp the teares of the Widdowe, and giues more warmth to the fatherlesse then this ancient and reuerend *Grandam* of Citties? Where hath the *Orphan* (that is to receiue great portions) lesse cause to mourne the losse of Parents? He findes foure and twentie graue *Senators* to his Fathers instead of one: the Cittie it selfe to bee his Mother; her Officers to bee his Seruants, who see that hee want nothing: her lawes to suffer none to doe him wrong: and though he be neuer so simple in wit, or so tender in yeares, shee lookes as warily to that welth which is left him, as to the Apple of her owne eye. Where haue the Leaper and the Lunatick Surgery, and Phisicke so good cheape as heere? their payment is onely thanks: large Hospitalls are erected (of purpose to make them lodgings) and the rent is most easie, onely their prayers: yet for all this, that Charitie hath her Armes full of children, and that tender-brested Compassion is still in one street or other dooing good workes: off from the Hindges are one of the 7. *Gates* readie to bee lifted, to make roome for this Giant: the Whiflers of your inferior and Chiefe companies cleere the wayes before him, men of all trades with shoutes and acclamations followed in thronges behinde him, yea euen the siluer-bearded, and seuearest lookt cittizens haue giuen him welcomes in their Parlors.

There are in Lond[on], and within the buildings, yat round about touch her sides, and stand within her reach, *Thirteenc strong houses of sorrow*, where the prisoners hath his heart wasting away sometimes a whole prentiship of yeres in cares. They are most of them built of Freestone, but none are free within them: cold are their imbracements: vnwholsom[e] is their cheare: dispaireful their lodgings, vncomfortable their societies, miserable their inhabitants: O what a deale of wretchednes can make shift to lye in a little roome! if those 13 houses were built al together, how rich wold Griefe be, hauing such large inclosures? Doth cruelty challenge a freemans roome in the City because of these places? no, the politicke body of the Republike wold be infected, if such houses as these were not maintained, to keepe vp those that are vnsound. Claimes he then an inheritance here, because you haue whipping postes in your streete for the Vagabond?



the Stocks and the cage for the vnruely beggar? or because you haue Carts for the Bawde and the Harlot, and Beadles for the Lecher? neither. Or is it because so many monthly Sessions are held? so many men, women and Children cald to a reconing at the Bar of death for their liues? and so many lamentable hempen Tragedies acted at *Tiburne*? nor for this: *Iustice* should haue wrong, to haue it so reported. No (you Inhabitants of this little world of people) Crueltie is a large Tree and you all stand vnder it: you are cruel in compelling your children (for wealth) to goe into loathed beds, for therby you make them bond-slaues: what ploughman is so foolish to yoake young hecfars and old bullocks together? yet such is your husbandry. In fitting your Coaches with horses, you are very curious to haue them (so neere as you can) both of a colour, both of a height, of an age, of proportion, and will you bee carelesse in coupling your Children? he into whose bosome threescore winters haue thrust their frozen fingars, if hee be rich (though his breath bee rancker then a Muck-hill, his bodye more drye than *Mummi*, and his minde more lame than *Ignorance* it selfe) shall haue offered vnto him (but it is offered as a sacrifice) the tender bossome of a Virgin, vpon whose fore-head was neuer written sixteene yeares: if she refuse this liuing death (for lesse than a death it cannot be vnto her) She is threatned to bee left an out-cast, cursd for disobedience, raild at daily, and reuyld howerlye: to saue herselfe from which basenes, She desp[e]rately runnes into a bondage, and goes to Church to be married, as if she went to be buried. But what glorye atcheiue you in these conquests? you doe wrong to Time, inforcing May to embrace December: you dishonour Age, in bringing it into scorne for insufficiency, into a loathing for dotage, into all mens laughter for ieaousie. You made your Daughters looke wrinckled with sorrowes, before they be olde, and your sonnes by riot, to be beggars in midst of their youth. Hences come it, yat murders are often contriued, and as often acted: our cuntrye is woful in fresh examples: Hence comes it, yat the Courtiers giues you an open scoffe, ye clown a secret mock, the Cittizen yat dwels at your thres-hald, a iery frump: Hence it is yat if you goe by water in the calmest day, you are driuen by some fatall storme

into ye vnlucky and dangerous hauen betweene *Greenewich* and *London*. 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 in a loathed body hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his cares to sleepe vppon, when you 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 mooue you, the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with despaire, 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 pittie 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 looke like the Diuell that would destroy vs, 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*.

*Crueltie* hath yet another part to play, it is acted (like the old Morralls at *Maningtree*) by Trades-men, marrye seuerall companies in the Citie haue it in study, and they are neuer perfect in it, till the end of seauen yeares at least, at which time, they come off with it roundly And this it is: When your seruants haue made themselues bondmen to inioy your fruitfull hand-maides, thats to say, to haue an honest and thriuing Art to liue by: when they haue fared hardly with you by Indenture, and like your Beasts which carry you haue patiently borne al labours, and all wrongs you could lay vpon them.

When you haue gathered the blossomes of their youth, and reaped the fruites of her strength, And that you can no

longer (for shame) hold them in Captiuitie, but that by the lawes of your Country and of conscience you must vndoe their fetters, Then, euen then doe you hang moste weightes at their heeles, to make them sincke downe for euer: when you are bound to send them into the world to liue, you send them into the world to beg: they seru'd you seuen yeeres to pick vp a poore liuing, and therein you are iust, for you will be sure it shall be a poore liuing indeede they shall pick vp: for what do the rich cubs? like foxes they lay their heads together in conspiracy, burying their leaden consciences vnder the earth, to the intent that all waters that are wholesome in taste, and haue the sweetnes of gaine in going downe, may be drawne through them only, being the great pipes of their Company, because they see tis the custome of the City, to haue all waters that come thither, conueyed by such large vessels, and they will not breake the customes of the City. When they haue the fulnesse of welth to the brim, that it runs ouer, they scarce will suffer their poore Seruant to take that which runs at waste, nor to gather vp the wind-fals, when all the great trees, as if they grew in the garden of the *Hesperides*, are laden with golden apples: no, they would not haue them gleane the scattered eares of corne, though they themselues carry away ye full sheafes; as if Trades that were ordained to the *Communities*, had lost their first priuiledges, and were now turnd to *Monopolyes*. But remember (ô you *Rich men*) that your Seruants are your adopted Children, they are naturalized into your bloud, and if you hurt theirs, you are guilty of letting out your owne, than which, what *Cruelty* can be greater?

What *Gallenist* or *Paracelsian* in the world, by all his water-casting, and minerall extractions, would iudge, that this fairest-fac'de daughter of *Brute*. (and good daughter to King *Lud*, who gaue her her name) should haue so much corruption in her body? vnlesse (that beeing now two thousand and seuen hundred yeeres old) extreme age should fill her full of diseases! Who durst not haue sworne for her, that of all loathsome sinnes that euer bred within her, she had neuer toucht the sinne of cruelty? It had wont to be a Spanish *Sicknes*, and hang long (incurably) vpon the body of their *Inquisition*; or else a French disease, running all ouer that Kingdome in a *Massacre*;

2700 and oulde  
yeeres since  
London was  
first builded  
by Brute.

but that it had infected the English, especially the people of this now once-again *New-card-Troy*, it was beyond beliefe. But is she cleerely purg'd of it by those pills that haue before bin giuen her? Is she now sound? Are there no dregs of this thick and pestilenciall poyson, eating still through her bowels? Yes: the vgliest Serpent hath not vncurl'd himselfe. She hath sharper and more black inuenomed stings within her, than yet haue bin shot forth.

There is a *Cruelty* within thee (faire *Troynouant*) worse and more barbarous then all the rest, because it is *Against want of places for Buriall in extremity of sicknes.* halfe against thy owne selfe, and halfe against thy *Dead Sonnes and Daughters.* Against thy dead children wert thou cruell in that dreadfull, horrid, and *Tragicall* yeere, when 30000 of them (struck with <sup>1602.</sup> plagues from heauen) dropt downe in winding-sheets at thy feet. Thou didst then take away all *Ceremonies* due vnto them, and haledst them rudely to their last beds (like drunkards) without the dead mans musick (his *Bell.*) Alack, this was nothing: but thou tumbledst them into their euerlasting lodgings (ten in one heape, and twenty in another) as if all the roomes vpon earth had bin full. The gallant and the begger lay together; the scholler and the carter in one bed: the husband saw his wife, and his deadly enemy whom he hated, within a paire of sheetes. Sad and vnsemely are such *Funeralls*: So felons that are cut downe from the tree of shame and dishonor, are couered in the earth: So souldiers, after a mercilesse battaile, receiue vnhan[d]some buriall. But suppose the *Pestiferous Deluge* should againe drowne this little world of thine, and that thou must be compeld to breake open those caues of horror and gastlinesse, to hide more of thy dead houshold in them, what rotten stenches, and contagious damps would strike vp into thy nostrils? thou couldst not lift vp thy head into the aire, for that (with her condensed sinnes) would stifle thee, thou couldst not diue into the waters, for that they being teinted by the ayre, would poison thee. Art thou now not cruell against thy selfe, in not prouiding (before the land-waters of *Affliction* come downe againe vpon thee) more and more conuenient Cabins to lay those in, that are to goe into such farre countries, who neuer looke to come back againe? If thou shouldst deny it, the Graues when they open, will be witnesses against thee.

Nay, thou hast yet *Another Cruelty* gnawing in thy bosome ;  
Against want  
of provision  
for those that  
dye in the  
fields. for what hope is there yat thou shouldst haue  
 pittie ouer others, when thou art vnmercifull to  
 thy self! Looke ouer thy walls into thy Orchards  
 and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy seruants and appren-  
 tises 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  
 deliuered 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 trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hie  
 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 aliuie: 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.

Is it not now hie time to sound a *Retreat*, after so terrible  
The Conclusion. a battaile fought betweene the seuen *Electors* of  
 the *Low Infernall Countryes*, and one little City? What  
 armyes come marching along with them? What bloody  
 cullors do they spread? What Artillery do they mount to  
 batter the walls? How valiant are their seuen *Generalls*?  
 How expert? How full of fortune to conquer? Yet nothing  
 sooner ouerthrowes them, than to bid them battaile first,  
 and to giue them defiance.

Who can denye now, but that *Sinne* (like the seuen-headed  
*Nylus*) hath ouerflowed thy banks and thy buildings (*o* thu  
 glory of *Great Brittain*) and made thee fertile (for many  
 yeeres together) in all kindes of *Vices*? *Volga*, that hath fifty  
 streames falling one into another, neuer ranne with so swift

and vnres[i]stable a current as these *Black-waters* do, to bring vpon thee an *Inundation*.

If thou (as thou hast done) kneelest to worship this *Beast* with *Seuen Crowned Heads*, and the *Whore* that sits vpon it, the fall of thee (thou hast out-stood so many Citties) will be greater then that of *Babylon*. She is now gotten within thy walls; she rides vp and downe thy streetes, making thee drunke out of her cup, and marking thee in the forehead with pestilence for her owne. She causes *Violls* of wrath to be powred vpon thee, and goes in triumph away, when she sees thee falling. If thou wilt be safe therefore and recouer health, rise vp in Armes against her, and driue her (and the *Monster* that beares her) out at thy *Gates*. Thou seest how proudly and impetuously sixe of these *Centuares* (that are halfe man, halfe beast, and halfe diuell) come thundring alongst thy Habitations, and what rabbles they bring at their heeles; take now but note of the last, and marke how the seuenth rides: for if thou findest but the least worthy quality in any one of them to make thee loue him, I will write a *Retractation* of what is inueyd against them before, and pollish such an *Apology* in their defence, that thou shalt be enamored of them all.

The body and face of this *Tyrannous Commander*, that leades thus the *Rearward*, are already drawne: his Chariot is framed all of ragged *Flint* so artificially bestowed, that as it runnes, they strike one another, and beate out fire that is able to consume Citties: the wheeles are many, and swift: the Spokes of the wheeles, are the Shinbones of wretches that haue bin eaten by misery out of prison. A couple of vnruely, fierce, and vntamed *Tygers* (cald *Murder* and *Rashnes*) drew the Chariot: *Ignorance* holds the reynes of the one, and *Obduration* of the other: *Selge-will* is the *Coachman*. In the vpper end of the *Coach*, sits *Crucly* alone, vpon a bench made of dead mens sculls. All the way that he rides, he sucks the hearts of widdowes and father-lesse children. He keepes neither foote-men nor Pages, for none will stay long with him. He hath onely one attendant that euer followes him, called *Repentance*, but the *Beast* that drawes him, runnes away with his good Lord and Master so fast before, that *Repentance* being lame (and therefore slow) tis alwayes very late ere he comes to him. It is to be feared, that *Crucly* is of



great authority where he is knowne, for few or none dare stand against him: *Law* only now and then beards him, and stayes him, in contempt of those that so terribly gallop before him; but out of the *Lawes* hands, if he can but snatch a sheathed sword (as oftentimes hee does) presently hee whips it out, smiting and wounding with it euey one that giues him the least crosse word. He comes into the *Citty*, commonly at *All-gate*, beeing drawne that way by the smell of bloud about the *Barres*, (for by his good will he drinks no other liquor :) but when hee findes it to be the bloud of *Beasts* (amongst the *Butchers*) and not of men, he flyes like lightning along the *Causey* in a madnes, threatning to ouer-runne all whom he meetes: but spying the *Brokers* of *Hownsditch* shuffling themselues so long together (like a false paire of *Cards*) till the *Knaues* be vppermost, onely to doe homage to him, he stops, kissing all their cheekes, calling them all his deerest *Sonnes*;

and bestowing a damnable deale of his blessing  
vpon them, they cry, *Roome for Cruelty*,  
and are the onely men that bring  
him into the *Citty*:

To follow whom vp and downe so farre  
as they meane to goe with him,

—*Dii me terrent, et Iupiter hostis.*

FINIS.

*Tho. Dekker.*



The English Scholar's Library etc.

No. 6.

---

*The Return from Parnassus &c.*

[Acted 1602. Printed] 1606.



The English Scholar's Library of  
Old and Modern Works.

*The Return from Parnassus or  
the Scourge of Simony.*

Publicly acted by the Students of Saint  
John's College in Cambridge.

[In January 1602. Printed] 1606.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A., &c.,  
LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE ETC.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

15 April 1879.

No. 6.

(All rights reserved.)



# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Bibliography ... ..	vi
JOHN BODENHAM's List of Poets herein criticized by <i>Ingenioso</i> and <i>Judicio</i> ... ..	vii-viii
On the date of the Composition of this Play ... ..	ix-xii
INTRODUCTION' ... ..	xiii-xvi

## *The Returne from Pernassus &c.* .... I

### THE PROLOGUE. 3-5

Boy, Stagekeeper, *Momus*, and *Defensor*.

The names of the Actors ... ..	6
--------------------------------	---

### [ CHARACTERS INTRODUCED IN ] ACT I.

Judicio ... ..	8-14
Ingenioso ... ..	7, 15, 44-46, 51-58, 68-72
Furor Poeticus ... ..	18, 19, 44-46, 51-58, 68-72
Phantasma ... ..	18, 19, 44-46, 51-58, 68-72
Theodore, a <i>French quack doctor</i> [ <i>i.e.</i> <i>Philomusus</i> .] ... ..	15-17, 20-22
Jacques, his man [ <i>i.e.</i> <i>Studioso</i> .] ... ..	15-17, 20-22
Richardetto, a scholar learning <i>French</i> ... ..	17
John Danter, the <i>Stationer</i> ... ..	14-15

### [ ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS INTRODUCED IN ] ACT II.

Academicco ... ..	22-32, 68-72
Immerito ... ..	24, 25-27, 35-39, 42
Stercutio, his <i>Father</i> ... ..	25-27
Amoretto ... ..	24-34, 42, 43
<i>Amoretto's page</i> ... ..	32-34, 42-43, 49-58
<i>A Burgess patient</i> ... ..	20-22

### [ ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS IN ] ACT III.

Sir Roderick, father to <i>Amoretto</i> ... ..	35-42, 49-57
Sir Roderick's <i>Page</i> ... ..	35-39, 49-57
Master Recorder ... ..	39-42, 49-57
<i>Philomusus</i> , } in their own proper characters ... ..	46-48, 58-72
<i>Studioso</i> , }	

### [ ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS IN ] ACT IV.

Prodigo ... ..	49, 50
Richard Burbage ... ..	58-60
William Kempe ... ..	58-60

### [ ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS IN ] ACT V.

Jack Fidler and other fidders ... ..	63-67
--------------------------------------	-------

*The Scene is laid in London.*



# BIBLIOGRAPHY.



## ORIGINAL ISSUE.

### A. *As a separate publication.*

1. 1606. London. 4to. See title at *p.* 1, and as to registration at Stationers' Hall, at *p.* xii.

∴ Mr. W. C. HAZLITT in his prefatory note to (3) below, states :  
"Almost all the extant copies of this drama appear to vary in certain literal particulars."

## SUBSEQUENT ISSUES.

### A. *As a separate publication.*

2. 15 April, 1878. Southgate, London, N. The present impression ; which is reprinted from British Museum copy with press mark, 161. a. 65.

### B. *With other works.*

3. 1773. Oxford. 8vo. THOMAS HAWKINS, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford. The Origin of the English Drama, illustrated in its various species, &c. In 3 vols. The *Return &c.* occupies volume iii. 199-287.
4. 1874-1876. London. 8vo. ROBERT DODSLEY. A Select Collection of Old English Plays. The Fourth Edition, in 15 volumes, edited by W. CAREW HAZLITT ; by whom the *Return &c.* is first introduced into this Selection, and occupies volume ix. 97-217.

JOHN BODENHAM'S LIST OF POETS. HEREIN  
CRITICIZED BY INGENIOSO AND JUDICIO.

Compare this List with pp. 10-14; and notice the discretion of the Author of the following play, in that the Honourable and Noble personages are not subjected to any censure.

**N**ow that every one may be fully satisfied concerning this Garden, that no one man doth assume to him-selfe the praise thereof, or can arrogate to his owne deseruing those things which have been deriued from so many rare and ingenious spirits; I haue set down both how, whence, and where these flowres had their first springing, till thus they were drawne together into the *Muses Garden*, that every ground may challenge his owne, each plant his particular, and no one be iniuried in the iustice of his merit.

[1.] First, out of many excellent speeches spoken to her Maiestie, at Tiltings, Triumphes, Maskes, Shewes, and deuises performed in prograce [*progress*]: as also out of diuers choise Ditties sung to her, and some especially, proceeding from her owne most sacred selfe: Here are great store of them digested into their meete places, according as the method of the worke plainly deliuereth. Likewise out of priuat Poems, Sonnets, Ditties, and other wittie conceits, giuen to her Honorable Ladies, and vertuous Maids of Honour; according as they could be obtained by sight, or fauour of copying, a number of most wittie and singular Sentences.

[2.] Secondly, looke what works of Poetrie haue been put to the worlds eye, by that learned and right royall king and Poet, IAMES king of Scotland, no one Sentence of worth hath escaped, but are likewise here reduced into their right roome and place.

[3.] Next, out of sundry things extant, and many in priuat, done by these right Honourable persons following

*Thomas, Earle of Surrey.*  
*The Lord Marquesse of Winchester.*  
*Mary, Countesse of Pembroke.*  
*Sir Philip Sidney.*

From Poems and workes of these noble personages, extant.

*Edward, Earle of Oxenford.*  
*Ferdinando, Earle of Derby.*  
*Sir Walter Raleigh.*  
*Sir Edward Dyer.*  
*Fulke Greuile, Esquier.*  
*Sir Iohn Harrington.*

From divers essayes of their Poetrie; some extant among other Honourable personages writings; some from priuate labours and translations.

[4.]	<i>Edmund Spencer.</i>	[*]	<i>William Shakespeare.</i>	[*]
	<i>Henry Constable Esquier.</i>	[*]	<i>Thomas Churchyard Esquier.</i>	[*]
	<i>Samuell Daniell.</i>	[*]	<i>Thomas Nash.</i>	[*]
	<i>Thomas Lodge, Doctor of</i>		<i>Thomas Kidde.</i>	[*]
	<i>Physicke.</i>	[*]	<i>George Peele.</i>	[*]
	<i>Thomas Watson.</i>	[*]	<i>Robert Greene.</i>	[*]
	<i>Michaell Drayton.</i>	[*]	<i>Iosuah Syluester.</i>	[*]
	<i>Iohn Davies.</i>	[*]	<i>Nicholas Breton.</i>	[*]
	<i>Thomas Hudson.</i>	[*]	<i>Geruase Markham.</i>	[*]
	<i>Henrie Locke Esquier.</i>	[*]	<i>Thomas Storer.</i>	[*]
	<i>Iohn Marstone.</i>	[*]	<i>Robert VVilmot.</i>	[*]
	<i>Christopher Marlow.</i>	[*]	<i>Christopher Middleton.</i>	[*]
	<i>Beniamin Iohnson.</i>	[*]	<i>Richard Barnefield.</i>	[*]

These being Moderne and extant Poets, that haue liu'd together; from many of their extant workes, and some kept in priuat.

- [5.] *Thomas Norton Esquier.*  
*George Gascoigne Esquier.*  
*Frauncis Kindlemarsh Esquier.*  
*Thomas Atch[e]low.*  
*George Whetstones.*

These being deceased, haue left diuers extant labours, and many more held back from publishing, which for the most part haue been perused and their due right here giuen them in the Muses Garden.

[6.] Besides, what excellent Sentences haue been in any presented Tragedie, Historie, Pastorall, or Comedie, they haue been likewise gathered, and are here inserted in their proper places.

*To the Reader, prefixed to*  
*Belvédère or The Garden of the Muses. 1600.*

[\*] See the Author's criticism of these poets at pp. 10-13.

[†] SHAKESPEARE is here regarded by BODENHAM, afterwards by this play-writing critic, more as a lyrical and descriptive poet than as a dramatical one.

[§] These are *the rest* read by *Ingenioso* and depreciated by *Judicio* at pp. 13-14.

ON THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION  
OF THIS PLAY.

**I**T is a matter of considerable importance in the literary history of the time, to fix, with precision, the date of the Composition and First Representation of this anonymous play.

**I.** The following lines prove that **it is the last of a series of three plays by the same Author**; and is apparently the only one of them that ever came to the press; and even in this case, only after the lapse of some four years after the date of its composition and first representation.

In Schollers fortunes twice forlorne and dead  
Twice hath our weary pen earst laboured.  
Making them Pilgrims in *Pernassus* hill,  
Then penning their returne with ruder quill.  
Now we present vnto each pittying eye,  
The schollers progresse in their misery. *p. 5.*

**II.** It was Written and Represented in Elizabeth's reign.

One that made an oration for you once on the Queenes day. *p. 28.*

**S. Rad.** What day of the month lights the Queenes day on?

**Im.** The 17. of Nouember. *p. 38.*

Queenes law. Three times on *p. 49.*

Why will this fellowes English breake the Queenes peace. *p. 52.*

It were, well if his words were examined, to see if they be the Queenes or no. *p. 54.*

**III.** It was Written and Represented subsequent to the 11th August, 1600.

On which day the work attacked on *pp. 9-10*, was thus entered at Stationers' Hall.

*II Augusti [1600].*

HUGHE ASTLEY. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of  
master JACKSON and the Wardens: A booke  
called *Belvedere or the garden of the Muses*

vjd.

*Transcript &c. iii. 168. Ed. 1876.*

x *THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THIS PLAY.*

IV. It was written for a Christmastide performance at St. John's College, Cambridge.

AS TO THE SEASON.

- CHRISTMAS. It's but a Christmas toy. *p.* 4.  
 But a Christmas iest. *p.* 5.  
 I should haue gone in mine old clothes this  
 Christmas. *p.* 42.  
 The vsuall Christmas entertainment of Musi-  
 tians. *p.* 66.  
 NEW YEAR. Now at this good time of Newyeare. *p.* 64.

There is nothing in the play to show that it was written earlier than the time of its First Representation. The speech of MOMUS at *p.* 4, "What is presented here, is an old musty show, that hath laine this twelue moneth in the bottome of a coale-house amongst broomes and old shooes," is simply the writer's expression of the malice of the critics; and therefore, by contraries, is a testimony to its brand-new composition when first brought out.

As Queen ELIZABETH died on the 24th March 1603: we are, of necessity, shut up to a choice between the Christmastides of 1600-1601, 1601-1602, and 1602-1603 A.D.

In England and Ireland, the Year was reckoned from the 25th March to the 24th March from 1155 A.D. to 1751 A.D.

J. J. BOND, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates within the Christian Era*, *p.* 91. Ed. 1875.

So that the three feasts above specified would, in that day, be quoted as the Christmastides of 1600, 1601 and 1602.

V. Internal testimony establishes the writing of this play, for a first Representation in the Christmastide of 1601-2, 44 Eliz., possibly for New Year's day, which in 1602 (modern reckoning) fell on a Friday.

All years had, by the old reckoning above stated, two and sometimes even three Year Letters: as in the twelve months from Lady Day 1601.

25 March 1601.	} Letter D.	1 January 1602.	} Letter C.
31 December 1601.		24 March 1602.	

J. J. BOND, *Handy Book &c.*, *p.* 408. Ed. 1875.

The following play upon the Year Letters, determines, beyond all question, the First Representation, at Christmastide, to have been in 1601-1602: and (as the C is first mentioned), rather in the first six days of January 1602, than in the last six of December 1601; probably on New Year's day 1602, as we now reckon.

**Sir Rad.** What is the Dominicall letter?

**Im.** C. sir, and please your worship.

**Sir Rad.** A very good answer, a very good answer, the very answer of the booke, write downe that, and referre it to his skill in Philosophy.

**Pag[e].** C. the Dominicall letter: it is true, craft and cunning do so dominere: yet rather C and D, are dominicall letters, that is crafty Dunsery. *p.* 37.

VI. This date is corroborated by the allusions to the Siege of Ostend and the Irish Rebellion; both of which were at that time in progress.

He is as glad as if he had taken *Ostend*. *p.* 43.

Pox on your worship, if I catch thee at *Ostend*: I dare not staye for the Sergeant. *Exit.* *p.* 50.

**S. Rad.** What haue we here, three begging Souldiers, come you from *Ostend*, or from *Ireland*. *p.* 52.

The Siege of Ostend by the Archduke ALBERT began on the 5th July 1601. Sir FRANCIS VERE, having been appointed Governor of the town, arrived there with a body of English troops on the 15th July. The Dutch and English having the command of the sea, access to the town by ship, though under the enemy's fire, was for the most part easy. "There came oftentimes men of qualitie both from *England* and *France*, to see the place and siege, but they stayed not." E. GRIMSTONE.

The following among other fugitive tracts on the siege were printed in London. *Newes from Ostend &c.*, Entered at Stationers' Hall 5th Aug. 1601, by T. Pavier. [British Museum press mark 9414, aa. 4.] Two editions of this at least were printed.

*Further Newes from Ostend &c.* Similarly entered 9th Sept. 1601, also to T. Pavier. [B. M. press mark 9414, aa. 5.]

*Extremeties urging the Lord General Sir Francis Vere to offer the late Anti-parle with the Archduke Albertus &c.* Written on St. Stephen's Day (26th Dec.) 1601. [Ent. Stat. Hall 8th Jan.] 1602. [B. M. press mark 1055, h. 18/2.]

After sustaining many assaults Sir FRANCIS VERE resigned the Governorship into the hands of Colonel FREDERICK VAN DORP on the 7th March 1602, and left the town.

The defence was continued under successive Governors until the 12th September 1604, when the town was surrendered, the garrison marching out with all the honours of war.

It is stated that up to the 1st March 1603, the besiegers had lost 18,000 killed, had thrown 250,000 cannon shot (weighing from 36 to 50 lbs each) into the town, and had had many cannon spoilt: and that, on the other hand, the defenders had by them lost from 6000 to 7000 killed; and had fired 100,000 cannon shot; often sending their artillery to Zealand, to be changed or new cast. See *p.* 162 of *The True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend, and what passed on either side, from the beginning of the Siege vnto the yeldling vp of the Towne*. Translated out of the



French into English. By EDWARD GRIMESTON. London. [Ent. Stat. Hall. 20 September] 1604, 4to. And also Sir FRANCIS VERE's *Commentaries &c.* Ed. by WILLIAM DILLINGHAM, D.D., pp. 118-178. Ed. Cambridge, 1657, fol.

At the date of the composition of this play, the Defence, at this time carried on under an English Governor, largely supported by English troops, had been in progress some four months; and was therefore a matter in everybody's mouth.

**The Rebellion in Ireland** had also reached an acute phase, shortly after the commencement of the siege of Ostend; by the landing of 3500 Spaniards under Don JUAN DE AQUILA at Kinsale on the 23rd September 1601: and it was only on the 2nd January 1602, about the very day on which the play was first represented, that the Spanish force surrendered. During the whole of this interval they were an immense moral and material support to the Irish rebellion.

See I. E. *A letter . . . touching the notable Historie of her Maiesties forces there [in Ireland] against the Spaniards and Irish Rebels. And of the yeelding up of Kynsale, and other places there held by the Spaniards.* London. [Ent. Stat. Hall, 24th March] 1602. See also THOMAS STAFFORD's *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 245. Ed. 1633.

While matters both at Ostend and in Ireland were still in the balance, such allusions as above quoted would seem natural and pointed.

∴ It is therefore indubitable that this play expresses the opinions of its author and of the Students of Saint John's College, Cambridge, upon poetry, poets, players, learning, life &c.; as they were current in the month of **December 1601.**

After the settlement of this point, the date of the printed impression is of lesser importance. We may however complete this account by stating that

**VII. This play was registered for publication at Stationers' Hall on the 16th October 1605; and appears in print with the date of 1606.**

The entry is thus worded, the Wardens of the Stationers at that date being JOHN NORTON and RICHARD FIELD.

16. *Octobris* [1605]

JOHN WRIGHT. Entred for his copy under th[e h]andes of master OWEN GWYN and the wardens An. Enterlude called. *The retourne from Pernassus or the scourge of Simony* publiquely Acted by the studentes in Sainct Johns College in Cambridg[e] vjd.

*Transcript &c.* iii. 304. Ed. 1876.

One reason why this play was not printed earlier, nor at Cambridge where it was acted, was, probably, the absence of any printing power. The University had only one hand printing-press allowed to it: and that naturally would be exclusively reserved for graver and more erudite works.



## I N T R O D U C T I O N .



COMEDY written by a University pen in December 1601, and addressing itself to one of the most cultivated audiences possible at that time in this country; which thus publicly testifies on the stage, in the characters of RICHARD BURBADGE and WILLIAM KEMPE (fellow-actors to WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, and deservedly general favourites) to his confessed supremacy at that date, not only over all University dramatists, but also over all the London professional playwrights, BEN JONSON himself included, must always be an object of interest to all students of England's superlative poet.

**Bur.** It may bee besides they will be able to pen a part.

**Kemp.** Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid* and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Iuppiter*. Why heres our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit.

**Bur.** Its a shrewd fellow indeed. *p. 58.*

### I I.



It is further to be remembered that this Amateur Performance was held in what was perhaps still the foremost College in England. TOM NASH thus writes of it in 1589.

But amongst others in that Age, Sir *Thomas Eliots* elegance did seuer it selfe from all equalls, although

Sir *Thomas More* with his Comickall wit, at that instant was not altogether idle : yet was not knowledge fullie confirmed in hir Monarchie amongst vs, till that most famous and fortunate Nurse of all learning, *Saint Iohns* in *Cambridge*, that at that time was as an Vniuersitie within it selfe ; shining so farre aboue all other Houses, Halls, and Hospitalls whatsoeuer, that no Colledge in the Towne, was able to compare with the tythe of her Students ; hauing (as I haue hearde graue men of credite report) more candles light in it, euerie Winter Morning before fowre of the clocke, than the fowre of clocke bell gaue stroakes ; till She (I saie) as a pittying Mother, put too her helping hande, and sent from her fruitfull wombe, sufficient Schollers, both to support her owne weale, as also to supplie all other inferiour foundations defects, and namelie that royall erection of *Trinitie Colledge*, which the Vniuersitie Orator, in an Epistle to the Duke of *Somerset*, aptlie termed *Colonia diducta*, from the Suburbes of *Saint Iohns*.

*To the Gentlemen Students of both Uniuersities*

prefixed to ROBERT GREENE'S *Menaphon* &c. 1589.

Though publicly acted, this Comedy was apparently not primarily designed for the press ; and being so strewed with Latin quotations, was evidently only intended for a University audience. It is important to realize the standpoint of the Writer, that it was in no wise a metropolitan play designed for the Court or the people : but the outlook of young students on the poetry, poets, drama, literature and life of their time, as they had as yet realized it to themselves.

### I I I.



HE plot of this Elizabethan Plea for the Endowment of Research is of the slightest construction, and may possibly be the work of more than one hand. While it presents

vnto each pittying eye  
The schollers progress in their misery. p. 5.

it is also a most vigorous onslaught on the Philistinism of that day in the characters of Sir **Raderick** and Master **Recorder**, its foppery in that of **Amoretto**, and its simony is that of **Immerito**

Otherwise the action, such as there is, turns on the attempts of six Cambridge graduates

Ingenioso	Phantasma.	Studioso
Furor poeticus	Philomusus	Academicus

to get a livelihood, and the "progress of their misery."

THOMAS HAWKINS, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, in his *Origin of the English Drama &c.*, published in 1773, thus characterizes this comedy,

The *Return from Parnassus* is, perhaps, the most singular composition in our language. . . . This Satirical Drama seems to have been composed by the wits and scholars of Cambridge, where it was acted at the opening of the last century. The design of it was, to expose the vices and follies of the rich in those days, and to show that little attention was paid by that class of men to the learned and ingenious.

Several Students, of various capacities and dispositions, leave the University in hopes of advancing their fortunes in the metropolis. One of them attempts to recommend himself by his publications; another, to procure a benefice by paying his court to a young spark, named **Amoretto**, with whom he had been intimate at college; two others endeavour to gain a subsistence by successively appearing as physicians, actors, and musicians: but the Man of Genius is disregarded, and at last prosecuted for his productions; the benefice is sold to an illiterate Clown; and in the end, three of the scholars are compelled to submit to a voluntary exile, another returns to Cambridge as poor as when he left it; and the other two, finding that neither their medicines nor their music would support them, resolve to turn shepherds, and to spend the rest of their days on the Kentish downs.

There is a great variety of Characters in this play, which are excellently distinguished and supported, and some of the scenes have as much wit as can be desired in a perfect comedy. The simplicity of its plan must naturally bring to our mind the Old Species of Comedy described by HORACE; in which, before it was restrained by a public edict, living characters were exposed by name upon the stage, and the audience made merry at their expence without any intricacy of plot or diversity of action. Thus in this piece, **Burbage** and **Kempe**, two famous actors, appear in their proper persons; and a number of acute observations are made on the poets of that age. *pp.* xiv.-xv.

To this we may add the criticism of a later writer, WILLIAM HAZLITT, in his *Lectures chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the age of Elizabeth.* 1820.

It is a very singular, a very ingenious, and, as I think, a very interesting performance. It contains criticisms on contemporary authors, strictures on living manners, and the earliest denunciation (I know of) of the miseries and unprofitableness of a scholar's life. *p.* 198.

## I V.



WE must, in conclusion, point out the important testimony herein, first, to the disreputability, and then to the profitableness of the new vocation—as yet not a generation old—of the professional Actor, as in the London theatres : in which the thought was chiefly of the mere Actor, not of the Poet-Actor like SHAKESPEARE and JONSON. It was probably owing to the fact that they were mere players, and had written no plays, that BURBADGE and KEMPE were singled out on this occasion. It is to be noted that the two Cambridge students consider only fiddling to be worse than acting—

AS TO THE DISREPUTE.

**Phil.** And must the basest trade yeeld vs reliefe ?  
 Must we be practis'd to those leaden spouts,  
 That nought downe vent but what they do receiue ?  
*p.* 60.

AS TO THE GAIN.

**Stud:** *going aside sayeth.*  
 Fayre fell good *Orpheus*, that would rather be  
 King of a mole hill, then a Keysars slaue :  
 Better it is mongst fidlers to be chiefe,  
 Then at plaiers trencher beg reliefe.  
 But ist not strange this mimick apes should prize  
 Vnhappy Schollers at a hireling rate.  
 Vile world, that lifts them vp to hye degree,  
 And treads vs downe in groueling misery.  
*England* affordes those glorious vagabonds,  
 That carried earst their fardels on their backes,  
 Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes,  
 Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes,  
 And Pages to attend their maisterships :  
 With mouthing words that better wits haue framed,  
 They purchase lands, and now Esquires are made.  
*p.* 61.

THE  
RETURNE FROM  
PERNASSVS:

Or  
The Scourge of Simony.

*Publiquely acted by the Students  
in Saint Johns Colledge in  
Cambridge.*



AT LONDON  
Printed by G. Eld, for John Wright, and  
are to bee sold at his shop at  
Christ church Gate.

1606.





# The Prologue.

*Boy, Stagekeeper, Momus, Defensor.*

**Boy.**



Pectators we will act a Comedy (*non plus*).

**Stage.** A pox on't this booke hath it not in it, you would be whipt, thou rascall: thou must be sitting vp all night at cardes, when thou should be conning thy part.

**Boy.** Its all long on you, I could not get my part a night or two before that I might sleepe on it.

*Stagekeeper carrieth the boy away vnder his arme.*

**Mo.** It's euen well done, here is such a stirre about a scuruy English show.

**Defen.** Scuruy in thy face, thou scuruy iack, if this company were not, you paultry Crittick Gentleman, you that knowe what it is to play at primero, or passage. You that haue beene student at post and paire, saint and Loadam. You that haue spent all your quarters reueneues in riding post one night in Christmas, beare with the weake memory of a gamster.

**Mo.** Gentlemen you that can play at noddy, or rather play vpon nodies: you that can set vp a iest, at priemero instead of a rest, laugh at the prologue that was taken away in a voyder.

**Defen.** What we present I must needes confesse is but slubbered inuention: if your wisdome obscure the circumstance, your kindnesse will pardon the substance.

**Mo.** What is presented here, is an old musty show, that hath laine this twelue moneth in the bottome of a coale-house amongst broomes and old shooes, an inuention that we are ashamed of, and therefore we haue promised the Copies to the Chandlers to wrappe his candles in.

**Defen.** It's but a Christmas toy, and may it please your curtisies to let it passe.

**Mom.** Its a Christmas toy indeede, as good a conceit as slauging hotcockles, or blind-man buffe.

**Defen.** Some humors you shall see aymed at, if not well resembled.

**Mom.** Humors indeede : is it not a pretty humor to stand hammering vpon two *indiuuum vegum* 2. schollers some whole yeare. These same *Phil* and *Studio* : haue bin followed with a whip, and a verse like a Couple of Vagabonds through *England* and *Italy*. The Pilgrimage to *Pernassus*, and the returne from *Pernassus* haue stood the honest *Stagekeepers* in many a Crownes expence : for linckes and vizards purchased a Sophister a knock : which a clubbe hindred the butlers box, and emptied the Colledge barrells, and now vnlesse you know the subiect well you may returne home as wise as you came, for this last is the least part of the returne from *Pernassus*, that is both the first and the last time that the authors wit will turne vpon the toe in this vaine, and at this time the scene is not at *Pernassus*, that is lookes not good inuention in the face.

**Defen.** If the Catastrophe please you not, impute it to the vnpleasing fortunes of discontented schollers.

**Mom.** For Catastrophe ther's neuer a tale in sir *Iohn Mandeuill*, or *Bewis of Southampton* but hath a better turning.

**Stagekeeper.** What you ieering asse, be gon with a pox.

**Mom.** You may do better to busie your selfe in prouiding beere, for the shew will be pittifull dry, pittifull dry.

*Exit.*

*No more of this, I heard the spectators aske for a blanke verse.*

What we shew, it but a Christmas iest,  
Conceiue of this and guesse of all the rest :  
Full like a schollers haplesse fortunes pen'd,  
Whose former griefes seldome haue happy end,  
Frame aswell, we might with easie straine,  
With far more praise, and with as little paine.  
Stories of loue, where forne the wondring bench,  
The lisping gallant might inioy his wench.  
Or make some Sire acknowledge his lost sonne,  
Found when the weary act is almost done.  
Nor vnto this, nor vnto that our scene is bent,  
We onely shew a schollers discontent.  
In Schollers fortunes twise forlorne and dead  
Twise hath our weary pen earst laboured.  
Making them Pilgrims in *Pernassus* hill,  
Then penning their returne with ruder quill.  
Now we present vnto each pittying eye,  
The schollers progresse in their misery.  
Refined wits your patience is our blisse,  
Too weake our scene : too great our iudgement is.  
To you wee seeke to shew a schollers state,  
His scorned fortunes, his vn-pittied fate.  
To you : for if you did not schollers blesse,  
Their case (poore case) were too too pittillesse.  
You shade the muses vnder fostering,  
And made them leaue to sigh, and learne to sing.

## The names of the Actors.

### *Drametis Persona.*

**Ingenioso.**

**Iudicio.**

**Danter.**

**Philomusus.**

**Studioso.**

**Furor Poeticus.**

**Phantasma.**

*Patient*

**Richardetto.**

**Theodore** *phisition*

*Burgesse patient*

**Iaques, studioso**

**Academico.**

**Amoretto.**

*Page.*

*Signor* **Immerito.**

**Stercutio** *his father.*

*Sir* **Frederick** [*or rather*

**Raderick**].

*Recorder.*

*Page.*

**Prodigo.**

**Burbage.**

**Kempe.**

*Fidlers.*

*Patients man.*

## Actus I. Scena. I.

Ingenioso, *with Iuuenall in his hand.*

**Ingenioso.**



*Ifficile est, Satyram non scribere, nam quis iniquæ,*

*Tam patiens urbis, tam furens vt teneat se ?*

I. Iuuenall : thy ierking hand is good,  
Not gently laying on, but fetching bloud,  
So surgean-like thou dost with cutting  
heale,


Where nought but lanching can the wound auaile.  
O suffer me, among so many men,  
To tread aright the traces of thy pen.  
And light my linke at thy eternall flame,  
Till with it I brand euerlasting shame.  
On the worlds forhead, and with thine owne spirit,  
Pay home the world according to his merit.  
Thy purer soule could not endure to see,  
Euen smallest spots of base impurity :  
Nor could small faults escape thy cleaner hands,  
Then foule faced Vice was in his swadling bands,  
Now like *Anteus* growne a monster is,  
A match for none but mighty *Hercules*.  
Now can the world practise in plainer guise,  
Both sinnes of old and new borne villanies.  
Stale sinnes are stole : now doth the world begin,  
To take sole pleasure in a witty sinne.  
Vnpleasant is the lawlesse sinne has bin,  
At midnight rest, when darknesse couers sinne.



It's Clownish vnbeseeing a young Knight,  
 Vnlesse it dare out-face the gloring light.  
 Nor can it nought our gallants praises reape,  
 Vnlesse it be done in staring Cheape.  
 In a sinne-guilty Coach not closely pent,  
 Jogging along the harder pauement.  
 Did not feare check my repining sprit,  
 Soone should my angry ghost a story write.  
 In which I would new fostred sinnes combine,  
 Not knowne earst by truth telling *Aretine*.

## Scen. 2.

*Enter Iud. Ingenioso. Iudicio.*

**Iud.**  hat *Ingenioso*, carrying a Vinegar bottle about thee, like a great schole-boy giuing the world a bloody nose?

**Ing.** Faith *Iudicio*, if I carry the vinegar bottle, it's great reason I should conferre it vpon the bald pated world: and againe, if my kitchen want the vtensilies of viands, it's great reason other men should haue the sauce of vinegar, and for the bloody nose, *Iudicio*, I may chance indeed giue the world a bloody nose, but it shall hardly giue me a crakt crowne, though it giues other Poets French crownes.

**Iud.** I would wish thee *Ingenioso*, to sheath thy pen, for thou canst not be successefull in the fray, considering thy enemies haue the aduantage of the ground.

**Ing.** Or rather *Iudicio* they haue the grounds with aduantage, and the French crownes with a pox, and I would they had them with a plague too: but hang them swadds, the basest corner in my thoughts is too gallant a roome to lodge them in, but say *Iudicio*, what newes in your presse, did you keepe any late corrections vpon any tardy pamphlets?

**Iud.** *Veterem iubes renouare dolorem* *Ing.* what ere befalls thee, keepe thee from the trade of the corrector of the presse.

**Ing.** Mary so I will, I warran[t] thee, if pouerty presse not too much, Ile correct no presse but the presse of the people.

**Iud.** Would it not grieue any good spirits to sit a whole moneth nitting out a lousie beggarly Pamphlet, and like a needy Phisitian to stand whole yeares, tossing and tumbling, the filth that falleth from so many draughty inuentions as daily swarme in our Printing house ?

**Ing.** Come (I thinke) we shall haue you put finger in the eye and cry, O friends, no friends, say man, what new paper hobby horses, what rattle babies are come out in your late May morrice daunce ?

**Iud.** Flye my rimes, as thicke as flies in the sunne, I thinke there be neuer an Ale-house in England, not any so base a Maypole on a country greene, but sets forth some poets petternels or demilances to the paper warres in Paules Church-yard.

**Ing.** And well too may the issue of a strong hop learne to hop all ouer England, when as better wittes sit like lame coblers in their studies. Such barmy heads wil alwaies be working, when as sad vineger wittes sit souring at the bottome of a barrell : plaine Meteors, bred of the exhalation of Tobacco, and the vapors of a moyst pot, that soure vp into the open ayre, when as sounder wit keepes belowe.

**Iud.** Considering the furies of the times, I could better endure to see those young Can quaffing hucksters shoot of[f] their pellets so they would keepe them from these English *flores-poetarum*, but now the world is come to that passe, that there starts vp euery day an old goose that sits hatching vp those eggs which haue ben filcht from the nest of Crowes and Kestrells : here is a booke *Ing.* why to condemne it to cleare the vsuall Tiburne of all misliuing papers, were too faire a death for so foule an offender.

**Ing.** What's the name of it, I pray thee *Iud* ?

**Iud.** Looke, its here *Beluedere*.

**Ing.** What a Bel-wether in Paules Church-yard, so cald because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinckling

bel of so many Poets about the neck of it, what is the rest of the title.

**Iud.** The garden of the Muses.

**Ing.** What haue we here : the Poets garish gayly bedeked like fore horses of the parish ? what followes.

**Iud.** *Quem referent muscæ, viuet dum robora tellus,  
Dum cælum stellas, dum vehit annis aquas.*

Who blurres faire paper, with foule bastard rimes,  
Shall liue full many an age in latter times :

Who makes a ballet for an ale-house doore,  
Shall liue in future times for euer more.

Then (            ) thy muse shall liue so long,  
As draffy ballats to thy praise are song.

But what's his deuise, Pernassus with the sunne and the lawrel : I wonder this Owle dares looke on the sunne, and I mauraile this go[o]se flies not the laurell : his deuise might haue bene better a foole going into the market place to be seene, with this motto, *scribimus indocti*, or a poore beggar gleaning of eares in the end of haruest, with this word, *sua cuique gloria*.

**Iud.** Turne ouer the leafe *Ing* : and thou shalt see the paines of this worthy gentleman, Sentences gathered out of all kinde of Poets, referred to certaine methodicall heads, profitable for the vse of these times, to rime vpon any occasion at a little warning : Read the names.

**Ing.** So I will, if thou wilt helpe me to censure them.

*Edmund Spencer.*

*Henry Constable.*

*Thomas Lodge.*

*Samuel Daniell.*

*Thomas Watson.*

*Michaell Drayton.*

*Iohn Dauis.*

*Iohn Marston.*

*Kit : Marlowe.*

Good men and true ; stand together : heare your censure, what's thy iudgment of *Spencer* ?

**Iud.** A swifter Swan then euer song in Poe,

A shriller Nightingale then euer blest,

The prouder groues of selfe admiring Rome.

Blith was each vally, and each shepheard proud,

While he did chaunt his rurall minstralsie,  
 Attentiuē was full many a dainty eare.  
 Nay hearers hong vpon his melting tong,  
 While sweetly of his Faiery Queene he song,  
 While to the waters fall he tun'd for fame,  
 And in each barke engrau'd *Elizaes* name.  
 And yet for all this, vnregarding soile,  
 Vnlac't the line of his desired life,  
 Denying maintenance for his deare reliefe.  
 Carelesse care to preuent his exequy,  
 Scarce deigning to shut vp his dying eye.

**Ing.** Pitty it is that gentler witts should breed,  
 Where thick-skin chuffes laugh at a schollers need.  
 But softly may our honours ashes rest,  
 That lie by mery *Chaucers* noble chest.

But I pray thee proceed briefly in thy censure, that I may be proud of my selfe, as in the first, so in the last, my censure may iumpe with thine. *Henry Constable, S.D. Thomas Lodge, Thomas Watson.*

**Iud.** Sweete *Constable* doth take the wondring eare,  
 And layes it vp in willing prisonment :  
 Sweete hony dropping *D* : doth wage  
 Warre with the proudest big Italian,  
 That melts his heart in sugred Sonnetting.  
 Onely let him more sparingly make vse,  
 Of others wit, and vse his owne the more :  
 That well may scorne base imitation.  
 For *Lodge* and *Watson*, men of some desert,  
 Yet subiect to a Critticks marginall.  
*Lodge* for his oare in euery paper boate,  
 He that turnes ouer *Galen* euery day,  
 To sit and simper *Euphuus* legacie.

**Ing.** *Michael Drayton.*

*Draytons* sweete muse is like a sanguine dye,  
 Able to rauish the rash gazers eye.

**Ing.** How euer, he wants one true Note of a Poet of our

times, and that is this, hee cannot swagger it well in a Tauerne, nor dominere in a hot-house.

**Iud.** *John Dauis.*

Acute *John Dauis*, I affect thy rymes,  
That ierck in hidden charmes these looser times :  
Thy plainer verse, thy vnaffected vaine,  
Is grac'd with a faire and a sooping traine.

**Ing.** *Locke and Hudson.*

**Iud.** *Locke and Hudson*, sleepe you quiet shauers, among the shauings of the presse, and let your bookes lye in some old nookes amongst old bootes and shooes, so you may auoide my censure.

**Ing.** Why then clap a lock on their feete, and turne them to commons.

*John Marston.*

**Iud.** What *Monsier Kinsayder*, lifting vp your legge and pissing against the world, put vp man, put vp for shame.

Me thinks he is a Ruffin in his stile,  
Withouten bands or garters ornament,  
He quaffes a cup of Frenchmans Helicon.  
Then royster doyster in his oylie tearmes,  
Cutts, thrusts, and foynes at whomesoeuer he meets,  
And strowes about Ram-ally meditations.  
Tut what cares he for modest close coucht termes,  
Cleanly to gird our looser libertines.  
Giue him plaine naked words stript from their shirts  
That might beseme plaine dealing *Aretine* :  
I there is one that backes a paper steed  
And manageth a penknife gallantly.  
Strikes his poinado at a buttons breadth,  
Brings the great battering ram of tearmes to townes  
And at first volly of his Cannon shot,  
Batters the walles of the old fusty world.

**Ing.** *Christopher Marlowe.*

**Iud.** *Marlowe* was happy in his buskine muse,  
Alas vnhappy in his life and end,

Pitty it is, that wit so ill should dwell  
Wit lent from heauen, but vices sent from hell.

**Ing.** Our *Theater* hath lost, *Pluto* hath got,  
A Tragick penmen for a driery plot  
*B.I.*

**Iud.** The wittiest fellow of a brick-layer in England.

**Ing.** A meere Emperick, one that gets what he hath by  
obseruation, and makes only nature priuy to what he indites.  
So slow an inuentor, that he were better betake himselfe to  
his old trade of bricklaying, a bold whorson, as confident now  
in making a booke, as he was in times past in laying of a  
bricke.

*William Shakespeare.*

**Iud.** Who loues *Adonis* loue, or *Lucre's* rape,  
His sweeter verse containes hart robbing life,  
Could but a grauer subiect him content,  
Without loues foolish languishment.

**Ing.** *Churchyard.*

Hath not *Shor's* wife although a light skirts she,  
Giuen him a chast long lasting memory ?

**Iud.** No, all light pamphlets once I finden shall,  
A Churchyard and a graue to bury all.

**Inge.** *Thomas Nashdo.*

I, here is a fellow *Iudicio* that carried the deadly stocke in  
his pen, whose muse was armed with a gag tooth, and his pen  
possest with *Hercules* furies.

**Iud.** Let all his faults sleepe with his mournfull chest,  
And then for euer with his ashes rest,  
His stile was witty, though he had some gall,  
Something he might haue mended, so may all.  
Yet this I say, that for a mother wit,  
Few men haue euer seene the like of it.

**Ing.** *Reades the rest.*

**Iud.** As for these, they haue some of them bin the old  
hedgstakes of the presse, and some of them are at this  
instant the bots and glanders of the printing house. *Fellowes*




that stande only vpon tearmes to serue the turne, with their blotted papers, write as men go to stoole, for needes, and when they write, they write as a Beare pisses, now and then drop a phamphlet.

**Ing.** *Durum telum necessitas*, Good fayth they do as I do, exchange words for money, I haue some trafficke this day with *Danter*, about a little booke which I haue made, the name of it is a Catalogue of *Chambridge* Cuckolds, but this Beluedere, this methodicall asse, hath made me almost forget my time: Ile now to Pauls Churchyard, meete me an houre hence, at the signe of the Pegasus in cheap side, and ile moyst thy temples with a cup of Claret, as hard as the world goes.

*Exit. Iudicio.*

## Act. 1. Scen. 3.

*Enter Danter the Printer.*

**Ing.**  *D*anter thou art deceiued, wit is dearer then thou takest it to bee, I tell thee this libell of Cambridge has much fat and pepper in the nose: it will sell sheerely vnderhand, when all these bookes of Exhortations and Catechismes, lie moulding on thy shopboard.

**Dan.** It's true, but good faith M. *Ingenioso*, I lost by your last booke: and you knowe there is many one that paies mee largely for the printing of their inuentions, but for all this you shall haue 40. shillings and an odde pottle of wine.

**Inge.** 40 Shillings? a fit reward for one of your reumaticke Poets, that beslauiers all the paper he comes by, and furnishes the Chandlers with wast[e] papers to wrap candles in: but as for me, ile be paid deare euen for the dregges of my wit: little knowes the world what belong to the keeping of a good wit in waters, dietts, drinckes, Tobacco, &c. it is a dainty and costly


creature, and therefore I must be paide sweetly : furnish me with money, that I may put my selfe in a new sute of clothes, and ile sute thy shop with a new sute of tearmes : it's the gallantest child my inuention was euer deliuered off. The title is, a Chronicle of Cambri[d]ge cuckolds : here a man may see, what day of the moneth such a mans commons were inclosed, and when throwne open, and when any entailed some odde crownes, vpon the heires of their bodies vnlawfully begotten : speake quickly ells I am gone.

**Dan.** Oh this will sell gallantly : ile haue it whatsoever it cost, will you walk on M. *Ingenioso*, weele sit ouer a cup of wine and agree on it.

**Ing.** A cup of wine is as good a Constable as can be, to take vp the quarrell betwixt vs. *Exeunt.*

## Act 1. Scen. 4.

**Philomusus** *in a Phisitions habite* : **Studioso** *that is Iagues man, And patient.*

**Phil.**  *it tit tit, non poynte, non debet fieri phlebetomotio in coitu lunæ* : here is a Recîpe.

**Pat.** A Recîpe.

**Phil.** *Nos Gallia non curamus quantitatem syllabarum* : Let me heare how many stooles you doe make. Adieu Mounseir adieu good Mounseir, what *Iagues Iln'α personne apres icy.*

**Stud.** *Non.*

**Phil.** Then let vs steale time for this borrowed shape,  
Recounting our vnequall haps of late.

Late did the Ocean graspe vs in his armes,

Late did we liue within a stranger ayre :

Late did we see the cinders of great Rome.

We thought that English fugitiues there eate

Gold, for restoratiue, if gold were meate,  
 Yet now we find by bought experience,  
 That where so ere we wander vp and downe,  
 On the round shoulders of this massy world,  
 Or our ill fortunes, or the worlds ill eye,  
 Forspeake our good, procures our misery.

**Stud.** So oft the Northe[r]n winde with frozen wings,  
 Hath beate the flowers that in our garden grewe :  
 Throwne downe the stalkes of our aspiring youth,  
 So oft hath winter nipt our trees faire rind,  
 That now we seeme nought but two bared boughes,  
 Scorned by the basest bird that chirps in groaue.  
 Nor Rome, nor Rhemes that wonted are to giue,  
 A Cardinall cap, to discontented clarkes,  
 That haue forsooke the home-bred thanked roofes,  
 Yeeled vs any equall maintenance :  
 And, t'[i]s as good to starue mongst English swine,  
 As in a forraine land to beg and pine :

**Phil.** Ile scorne the world that scorneth me againe.

**Stud.** Ile vex the world that workes me so much paine.

**Phil.** Fly lame reuengings power, the world well weenes.

**Stud.** Flyes haue their spleene, each silly ant his teenes.

**Phil.** We haue the words they the possession haue.

**Stud.** We all are equall in our latest graue.

**Phil.** Soon then: O soone may we both graued be.

**Stud.** Who wishes death, doth wrong wise destiny,

**Phil.** It's wrong to force life, loathing men to breath.

**Stud.** It's sinne for doomed day to wish thy death.

**Phil.** Too late our soules flit to their resting place.

**Stud.** Why mans whole life is but a breathing space.

**Phil.** A painefull minute seemes a tedious yeare.

**Stud.** A constant minde eternall woes will beare.

**Phil.** When shall our soules their wearied lodge forego?

**Stud.** When we haue tyred misery and woe.

**Phil.** Soone may then fates this gale deliuer send vs.  
 Small woes vex long, great woes quickly end vs.

But letts leaue this capping of rimes *Studioso*, and follow our late deuise, that wee may maintaine our heads in cappes[,] our bellies in prouender, and our backs in sadle and bridle : hetherto wee haue sought all the honest meanes wee could to liue, and now let vs dare, *aliquid breuibus gracis* and *carcere dignum* : let vs run through all the lewd formes of lime-twig purloyning villanies : let vs proue Cony-catchers, Baudes, or any thing, so we may rub out, and first my plot for playing the French Doctor that shall hold : our lodging stands here filthy in shooe lane, for if our commings in be not the better, London may shortly throw an old shoo after vs, and with those shreds of French, that we gathered vp in our hostes house in *Paris*, weele gull the world, that hath in estimation forraine Phisitians, and if any of the hidebound bretheren of Cambridge and Oxforde, or any of those Stigmatick maisters of arte, that abused vs in times pãst, leaue their owne Phisitians, and become our patients, weele alter quite the stile of them, for they shall neuer hereafter write, your Lordships most bounden : but your Lordships most laxatiue.

**Stud.** It shall be so, see what a little vermine pouerty altereth a whole milkie disposition.

**Phil.** So then my selfe streight with reuenge Ile Seate.

**Stud.** Prouoked patience growes intemperate.

## Actus I. Scena 5.

*Enter Richardetto, Iaques, Scholler learning French.*

**Iaq.** ow now my little knaue, *quelle nouvelle mounsier.*

**Richar.** Ther's a fellow with a night cap on his head, an vrial in his hand, would faine speake with master *Theodore.*

**Iaq.** *Parle Francoyes moun petit garsoun.*

**Richard.** *Hy a vn homme aue le bonnet de et vn vrinell in la mens, que veut parler.*

**Iaq.** *For bien.*

*La teste Theodore.*

**Theod.** *Iaques, a bonus.*

**Exeunt.**

## Actus I. Scen. 6.

**Furor poeticus** : and presently after enters **Phantasma**.

**Furor poeticus** rapt within contemplation.

**W**hy how now *Pedant Phæbus*, are you smutching *Thalia* on her tender lips? There hoie: pesant avant: come Pretty short-nosd nimph: oh sweet *Thalia*, I do kisse thy foote. What *Cleio*? O sweet *Cleio*, nay pray thee do not weepe *Melpomene*. What *Vrania*, *Polimnia*, and *Calliope*, let me doe reuerence to your deities.

**Phantasma** puls him by the slecue.

**Fur.** I am your holy swaine, that night and day,  
Sit for your sakes rubbing my wrinkled browe,  
Studying a moneth for one Epithete.  
Nay siluer *Cinthia*, do not trouble me :  
Straight will I thy *Endimions* storie write,  
To which thou hastest me on day and night.  
You light skirt starres, this is your wonted guise,  
By glomy light perke out your doubtfull heads :  
But when *Don Phæbus* showes his flashing snout,  
You are skie puppies, straight your light is out.

**Phan.** So ho, *Furor*.

Nay preethee good *Furor* in sober sadnesse.

**Furor.** *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.*

**Phan.** Nay sweet *Furor*, *ipsæ te Tytire pinus,*

**Furor.** *Ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbusta vocarunt,*

Who's that runs headlong on my quills sharpe point.

That wearied of his life and baser breath,

Offers himselfe to an Iambicke verse.

**Phant.** *Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat  
Iupiter, exiguu tempore inermis erit.*

**Fur.** What slimie bold presumptious groome is he,  
Dares with his rude audacious hardy chat,  
Thus seuer me from skibbered contemplation?

**Phant.** *Carmina vel cælo possant deducere lunam.*

**Furor.** Oh *Phantasma*: what my indiuiduall mate?

[**Phant.**] *O mihi post nullus Furor memorande sodales.*

**Furor.** Say whence commest thou? sent from what deytie?  
From great *Apollo*, or slie *Mercurie*?

**Phan.** I come from the little Mercury, *Ingenioso*. *For*,  
*Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negauit.*

**Furor.** *Ingenioso*?

He is a pretty inuenter of slight prose:  
But there's no spirit in his groaueling speach,  
Hang him whose verse cannot out-belch the wind:  
That cannot beard and braue *Don Eolus*,  
That when the cloud of his inuention breakes,  
Cannot out-cracke the scar-crow thunderbolt.

**Phan.** Hang him I say, *Pendo pependi, tendo tetendi, pedo pepedi*. Will it please you maister *Furor* to walke with me.  
I promised to bring you to a drinking Inne in Cheapside, at  
the signe of the Nagges head, *For*,

*Tempore lenta pati fræna docentur equi.*

**Furor.** Passe thee before, Ile come incontinent.

**Phan.** Nay faith maister *Furor*, let's go together, *Quoniam  
Conuenimus ambo*.

**Furor.** Lets march on vnto the house of fame:  
There quaffing bowles of *Bacchus* bloud ful nimble,  
Endite a Tiptoe, strouting poesy.

*They offer the way one to the other.*

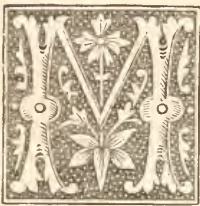
**Phan.** *Quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum,  
Tu maior: tibi me est æquum parere Menalea.*



## Actus 2. Scena 3. [*or rather 1.*]

Enter **Philom. Theod.** his patient the Burgesse, and his man with his staffe.

**Theod.** puts on his spectacles.



**Monsieur** here are *atomi Nantantes*, which doe make shew your worship to be as leacherous as a Bull.

**Burg.** Truely maister Doctor we are all men.

**Theod.** This vater is intencion of heate, are you not perturbed with an ake in you race, or in your occipit. I meane your head peece, let me feele the pulse of your little finger.

**Burg.** Ile assure you *M. Theodour*, the pulse of my head beates exceedingly, and I thinke I haue disturbed my selfe by studying the penall statutes.

**Theod.** Tit, tit, your worship takes cares of your speeches. *O, couræ leues loquuntur, ingentes stoupent*, it is an Aphorisme in Galen.

**Burg.** And what is the exposition of that ?

**Theod.** That your worship must take a *gland, vt emittatu sanguis*: the signe is for excellent, for excellent.

**Burg.** Good maister Doctor vse mee gently, for marke you Sir, there is a double consideration to be had of me: first as I am a publike magistrate: secondly as I am a priuate butcher: and but for the worshipfull credit of the place, and office wherein I now stand and liue, I would not hazard my worshipfull apparell, with a suppositor or a glister: but for the countenancing of the place, I must go oftener to stoole,

for as a great gentleman told me of good experience, that it was the chiefe note of a magistrate, not to go to the stoole without a phisition.

**Theo.** *A, vous ettes vn gentell home vraiment, what ho Iaques, Iaques, dou e vous ? vnfort gentel purgation for monsieur Burgesse.*

**Jaq.** *Vostre tres humble seruiture a vostre commandement.*

**Theod.** *Donne vous vn gentell purge a Monsier Burgesse.* I haue considered of the crasis, and syntoma of your disease, and here is *vnfort gentell purgation per euacuationem excrementorum*, as we Phisitions vse to parlee.

**Burg.** I hope maister Doctor you haue a care of the countries officer. I tell you I durst not haue trusted my selfe with euery phisition, and yet I am not afraide for my selfe, but I would not depriue the towne of so carefull a magistrate.

**Theod.** O monsier, I haue a singular care of your valetudo, it is requisite that the French Phisitions be learned and carefull, your English veluet cap is malignant and enuious.

**Burg.** Here is maister Doctor foure pence your due, and eight pence my bounty, you shall heare from me good maister Doctor, farewell farewell, good maister Doctor.

**Theod.** Adieu good Mounsier, adieu good Sir mounsier.

Then burst with teares vnhappy graduate :

Thy fortunes still wayward and backward bin :

Nor canst thou thriue by vertue, nor by sinne.

**Stud.** O how it greeues my vexed soule to see,  
Each painted asse in chayre of dignitie :  
And yet we grouell on the ground alone,  
Running through euery trade, yet thriue by none.  
More we must act in this liues Tragedy,

**Phi.** Sad is the plot, sad the Catastrophe.

**Stud.** Sighs are the Chorus in our Tragedie.


**Phi.** And rented thoughts continuall actors be.

**Stud.** Woe is the subiect. *Phil.* earth the loathed stage.  
Whereon we act this fained personage.  
Mossy barbarians the spectators be,  
That sit and laugh at our calamity.

- Phil.** Band be those houres when mongst the learne  
throng,  
By Gantaes muddy bancke we whilome song,
- Stud.** Band be that hill which learned wits adore,  
Where earst we spent our stock and little store :
- Phil.** Band be those musty mewes, where we haue spent,  
Our youthfull dayes in paled languishment.
- Stud.** Band be those cosening arts that wrought our woe,  
Making vs wandring Pilgrimes too and fro.
- Phi.** And Pilgrimes must wee bee without reliefe,  
And where so ere we run there meetes vs grieve.
- Stud.** Where euer we tosse vpon this crabbed stage  
Griefe's our companion, patience be our page.
- Phi.** Ah but this patience is a page of ruth,  
A tyred lackie to our wandring youth.

## Act. 2. Scena. 2.

### *Academico solus.*

**Acad.** aine would I haue a liuing, if I could tell how  
to come by it.

**Eccho.** Buy it.

**Acad.** Buy it fond Eccho : why thou dost  
greatly mistake it.

**Ecc[h]o.** Stake it.

**Acad.** Stake it, what shall I stake at this game of Simony ?

**Ecc[h]o.** Money.

**Ac.** What is the world a game ; are liuings gotten by playing ?

**Ecc[h]o.** Paying.

**[Acad].** Paying ? but say what's the nearest way to come  
by a liuing ?

**Eccho.** Giuing.

**[Ac].** Must his worships fists bee then oyled with Angells ?

**Eccho.** Angells.

[Ac]. Ought his gowty fists then first with gold to be greased?

Ecch[o]. Eased.

[Acad]. And is it then such an ease for his asses backe to carry money?

Ecch[o]. I.

[Ac]. Will then this golden asse bestowe a viccarige guilded?

Eccho. Gelded.

[Acad]. What shall I say to good sir *Roderick*, that haue no gold here?

Eccho. Cold cheare.

[Acad]. Ile make it my lone request, that he wold be good to a scholler

Eccho. Choller.

[Ac]. Yea will he be cholericke, to heare of an art or a science?

Eccho. Hence.

[Acad]. Hence with liberal arts, what then wil he do with his chancel?

Eccho. sell.

[Acad]. Sell it? and must a simple clarke be faine to compound then?

Eccho: pounds then.

[Acad]. What if I haue no pounds, must then my sute be proroagued?

Eccho. Roagued.

[Acad]. Yea? giuen to a Roague? shall an asse this vicaridge compasse?

Eccho Asse.

[Ac]. What is the reason that I should not be as fortunate as he?

Eccho. Asse he.

[Acad]. Yet for all this, with a peniles purse will I trudg[e] to his worship


Eccho. Words cheape.

[Acad]. Well, if he giue me good words, its more then I haue from an *Eccho*.

Eccho. Go.

## Act. 2. Scen. 3.

**Amoretto** with an *Ouid* in his hand. **Immerito.**

**Amor.** ake it on the word of a Gentleman thou cannot haue it a penny vnder, thinke ont, thinke ont, while *I* meditate on my faire mistres.

*Nunc sequor imperium magne Cupido tuum.*

What ere become of this dull thredbare clearke,  
*I* must be costly in my mistresse eye :

Ladies regard not ragged companie.

*I* will with the reuenues of my chafred church.

First buy an ambling hobby for my faire : [dance,  
Whose measured pace may teach the world to  
Proud of his burden when he gins to prounce :

Then must *I* buy a iewell for her eare,

A kirtle of some hundred crownes or more :

With these faire gifts when *I* accompanied goe,

Sheele giue *Ioues* breakfast : *Sidney* tearmes it so.

*I* am her needle : she is my Adamant,

She is my faire rose, *I* her vnworthy pricke.

**Acad.** Is there no body heere will take the paines to gelde his mouth ?

**Amor.** She's *Cleopatra*, *I* Marke Anthony,

**Acad.** No thou art a meere marke for good wits to shoote at : and in that sute thou wilt make a fine man to dashe poore crowes out of countenance.

**Amor.** She is my moone, *I* her *Endimion*,

**Acad.** No she is thy shoulder of mutton thou her onyon : or she may be thy *Luna*, and thou her *Lunaticke*.

**Amor.** *I* her *Æneas*, she my *Dido* is.


**Acad.** She is thy *Io*, and thou her brasen asse,

Or she Dame *Phantasy* and thou her gull :

She thy *Pasiphae*, and thou her louing bull.

## Act. 2. Scen. 4.

*Enter Immerito, and Stercutio his father.*

**Ster.** onne, is this the Gentleman that selles vs the liuing?

**Im.** Fy father thou must not call it selling, thou must say is this the gentleman that must haue the gratuito?

**Acad.** What haue we here, old true-penny come to towne, to fetch away the liuing in his old greasie slops, then ile none: the time hath beene when such a fellow medled with nothing but his plowshare, his spade, and his hobnailes, and so to a peece of bread and cheese, and went his way: but now these fellows are growne the onely factors for preferment.

**Ster.** O is this the grating Gentleman, and howe many pounds must I pay?

**Im.** O thou must not call them pounds, but thankes, and harke thou father, thou must tell of nothing that is done: for I must seeme to come cleere to it.

**Acad.** Not poundes but thanks: see whether this simple fellow that hath nothing of a scholler, but that the draper hath blackt him ouer, hath not gotten the stile of the time.

**Ster.** By my faith sonne looke for no more portion.

**Im.** Well father, I will not, vppon this condition, that when thou haue gotten me the gratuito of the liuing, thou wilt likewise disburse a little money to the bishops poser, for there are certaine questions I make scruple to be posed in.

**Acad.** He meanes any question in Latin, which he counts a scruple, oh this honest man could neuer abide this popish tongue of Latine, oh he is as true an English man as liues.

**Ster.** Ile take the Gentleman now, he is in a good vaine, for he smiles.

**Amor.** Sweete *Ouid*, I do honour eury page.



**Acad.** Good *Ouid* that in his life time, liued with the *Getes*, and now after his death conuerseth with a Barbarian.

**Ster.** God be at your worke Sir: my sonne told me you were the grating gentleman, I am *Stercutio* his father Sir, simple as I stand here.

**Acad.** Fellow, I had rather giuen thee an hundred pounds then thou should haue put me out of my excellent meditation[,] by the faith of a Gentleman I was wrapt in contemplation.

**Im.** Sir you must pardon my father he wants bringing vp.

**Acad.** Marry it seemes he hath good bringing vp, when he brings vp so much money.

**Ster.** Indeed sir, you must pardon me, I did not knowe you were a Gentleman of the Temple before.

**Amor.** Well I am content in a generous disposition to beare with country education, but fellowe whats thy name?

**Ster.** My name Sir, *Stercutio* Sir.

**Am[or].** Why then *Stercutio* I wold be very willing to be the instrument to my father, that this liuing might be conferred vpon your soone: mary I would haue you know, that I haue bene importuned by two or three seueral Lordes, my Kinde cozins, in the behalfe of some Cambridge man: and haue almost engaged my word. Mary if I shall see your disposition to be more thankfull then other men, I shalbe very ready to respect kind natur'd men: for as the Italian prouerbe speaketh wel, *Chi ha haura*.

**Acad.** why here is a gallant young drouer of liuings.

**Ster.** I beseech you sir speake English, for that is naturall to me and to my sonne, and all our kindred, to vnderstand but one language.

**Amor.** Why thus in plaine english: I must be respected with thanks.

**Acad.** This is a subtile tractiue, when thanks may be felt and seene.

**Ster.** And I pray you Sir, what is the lowest thanks that you will take?

**Acad.** The verye same Method that he vseth at the buying of an oxe.

**Amor.** I must haue some odd sprinckling of an hundred pounds, if so, so, I shall thinke you thankfull, and commend your sonne as a man of good giftes to my father.

**Acad.** A sweete world, giue an hundred poundes, and this is but counted thankfullnesse.

**Ster.** Harke thou Sir, you shall haue 80. thankes.

**Amor.** I tell thee fellow, I neuer opened my mouth in this kind so cheape before in my life. I tel thee, few young Gentlemen are found, that would deale so kindly with thee as I doe.

**Ster.** Well Sir, because I knowe my sonne to be a toward thing, and one that hath taken all his learning on his owne head, without sending to the vniuersitye, I am content to giue you as many thankes as you aske, so you will promise me to bring it to passe.

**Amor.** I warrant you for that: if I say it once, repayre you to the place, and stay there, for my father, he is walked abroad to take the benefit of the ayre. Ile meete him as he returnes, and make way for your suite.

*Exeunt Ster. Im.*

## Actus 2. Scen. 5.

*Enter Academico, Amoretto.*

**Amor.** allant, I faith.

**Acad.** I see we schollers fish for a liuing in these shallow foards without a siluer hooke. Why, would it not gal a man to see a spruse gartered youth, of our Colledge a while ago, be a broker for a liuing, and an old Baude for a benefice? This sweet Sir proffered me much kindnesse when hee was of our Colledge, and now Ile try what winde remains in his bladder. God saue you Sir.

**Amor.** By the masse I feare me I saw this Genus and Species in Cambridge before now : Ile take no notice of him now : by the faith of a gentleman this is pretty Elegy. Of what age is the day fellow ? Syrrha boy hath the groome saddled my hunting hobby ? can Robin Hunter tell where a Hare sits.

**Acad.** See a poore old friend of yours, of S.( ) Colledge in Cambridge.

**Am.** Good faith sir you must pardon me. I haue forgotten you.

**Acad.** My name is *Academico* Sir, one that made an oration for you once on the Queenes day, and a show that you got some credit by.

**Amor.** It may be so, it may bee so, but I haue forgotten it : mary yet I remember there was such a fellow that I was very beneficiall vnto in my time. But howsoever Sir, I haue the curtesie of the towne for you. I am sory you did not take me at my fathers house : but now I am in exceeding great haste, for I haue vowed the death of a Hare that we found this morning musing on her meaze.

**Acad.** Sir I am imboldened, by that great acquaintance that heretofore I had with you, as likewise it hath pleased you heretofore.

**Amor.** Looke syrrha, if you see my Hobby come hetherward as yet.

**Acad.** To make me some promises, I am to request your good meditation to the Worshipfull your father, in my behalfe : and I will dedicate to your selfe in the way of thankes, those daies I haue to liue.

**Amor.** O good sir, if I had knowne your minde before, for my father hath already giuen the induction to a Chaplaine of his owne, to a proper man, I know not of what Vniuersitie he is.

**Acad.** Signior *Immerito*, they say, hath bidden fairest for it.

**Amor.** I know not his name, but he is a graue discreet

man I warrant him, indeed he wants vtterance in some measure.

**Acad.** Nay, me thinkes he hath very good vtterance, for his grautie, for hee came hether very graue, but I thinke he will returne light enough, when he is ridde of the heauy element he carries about him

**Amor.** Faith Sir, you must pardon me, it is my ordinary custome to be too studious, my Mistresse hath tolde me of it often, and I find it to hurt my ordinary discourse: but say sweete Sir, do yee affect the most gentle-man-like game of hunting?

**Acad.** How say you to the crafty gull, hee would faine get me abroad to make sport with me in their Hunters tearmes, which we schollers are not acquainted with: sir I haue loued this kinde of sport, but now I begin to hate it, for it hath beene my luck alwayes to beat the bush, while another kild the Hare.

**Amor.** Hunters luck, Hunters luck Sir, but there was a fault in your Hounds that did spend well.

**Acad.** Sir, I haue had worse luck alwayes at hunting the Fox.

**Am[or].** What sir, do you meane at the vnkennelling, vntapezing, or earthing of the Fox?

**Acad.** I meane earthing, if you terme it so, for I neuer found yellow earth enough to couer the old *Fox* your father.

**Amor.** Good faith sir, there is an excellent skill in blowing for the terriers, it is a word that we hunters vse when the Fox is earthed, you must blow one long, two short, the seconde winde, one long, two short: now sir in blowing, euery long containeth 7. quauers, one short, containeth 3 quauers.

**Acad.** Sir might I finde any fauour in my suite, I would winde the horne wherein your bone deserts should bee sounded with so many minims, so many quauers.

**Amor.** Sweet sir, I would I could conferre this or any kindnesse vpon you: I wonder the boy comes not away with my Hobby. Now sir, as I was proceeding: when you blow the death of your Fox in the field or couert, then must you

sound 3. notes, with 3. windes, and recheat : marke your sir, vpon the same with 3. windes.

**Acad.** I pray you sir.

**Amor.** Now sir, when you come to your stately gate, as you sounded the recheat before, so now you must sound the releefe three times.

**Acad.** Releefe call you it? it were good euery patron would finde the horne.

**Amor.** O sir, but your reliefe is your sweetest note, that is sir, when your hounds hunt after a game vnknowne, and then you must sound one long and six short, the second wind two short and one long, the third wind, one long and two short.

**Acad.** True sir, it is a very good trade now adayes to be a villaine, I am the hound that hunts after a game vnknowne, and blowes the villaine.

**Amor.** Sir, I will blesse your eares with a very pretty story, my father out of his owne cost and charges keeps an open table for all kinde of dogges.

**Acad.** And he keeps one more by thee.

**Amor.** He hath your Grey-hound, your Mungrell, your Mastife, your Leurier, your Spaniell, your Kennets, Terriers, Butchers dogs, Bloud-hounds, Dunghill dogges, trindle tailes, prick-eard cures, small Ladies puppies, Caches and Bastards.

**Acad.** What a bawdy knaue hath he to his father, that keeps his *Rachell*, hath his bastards, and lets his sonnes be plaine Ladies puppets, to beray a Ladies Chamber.

**Amor.** It was my pleasure two dayes ago, to take a gallant leash of Grey-hounds, and into my fathers Parke I went, accompanied with two or three Noble men of my neere acquaintance, desiring to shew them some of the sport: I caused the Keeper to seuer the rascall Deere, from the Buckes of the first head: now sir, a Bucke the first yeare is a *Fawne*; the second yeare a *Pricket*, the third yeare a *Sorell*, the fourth yeare a *Soare*, the fift a Bucke of the first head,

the sixt yeare a compleat Buck : as likewise your Hart is the first yeare a Calfe, the second yeare a Brochet, the third yeare a Spade, the fourth yeare a Stag, the fift yeare a great Stag, the sixth yeare a Hart[:] as likewise the Raw bucke is the first yeare a Kid, the second yeare a Girle, the third yeare a Hemuse : and these are your speciall beasts for chase, or as we huntsmen call it, for venery.

**Acad.** If chaste be taken for venery, thou art a more speciall beast then any in thy fathers forest. Sir I am sorry I haue bin so troublesome to you.

**Amor.** I know this was the readiest way to chase away the scholler, by getting him into a subiect he cannot talke of, for his life. Sir I will borrowe so much time of you as to finish this my begunne story. Now sir, after much trauaile we singled a Buck, I roade that same time vpon a Roane gelding, and stood to intercept from the thicket : the buck broke gallantly : my great swift being disaduantaged in his slip was at the first behind, marry presently coted and out-stript them, when as the Hart presently descended to the riuer, and being in the water, proferd, and reproferd, and proferd againe : and at last he vpstarted at the other side of the water which we call soyle of the Hart, and there other Hunstmen met him with an adauntreley. we followed in hard chase for the space of eight hours, thrise our hounds were at default, and then we cryed a slaine, streight so ho : through good reclayming, my faulty hounds found their game againe, and so went through the wood with gallant notice of musicke, resembling so many Violls Degambo : at last the Hart laid him downe, and the Hounds seized vpon him, he groned and wept, and dyed. In good faith it made me weepe too, to thinke of *Acteons* fortunes, which my *Ouid* speakes of. *He reades Ouid.*

*Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra cupido.*

**Acad.** Sir, can you put me in any hope of obtaining my suite.




**Am[or].** In good faith Sir, if I did not loue you as my soule, I would not make you acquainted with the mysteries of my art.

**Acad.** Nay, I will not die of a discourse yet, if I can choose.

**Amor.** So sir, when we had rewarded our Dogges with the small guttes and the lights, and the bloud: the Huntsmen hallowed, so ho, *Venue* a coupler, and so coupled the dogges, and then returned homeward: another company of houndes that lay at aduantage, had their couples cast off and we might heare the Huntmen cry, *horse, decouple, Auant*, but streight we heard him cry, *le Amond*, and by that I knew that they had the hare and on foote, and by and bye I might see sore and resore, prick, and reprick: what is he gone? ha ha ha ha, these schollers are the simplest creatures.

## Actus 2. scen. 6.

*Enter Amoretto and his Page.*

**Pag[e].**  wonder whats becomes of that *Ouid, de arte amandi*, my maister he that for the practise of his discourse is wonte to court his hobby abroad, and at home in his chamber makes a set speech to his greyhound, desiring that most faire and amiable dog to grace his company in a stately galliard, and if the dog, seeing him practise his lusty pointes, as his crosпойnt backcaper, chance to beray the ro[o]me, he presently doffes his Cap most solemnly, makes a low-leg to his ladiship, taking it for the greatest fauour in the world, that she would vouchsafe to leaue her Ciuet box, or her sweet gloue behind her.

**Amor.** *He opens Ouid and reads it.*

**Pag[e].** Not a word more sir ant please you, your Hobby will meete you at the lanes end.

**Amo[r].** What *Iack*, faith I cannot but vent vnto thee a most witty iest of mine.

**Page.** I hope my maister will not breake wind: wilt please you sir to blesse mine eares with the discourse of it.

**Am[or].** Good faith, the boy begins to haue an elegant smack of my stile: why then thus it was *Iack*: a scury meere Cambridge scholler, I know not how to define him.

**Page.** Nay Maister, let me define a meere scholler: I heard a courtier once define a meere scholler, to be *animall scabiosum*, that is, a liuing creature that is troubled with the itch: or a meere scholler is a creature than can strike fire in the morning at his tinder-box, put on a paire of lined slippers, sit rewming till dinner, and then goe to his meate when the Bell rings, one that hath a peculiar gift in a cough, and a licence to spit: or if you will haue him defined by negatiues. He is one that cannot make a good legge, one that cannot eat a messe of broth cleanly, one that cannot ride a horse without spur-galling: one that cannot salute a woman, and looke on her directly, one that cannot——

**Am[or].** Inough *Iacke*, I can stay no longer, I am so great in child-birth with this iest: *Sirrha*, this prædicable, this saucye groome, because when I was in Cambridge, and lay in a Trundlebed vnder my tutor, I was content in discreet humility, to giue him some place at the Table, and because I inuited the hungry slaue sometimes to my Chamber, to the canuasing of a Turkey pie, or a piece of Venison, which my Lady Grandmother sent me, hee thought himselfe therefore eternally possest of my loue, and came hither to take acquaintance of me, and thought his olde familiarity did continue, and would beare him out in a matter of waight. I could not tell howe to ridde my selfe of the troublesome Burre, then by getting him into the discourse of hunting, and then tormenting him awhile with our words of Arte, the poore Scorpion became speechlesse, and suddenly rauished. These Clarkes are simple fellowes, simple fellowes.

*He reades Ouid.*

**Page.** Simple indeede they are, for they want your courtly composition of a foole and of a knaue. Good faith sir a most absolute iest, but me thinkes it might haue beene followed a little farther.

**Am[or].** As how my little knaue ?

**Pag[e].** Why thus sir, had you inuited him to dinner at your Table, and haue put the caruing of a capon vpon him, you should haue seene him handle the knife so foolishly, then run through a iury of faces, then wagging his head, and shewing his teeth in familiarity, venter vpon it with the same method that he was wont to vntrusse an apple pye, or tyrannise an Egge and butter ; then would I haue applyed him all dinner time with cleane trenchers, cleane trenchers, and still when he had a good bit of meate, I would haue taken it from him, by giuing him a cleane trencher, and so haue serued him in kindnesse.

**Amo[r].** Well said subtle *Iack*, put me in minde when I returne againe, that I may make my lady mother laugh at the Scholler, ile to my game : for you *Iacke*, I would haue you imploy your time till my comming : in watching what houre of the day my hawke mutes. *Exit.*

**Page.** Is not this an excellent office to be Apothecary to his worships hawke, to sit scouting on the wall, how the Phisicke workes, and is not my Maister an absolute villaine that loues his Hawke, his Hobby, and his Grey-hound, more then any mortall creature ? do but dispraise a feather of his haw[k]es traine, and he writhes his mouth, and swears, for hee can doe that only with a good grace, that you are the most shallowe braind fellow that liues : do but say his horse stales with a good presence, and hee's your bondslaue : when he returnes Ile tell twenty admirable lies of his hawke, and then I shall bee his little rogue, and his white villaine for a whole weeke after. Well let others complaine, but I thinke there is no felicity to the seruing of a foole.

## Act 3. Scen. 1.

*Sir Rad. Record[er]. Page. Sig. Immerito.*

**Sir Rad.**



Ignior *Immerito*, you remember my caution, for the tithes, and my promise for farming my tithes at such a rate.

**Im.** I, and please your worship Sir.

**Sir Rad.** You must put in security for the performance of it in such sort as I and maister Recorder shall like of.

**Im.** *I* will an't please your worship.

**Sir Rad.** And because *I* will be sure that *I* haue conferred this kindnesse vpon a sufficient man, *I* haue desired Maister Recorder to take examination of you.

**Pag[e].** My maister (it seemes) tak's him for a theife, but he hath small reason for it, as for learning it's plaine he neuer stole any, and for the liuing he knowes himselfe how he comes by it, for let him but eate a messe of furmenty this seauen yeare, and yet he shall neuer be able to recouer himselfe: alas poore Sheepe that hath fallen into the hands of such a Fox.

**S. Rad.** Good maister Recorder take your place by me, and make tryall of his gifts, is the clerke there to recorde his examination, oh the Page shall serue the turne.

**Pag[e].** Tryal of his gifts, neuer had any gifts a better trial, why *Immerito* his gifts haue appeared in as many colours, as the Rain-bowe, first to maister *Amoretto* in colour of the

Sattine suite he weares: to my Lady in the similitude of a loose gowne: to my maister, in the likenesse of a siluer basen, and ewer: to vs Pages in the semblance of new suites and points. So maister *Amoretto* plaies the gull in a piece of a parsonage: my maister adorne his cupboord with a piece of a parsonage, my mistres vpon good dayes, puts on a piece of a parsonage, and we Pages playe at blow point for a piece of a parsonage, I thinke heer's tryall inough for one mans gifts.

**Recor.** For as much as nature hath done her part in making you a hansome likely man.

**Pag[e].** He is a hansome young man indeed, and hath a proper gelded parsonage.

**Recor.** In the next place, some art is requisite for the perfection of nature: for the tryall whereof, at the request of my worshipfull friend, I will in some sort propound questions fit to be resolued by one of your profession, say what is a person that was neuer at the vniuersity?

**Im.** A person that was neuer in the Vniuersity, is a liuing creature that can eate a tithe pigge.

**Rec.** Very well answer'd, but you should haue added, and must be officious to his patron: write down that answer to shew his learning in Logick.

**Sir Rad:** Yea boy write that downe. Very learnedly in good faith, I pray now let me aske you one question that I remember, whether is the Masculine gender or the feminine more worthy.

**Im.** The Feminine sir.

**Sir Rad.** The right answer, the right answer: in good faith I haue beene of that mind alwayes; write boy that, to shew hee is a Grammarian.

**Pag[e].** No maruell my maister bee against the Grammer, for he hath alwayes made false Latin in the Genders.

**Rec.** What Vniuersity are you off?

**Im.** Of none.

**Sir Rad.** He tells trueth, to tell trueth is an excellent vertue. Boy make two heads, one for his learning, another

for his vertues, and referre this to the head of his vertues, not of his learning.

**Pag[e].** What, halfe a messe of good qualities referred to an Asse head?

**Sir Rad.** Now maister Recorder, if it please you I will examine him in an author, that will sound him to the depth, a booke of Astronomy, otherwise called an Almanacke.

**Rec.** Very good, Sir *Raderike*, it were to be wished that there were no other booke of humanity, then there would not bee such busie state-prying fellows as are now a dayes, proceed good sir.

**Sir Rad.** What is the Dominicall letter?

**Im.** C. sir, and please your worship.

**Sir Rad.** A very good answer, a very good answer, the very answer of the booke, write downe that, and referre it to his skill in Philosophy.

**Pag[e].** C. the Dominicall letter: it is true, craft and cunning do so dominere: yet rather C and D, are dominicall letters, that is crafty Dunsery.

**S. Rad.** How many dayes hath September?

**Im.** Aprill, Iune and Nouember, February hath 28. alone and all the rest hath 30 and one.

**S. Rad.** Very learnedly in good faith, he hath also a smacke in poetry, write downe that boy, to shew his learning in poetry. How many miles from Waltham to London?

**Im.** Twelue Sir.

**S. Rad.** How many from Newmarket to Gantham?

**Im.** Ten Sir.

**Pag[e].** Without doubt he hath beene some Carriers horse.

**S. Rad.** How call you him that is cunning in 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. and the Cipher?

**Im.** A good Arithmatician.

**S. Rad.** Write downe that answere of his, to shew his learning in Arithmetick.

**Pag[e].** He must needs be a good Arithmatician that counted money so lately.



**S. Rad.** When is the new Moone ?

**Im.** The last quarter the 5. day, at 2. of the clock and 38. minut[e]s in the morning.

**S. Rad.** Write him downe, how call you him, that is weather-wise ?

**Recor.** A good Astronomer.

**S. Rad.** Sirrha boy, write him downe for a good Astronomer.

**Page.** *As Colit astra.*

**S. Rad.** What day of the month lights the Queenes day on ?

**Im.** The 17. of Nouember.

**S. Rad.** Boy, referre this to his vertues, and write him downe a good subiect.

**Pag[e].** Faith he were an excellent subiect for 2. or 3. good wits, he would make a fine Asse for an Ape to ride vpon.

**S. Rad.** And these shall suffice for the parts of his learning, now it remaines to try whether you bee a man of good vtterance, that is, whether you can aske for the strayed Heyfer with the white face, as also chide the boyes in the belfrie, and bid the Sexton whippe out the dogges: let mee heare your voyce.

**Im.** If any man or woman.

**S. Rad.** Thats too high.

**Im.** If any man or woman.

**S. Rad.** Thats too lowe.

**Im.** If any man or woman, can tell any tidings of a Horse with foure feete, two eares, that did stray about the seuenth houre, three minutes in the forenoone the fift day.

**Page.** I tooke of a horse iust as it were the Ecclipse of the Moone.

**S. Rad.** Boy write him downe for a good vtterance: Maister Recorder, I thinke he hath beene examined sufficiently.

**Rec.** I, *Sir Radericke*, tis so, wee haue tride him very throughly.

**Pag[e].** I, we haue taken an inuentory of his good parts and prized them accordingly.

**S. Rad.** Signior *Immerito*, forasmuch as wee haue made a double tryall of thee, the one of your learning, the other of your erudition: it is expedient also in the next place to giue you a few exhortations, considering this, greatest Clearks are not the wisest men: this is therefore first to exhort you to abstaine from Controuersies. Secondly not to gird at men of worship, such as my selfe, but to vse your selfe discreetly. Thirdly not to speake when any man or woman coughs: doe so, and in so doing I will preseuer to bee your worshipfull friend and louing patron.


**Im.** I thanke your worship, you haue beene the deficient cause of my preferment.

**Sir Rad.** Lead *Immerito* in to my sonne, and let him dispatch him, and remember my tithes to bee reserued, paying twelue pence a yeare. I am going to Moore-fields, to speake with an vnthrift I should meete at the middle Temple about a purchase, when you haue done follow vs.

*Exeunt Immerito and the Page.*

## Actus 3. Scena 2.

**Sir Raderick, and Recorder.**

**Sir Rad.** arke you Maister *Recorder*, I haue flesht my prodigall boy notably, notably in letting him deale for this liuing, that hath done him much, much good I assure you.

**Recor.** You doe well Sir *Radericke*, to bestowe your liuing vpon such an one as will be content to share, and on Sunday to say nothing, whereas your Vniuerstie princox thinkes he is a man of such merit, the world cannot sufficiently endow him with preferment, an vnthankefull Viper, an vnthankefull viper that will sting the man that reuiued him.

Why ist not strange to see a ragged clarke,  
 Some stamell weauer or some butchers sonne :  
 That scrubd a late within a sleeuelesse gowne,  
 When the commencement, like a morice dance,  
 Hath put a bell or two about his legges,  
 Created him a sweet cleane gentleman :  
 How then he gins to follow fashions.  
 He whose thin sire dwell[s] in a smokye roufe,  
 Must take Tobacco and must weare a locke,  
 His thirsty Dad drinckes in a wooden bowle,  
 But his sweete selfe is seru'd in siluer plate.  
 His hungry sire will scrape you twenty legges,  
 For one good Christmas meale on New-yeares day.  
 But his mawe must be capon crambd each day,  
 He must ere long be triple beneficed,  
 Els with his tongue hee le thunderbolt the world,  
 And shake each peasant by his deafe-mans eare.  
 But had the world no wiser men then I,  
 Weede pen the prating parats in a cage,  
 A chaire, a candle and a Tinderbox.  
 A thacked chamber and a ragged gowne,  
 Should be their lands and whole possessions,  
 Knights, Lords, and lawyers should be log'd and dwell  
 Within those ouer stately heapes of stone.  
 Which doting sires in old age did erect.

Well it were to be wished that neuer a scholler in England might haue aboute forty pound a yeare.

**S. Rad.** Faith maister *Recorder*, if it went by wishing, there should neuer a one of them all haue aboute twenty a yeare: a good stipend, a good stipend, maister *Recorder*. I in the meane time, howsoeuer I hate them all deadly, yet I am faine to giue them good words. Oh they are pestilent fellowes, they speake nothing but bodkins, and pisse vineger. Wel, do what I can in outward kindnesse to them, yet they do nothing but beray my house: as there was one that made a couple of knauish verses on my country chimney now in

the time of my sojourning here at London : and it was thus.

*Sir Raderick* keepes no chimney Cauerere,

That takes Tobacco aboue once a yeare.

And another made a couple of verses on my daughter that learnes to play on the violl *de gambo*.

Her vyoll *de gambo* is her best content.

For twixt her legges she holds her instrument.

Very knauish, very knauish, if you looke vnto it maister *Recorder*. Nay they haue plaide many a knauish tricke beside with me. Well, tis a shame indeede there should bee any such priuilege for proud beggars at Cambridge, and Oxford are. But let them go, and if euer they light in my hands, if I do not plague them, let me neuer returne home againe to see my wifes waiting mayde.

**Recor** This scorne of Knights it two egregious.

But how should these young colts proue amblers,

When the old heauy galed iades do trot.

There shall you see a puny boy start vp,

And make a theame against common lawyers :

Then the old vnweldy Camels gin to dance,

This fidling boy paying a fit of mirth :

The gray beard scrub, and laugh and cry good, good

To them againe, boy scurdge the barbarians :

But we may giue the loosers leaue to talke,

We haue the coyne, then tell them laugh for mee.

Yet knights and lawyers hope to see the day,

When we may share here their possessions,

And make indentures of their chaffred skins :

Dice of their bones to throw in meriment.

**Sir. Rad.** O good faith maister *Recorder*, if I could see that day once.

**Rec.** Well, remember another day what I say : schollers are pried into of late, and are found to bee busie fellowes, disturbers of the peace ; ile say no more, gesse at my meaning, I smell a Rat.

**Sir Rad.** I hope at length England will be wise enough,

I hope so, I faith, then an old knight may haue his wench in a corner without any Satyres or Epigrams. But the day is farre spent, *M. Recorder*, and I feare by this time the vnthrif is arriued at the place appointed in Moore fields, let vs hasten to him.


*He lookes on his watch.*

**Rec.** Indeed this dayes subiect transported vs too late, I thinke we shall not come much too late.

*Exeunt.*

## Act. 3. Scen. 3.

*Enter Amoretto, his page, Immerito booted.*

**Amor.** aister *Immerito* deliuer this letter to the Poser in my fathers name: mary withall some sprinkling, some sprinkling, *verbum sapienti sat est*, farewell maister *Immerito*.

**Im.** I thanke your worship most heartily.

**Page.** Is it not a shame to see this old dunce learning his induction at these yeares? but let him go, I loose nothing by him for ile be sworne but for the bootye of selling the personage I should haue gone in mine old cloathes this Christmas. A dunce I see is a neighbourlike brute beast, a man may liue by him.

**Amor.** *secmes to make verse.*

**Amor.** A pox on it, my muse is not so witty as shee was wonte to be, her nose is like, not yet, plague on these mathematikes, they haue spoyled my braine in making a verse.

**Pag[e].** Hang me if he hath any more mathematikes then wil serue to count the clocke, or tell the meridian houre by rumbling of his panch.

**Am.** Her nose is like.

**Pag[e].** A coblers shoinghorne.

**Am.** Her nose is like a beautious maribone.

**Pag[e].** Mary a sweete snotty mistres.

**Amor.** Faith I doe not like it yet : asse as I was to reade a peece of *Aristotle* in greeke yesternight, it hath put me out of my English vaine quite.

**Pag[e].** O monstrous lye, let me be a point-trusser while I liue if he vnderstands any tongue but English.

**Amor.** Sirrha boy remember me when *I* come in Paules Churchyard to buy a *Ronzard*, and *Dubartus* in French and *Aretine* in Italian, and our hardest writers in spanish, they wil sharpen my wits gallantly. I do rellish these tongues in some sort. Oh now I do remember I heare a report of a Poet newly come out in Hebrew, it is a pritty harsh tongue, and rellish a Gentleman traueller, but come letts haste after my father, the fieldes are fitter to heauenly meditations.


*Exeunt.*

**Pag[e].** My maisters, I could wish your presence at an admirable iest, why presently this great linguist my Maister, will march through Paules Church-yard. Come to a booke binders shop, and with a big Italian looke and spanish face aske for these bookes in spanish and Italian, then turning through his ignorance, the wrong ende of the booke vppward vse action, on this vnknowne tongue after this sort, first looke on the title and wrinckle his brow, next make as though he read the first page and bites a lip, then with his naile score the margent as though there were some notable conceit, and lastly when he thinkes hee hath gulld the standers by sufficiently, throwes the booke away in a rage, swearing that he could neuer finde bookes of a true printe since he was last in *Ioadna*, enquire after the next marte, and so departs. And so must I, for by this time his contemplation is arriued at his mistres nose end, he is as glad as if he had taken *Ostend* : by this he beginnes to spit, and crie boy, carry my cloake : and now I goe to attend on his worship.



## Act 3. Scen. 4.

Enter Ingenioso, Furor, Phantasma.

**Ing.** ome laddes, this wine whets your resolution in our designe: it's a needy world with subtill spirits, and there's a gentlemanlike kind of begging, that may beseeme Poets in this age.

**Fur.** Now by the wing of nimble Mercury,  
By my Thalias siluer sounding harpe :  
By that celestiall fire within my braine,  
That giues a liuing genius to my lines :  
How ere my dulled intellectuall.  
Capres lesse nimbly then it did afore,  
Yet will I play a hunt's vp to my muse :  
And make her mount from out her sluggish nest,  
As high as is the highest sphaere in heauen :  
Awake you paltry trulles of *Helicon*,  
Or by this light, Ile Swagger with you streight :  
You grand-sire *Phœbus* with your louely eye,  
The firmaments' eternall vagabond,  
The heauens promotor that doth peepe and pry,  
Into the actes of mortall tennis balls.  
Inspire me streight with some rare delicies,  
Or Ile dismount thee from thy radiant coach :  
And make thee poore Cutchy here on earth.

**Phan.** *Currus auriga paterni.*

**Ing.** Nay prethee good *Furor*, do not roaue in rimes before thy time: thou hast a very terrible roaring muse, nothing but squibs and fine ierkes, quiet thy selfe a while, and heare thy charge.

**Phan.** *Huc ades hæc ; animo concipe dicta tuo.*

**Ingeni.** Let vs on to our devise, our plot, our proiect. That old Sir *Raderick*, that new printed *compendum* of all iniquity, that hath not aired his countrey Chimney once in

3. winters: he that loues to liue in an od corner here at London, and effect an odde wench in a nooke, one that loues to liue in a narrow roome, that he may with more facilitie in the darke, light vpon his wifes waiting maide, one that loues alife a' short sermon and a long play, one that goes to a play, to a whore, to his bedde in Circle, good for nothing in the world but to sweat night caps, and foule faire lawne shirts, feed a few foggie seruing men, and preferre dunces to liuings. This old Sir *Raderick* (*Furor*) it shall be thy taske to cudgell with thy thick thwart termes, and then if he will not vnty his purse strings, of his liberality, sting him with termes laid in *Aqua fortis* and Gunpowder.

**Furor.** *In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas.*

The Seruile current of my sliding verse,  
Gentle shall runne into his thick skind eares:  
Where it shall dwell like a magnifico,  
Command his slimie spright to honour me:  
For my high tiptoe strouting poesie.  
But if his starres hath fauour'd him so ill,  
As to debarre him by his dunghil thoughts,  
Iustly to esteeme my verses lowting pitch:  
If his earth wrotting snout shall gin to scorne,  
My verse that giueth immortality:  
Then. *Bella per Emathios.*

**Phan.** *Furor arma ministrat.*

**Furor.** Ile shake his heart vpon my verses point,  
Rip out his guts with riuing poinard:  
Quarter his credit with a bloody quill.

**Phan.** *Calami, Atramentum, charta, libelli,  
Sunt semper studijs arma parata tuis.*

**Ing.** Inough *Furor*, wee know thou art a nimble swaggerer with a goose quill: now for you *Phantasma*, leaue trussing your points and listen.

**Phan.** *Omne tulit punctum.*

**Ing.** Marke you *Amoretto* Sir *Radericks* sonne, to him shall thy piping poetry and sugar ends of verses be directed: he is

one, that will draw out his pocket glasse thrise in a walke, one that dreames in a night of nothing, but muske and ciuet, and talke[s] of nothing all day long but his hawke, his hound, and his mistresse, one that more admires the good wrinkle of a boote, the curious crinkling of a silke stocking, then all the wit in the world: one that loues no scholler but him whose tyred eares can endure halfe a day together his fiblow sonnettes of his mistresse, and her louing pretty creatures, her munckey and her puppet: it shall be thy taske (*Phantasma*) to cut this gulle throate with faire tearmes, and if he hold fast for all thy iugling rhetoricke, fall at defiance with him, and the poking sticke he weares.

**Phan.** *Simul extulit ensem.*


**Ing.** Come braue nimphs, gather vp your spirits, and let vs march on like aduenturous knights, and discharge a hundreth poeticall spirits vpon them.

**Phan.** *Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo.*

*Exeunt.*

## Act 3. Scen. 5.

*Enter Philomusus, Studioso.*

**Stud.** ell *Philomusus*, we neuer scaped so faire a scouring: why yonder are purseuants out for the French Doctor, and a lodging bespoken for him and his man in Newgate.

It was a terrible feare that made vs cast our haire.

**Phil.** And canst thou sport at our calamities?

And countest vs happy to scape prisonment?

Why the wide world that blesseth some with waile,  
Is to our chained thoughts a darkesome gaile:

**Stud.** Nay prethee friend, these wonted termes forgo,  
He doubles grieve that comments on a wo.

- Phil.** Why do fond men terme it impiety ?  
 To send a wearisome sad grudging Ghost,  
 Vnto his home, his long, long, lasting home ?  
 Or let them make our life lesse greeuous be,  
 Or suffer vs to end our misery.
- Stud.** Oh no, the Sentinell his watch must keepe,  
 Vntill his Lord do licence him to sleepe :
- Phil.** It's time to sleepe within our hollow graues,  
 And rest vs in the darkesome wombe of earth :  
 Dead things are graued, and bodies are no lesse,  
 Pined and forlorne, like Ghostly carcasses.
- Stud.** Not long this tappe of loathed life can runne,  
 Soone commeth death, and then our woe is done.  
 Mean time, good *Philomusus* be content,  
 Lets spend our dayes in hopefull merriment.
- Phil.** Curst be our thoughts when ere they dreame of hope :  
 Band be those haps that henceforth flatter vs,  
 When mischief doggs vs still and still for aye,  
 From our first birth, vntill our burying day.  
 In our first gamesome age, our doting sires,  
 Carked and cared to haue vs lettered :  
 Sent vs to Cambridge, where our oyle is spent :  
 Vs our kinde Colledge from the teate did teare :  
 And for'st vs walke before we weaned were,  
 From that time since wandred haue we still :  
 In the wide world, vrg'd by our forced will,  
 Nor euer haue we happy fortune tryed :  
 Then why should hope with our tent state abide ?  
 Nay let vs run vnto the basefull caue,  
 Pight in the hollow ribbes of craggy cliffe,  
 Where dreary Owles do shrike the liue-long night,  
 Chasing away the byrdes of chearefull light :  
 Where yawning Ghosts do howle in ghastly wise,  
 Where that dull hollow ey'd, that staring syre,  
 Yclept *Dispaire* hath his sad mansion.  
 Him let vs finde, and by his counsell we,  
 Will end our too much yrked misery.

**Stud.** To waile thy haps, argues a dastard minde.

**Phil.** To beare too long, argues an asses kinde.

**Stud.** Long since the worst chance of the die was cast,

**Phil.** But why should that word *worst* so long time last?

**Stud.** Why dost *thou* now these sleepeie plaints commence?

**Phil.** Why should I ere be duld with patience?

**Stud.** Wise folke do beare with, struggling cannot mend.

**Phil.** Good spirits must with thwarting fates contend.

**Stud.** Some hope is left our fortunes to redresse,

**Phil.** No hope but this, ere to be comfortlesse,

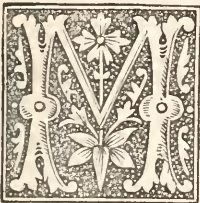
**Stud.** Our liues remainder gentler hearts may finde.

**Phil.** The gentlest hearts to vs will proue vnkind.

## Act. 4. Scen. 1.

*Sir Radericke and Prodigio, at one corner of the Stage.  
Record[er] and Amoretto at the other.*

*Two Pages scouring of Tobacco pipes.*

**Sir Rad.**  *Prodigo, M. Recorder* hath told you lawe, your land is forfeited: and for me not to take the forfeiture, were to breake the Queenes law, for marke you, its law to take the forfeiture: therefore not to breake it is to breake the Queenes law,

and to breake the Queenes law is not to be a good subiect, and I meane to bee a good subiect. Besides, I am a Iustice of the peace; and being Iustice of the peace I must do iustice, that is law, that is to take the forfeiture, especially hauing taken notice of it. Marry Maister *Prodigo*, here are a few shillings, ouer and besides the bargaine.

**Prod.** Pox on your shilling, sblood a while ago, before he had me in the lurch, who but my coozen *Prodigo*, you are welcome my coozen *Prodigo*, take my coozen *Prodigoes* horse, a cup of Wine for my coozen *Prodigo*, good faith you shall sit here good coozen *Prodigo*, a cleane trencher for my coozen *Prodigo*, haue a speciall care of my coozen *Prodigoes* lodging: now maister *Prodigo* with a pox, and a few shillings, for a vantage, a plague on your shillings, pox on your shillings, if it were not for the Sergeant which dogges me at my heeles, a plague on your shillings, pox on your shillings, pox on your



selfe and your shillings, pox on your worship, if I catch thee at *Ostend*: I dare not stave for the Sergeant.

*Exit*

**S. Rad. pag[e.]** Good faith Maister *Prodigo* is an excellent fellow, he takes the *Gulan ebullitio* so excellently.

**Amor. Page.** He is a good liberall Gentleman, he hath bestowed an ounce of Tobacco vpon vs, and as long as it lasts, come cut and long-taile, weele spend it as liberally for his sake.

**S. Rad. Page.** Come fill the Pipe quickly, while my maister is in his melancholie humour, it's iust the melancholy of a Colliers horse

**Amor. page.** If you cough *Iacke* after your Tobacco, for a punishment you shall kisse the Pantolfe.

**S. Rad.** It's a foule ouer-sight, that a man of worship cannot keepe a wench in his house, but there must be muttering and surmising: it was the wisest saying that my father euer vttered, that a wife was the name of necessitie, not of pleasure: for what do men marry for, but to stocke their ground, and to haue one to looke to the linnen, sit at the vpper end of the table, and carue vp a Capon: one that can weare a hood like a Hawke, and couer her foule face with a Fanne: but there's no pleasure alwayes to be tyed to a piece of Mutton, sometimes a messe of stewd broth will do well, and an vnlac'd Rabbet is best of all: well for mine owne part, I haue no great cause to complaine, for I am well prouided of three bousing wenches, that are mine owne fee-simple: one of them I am presently to visit, if I can rid my selfe cleanly of this company. Let me see how the day goes: (*he puls his Watch out.*) precious coales, the time is at hand, I must meditate on an excuse to be gone.

**Record.** That which I say, is grounded on the Statute I spake of before, enacted in the raigne of *Henry* the 6.


**Amor.** It is a plaine case, whereon I mooted in our Temple, and that was this: put case there be three bretheren, *Iohn a Nokes*, *Iohn a Nash*, and *Iohn a Stile*: *Iohn a Nokes* the

elder, *Iohn a Nash* the younger, *Iohn a Stile* the youngest of all, *Iohn a Nash* the yonger dyeth without issue of his body lawfully begotten : whether shall his lands ascend to *Iohn a Noakes* the elder, or discend to *Iohn a Stile* the youngest of all? The answer is : The lands do collaterally descend, not ascend.

**Recor.** Very true, and for a prooffe hereof I will shew you a place in *Littleton*, which is very pregnant in this point.

## Actus. 4. Scena. 2.

*Enter Ingenioso, Furor, Phantasma.*

**Ing.** le pawne my witts, that is, my reuenues, my land, my money, and whatsoeuer I haue, for I haue nothing but my wit, that they are at hand : why any sensible snout may winde *M. Amoretto* and his Pomander, *M. Recorder* and his two neates feete that weare no sockes, *Sir Raderick* by his rammish complection. *Olet Gorgonius hyrcum*, *S't. Lupus in fabula*. *Furor* fire the Touch-box of your witte : *Phantasma*, let your inuention play trickes like an Ape : begin thou *Furor*, and open like a phlaphmouthd hound : follow thou *Phantasma* like a Ladies Puppy : and as for me, let me alone, Ile come after like a Water-dogge that wil shake them off, when I haue no vse of them. My maisters, the watch-word is giuen. *Furor* discharge.

**Furor** The great proiector of the thunder bolts,  
to He that is wont to pisse whole cloudes of raine,

**S. Rad.** Into the earth vast gaping vrinall.

Which that one ey'd subsiser of the skie,

*Don Phæbus* empties by calidity :

He and his Townesmen *Planctis* brings to thee,

Most fatty lumpes of earths facility.

**S. Rad.** Why will this fellowes English breake the Queenes peace, I will not seeme to regard him.

**Phan.** *Mecenas atavis edite regibus,  
to O et præsidium, et dulce decus meum,*

**Am[or].** *Dij faciant votis vela secunda tuis.*

**Inge.** God saue you good maister Recorder, and good fortunes follow your deserts. I thinke I haue curst him sufficiently in few words.

**S. Rad.** What haue we here, three begging Souldiers, come you from *Ostend*, or from *Ireland*.

**Pag[e].** *Cuium pecus, an Malibei?* I haue vented all the Latin one man had.

**Phan.** *Quid dicam amplius? domini similis os.*

**Amor. pag[e].** Let him alone I pray thee, to him againe, tickle him there.

**Phan.** *Quam dispari domino dominaris?*

**Rec.** Nay thats plaine in *Littleton*, for if that fee-simple, and the fee taile be put together, it is called hotch potch: now this word hotch potch in English is a pudding, for in such a pudding is not commonly one thing only, but one thing with another

**Amor.** I thinke I do remember this also at a mooting in our Temple: so then this hotch potch seemes a terme of similitude.

**Furor** Great *Capricornus*, of the head take keepe.  
to Good *Virgo* watch, while that thy worship sleepe.

**S. Rad.** And when thy swelling vents amaine,  
Then *Pisces* be thy sporting Chamberlaine.

**S. Rad.** I thinke the diuell hath sent some of his family to torment me.

**Amor.** There is taile generall and taile speciall, and *Littleton* is very copious in that theame: for taile generall is, when land[s] are giuen to a man, and his heyres of his body begotten: Taile speciall, is when lands are giuen to a man, and to his wife, and to the heyres of their two bodies lawfully begotten, and that is called Taile speciall.

**S. Rad.** Very well, and for his oath I will giue a distinction: there is a materiall oath, and a formall oath: the formall oath may be broken, the materiall may not be broken: for marke your sir, the law is to take place before the conscience, and therefore you may, vsing me your counceller, cast him in the sute: there wants nothing to the full meaning of this place,

**Phan.** *Nihil hic nisi carmina desunt.*

**Ing.** An excellent obseruation in good faith, see how the old Fox teacheth the yong Cub to wurry a sheepe, or rather sits himselfe like an old Goose, hatching the adle braine of maister *Amoretto*: there is no foole to the Sattin foole, the Veluet foole, the perfumde foole, and therefore the witty Tailors of this age, put them vnder colour of kindnesse into a paire of cloath-bagges, where a voyder will not serue the turne: and there is no knaue to the barbarous knaue, the moulting knaue[,] the pleading knaue: what ho M. *Recorder*? Maister *Noucrint vniuersi per presentes*, not a word he, vnlesse he feele it in his fist.

**Phan.** *Mitto tibi metulas, caneros imitare legendo.*

**S. Rad. to Furor.** Fellow what art thou that art so bold?

**Fur.** I am the bastard of great *Mercury*,  
Got on *Thalia* when she was a sleepe:  
My Gawdy Grandsire great *Apollo* high,  
Borne was I heare, but that my luck was ill,  
To all the land vpon the forked hill.

**Phant.** *O crudelis Alexi nil mea carmina curas?*

*Nil nostri miserere mori me deinque coges?*

**S. Rad. Pag[e].** If you vse them thus, my maister is a Iustice of peace, and will send you all to the Gallowes.

**Phant.** *Hei mihi quod domino non licet ire tuo.*

**Ing.** Good maister *Recorder*, let mee retaine you this terme for my cause, for my cause good maister *Recorder*.

**Recor.** I am retained already on the contrary part, I haue taken my fee, be gon, be gon.

**Ing.** It's his meaning I should come off: why here is

the true stile of a villaine, the true faith of a Lawyer : it is vsuall with them to be bribed on the one side, and then to take a fee of the other : to plead weakely, and to be bribed and rebribed on the one side, then to be feed and refeed of the other, till at length, *per varios casus*, by putting the case so often, they make their client so lanke, that they may case them vp in a combe case, and pack them home from the tearme, as though he had trauelled to London to sell his horse onely, and hauing lost their fleeces, liue afterward like poore shorne sheepe.

**Furor.** The Gods aboue that know great *Furors* fame.  
 And do adore grand poet *Furors* name :  
 Granted long since at heauens high parliament,  
 That who so *Furor* shal immortalize,  
 No yawning goblins shall frequent his graue,  
 Nor any bold presumptuous curr shall dare  
 To lift his legge against his sacred dust.  
 Where ere I haue my rymes, thence vermin fly  
 All, sauing that foule fac'd vermin pouerty.  
 This sucks the eggs of my inuention :  
 Euacuates my witts full pigeon house.  
 Now may it please thy generous dignity,  
 To take this vermin napping as he lyes,  
 In the true trappe of liberality :  
 Ile cause the Pleiades to giue thee thanks,  
 Ile write thy name within the sixteenth spheare :  
 Ile make the Antarticke pole to kisse thy toa,  
 And *Cynthia* to do homage to thy tayle.

**Sir Rad.** Pretious coles, thou a man of worship and Iustice too? It's euen so, he is ether a madde man or a coniurer : it were, well if his words were examined, to see if they be the Queenes or no.

**Phant.** *Nunc si nos audis vt qui es diuinus Apollo,  
 Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet vnde petat?*

**Amor.** I am stil haunted with these needy Lattinist fellowes : the best counsell I can giue, is to be gone.

**Phan.** *Quod peto da Caie, non peto consilium.*

**Am.** Fellow looke to your braines; you are mad; you are mad.

**Phan.** *Semel insaniuimus omnes.*

**Am.** Maister Recorder, is it not a shame that a gallant cannot walke the streete quietly for needy fellowes, and that, after there is a statute come out against begging?

*He strikes his brst.*

**Phant.** *Pectora percussit, pectus quoque robora fiunt.*

**Recor.** I warrant you, they are some needy *graduates*: the Vniuersity breakes winde twice a yeare, and lets flie such as these are.

**Ing.** So ho maister Recorder, you that are one of the Diuels fellow commoners, one that sizeth the Deuils butteries, sinnes and periuries very lauishly: one that art so deare to *Lucifer*, that he neuer puts you out of commons for non paiment: you that liue like a sumner vpon the sinnes of the people: you whose vocation serues to enlarge the territories of Hell, that (but for you) had beene no bigger then a paire of Stockes or a Pillorie: you that hate a scholler, because he descries your Asses eares: you that are a plague stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie, which the grand Seruing-man of Hell will one day trusse vp behind him, and carry to his smokie Warde-robe.

**Recor.** What frantick fellow art thou, thou art possest with the spirit of malediction?

**Furor.** Vile muddy clod of base vnhalloved clay,  
Thou slimie sprighted vnkinde Saracen:  
When thou wert borne dame *Nature* cast her Calfe,  
Forrage and time had made thee a great Oxe,  
And now thy grinding iawes deuoure quite,  
The fodder due to vs of heauenly spright.

**Phant.** *Nefastote posuit die quicumque primum et sacrilega manu.  
Produxit arbos in nepotum perniciem ob propriumque  
pugi.*



**Ingeni.** I pray you *Monseieur Ploidon*, of what Vniuersitie was the first Lawyer of, none forsooth, for your Lawe is ruled by reason, and not by Arte: great reason indeed that a Ploydenist should bee mounted on a trapt Palfrey, with a round Veluet dish on his head, to keepe warme the broth of his witte, and a longe Gowne, that makes him looke like a *Cedant arma togæ*, whilst the poore *Aristotelians* walke in a short cloake and a close *Venetian* hoase, hard by the Oyster-wife: and the silly Poet goes muffled in his Cloake to escape the Counter. And you Maister *Amoretto*, that art the chiefe Carpenter of Sonets, a priuiledged Vicar for the lawlesse marriage of Inke and Paper, you that are good for nothing but to commend in a sette speach, to colour the quantitie of your Mistresses stoole, and sweare it is most sweete Ciuet: it's fine when that Puppet-player *Fortune*, must put such a Birchen-lane post in so good a suite, such an Asse in so good fortune.

**Amor.** Father shall I draw?

**Sir Rad.** No sonne keepe thy peace, and hold the peace.

**Inge.** Nay do not draw, least you chance to bepisse your credit.

**Furor.** *Flectere si nequeo superos, Cheronta monebo.*  
 Fearefull *Megæra* with her snakie twine,  
 Was cursed dam vnto thy damned selfe:  
 And *Hircan tigers* in the desert Rockes,  
 Did foster vp thy loathed hatefull life,  
 Base *Ignorance* the wicked cradle rockt,  
 Vile *Barbarisme* was wont to dandle thee:  
 Some wicked hell-hound tutored thy youth,  
 And all the grisly sprights of griping hell, [birth:  
 With mumming looke hath dogd thee since thy  
 See how the spirits do houer ore thy head,  
 As thick as gnattes in summer euening tide,  
 Balefull *Alecto*, preethee stay a while,  
 Till with my verses I haue rackt his soule:  
 And when thy soule departs a Cock may be,

No blanke at all in hells great Lotterie.  
 Shame sits and howles vpon thy loathed graue,  
 And howling vomit[s] vp in filthy guise,  
 The hidden stories of thy villanies.

**Sir. Rad.** The Deuill my maisters, the diuell in the likenesse of a poet, away my Maisters away. *Exit.*

**Phan.** *Arma virumque cano, Quem fugis ah demens?*

**Amor.** Base dog, it is not the custome in Italy to draw vpon euery idle cur that barkes, and did it stand with my reputation: oh, well go too, thanke my father for your liues.

**Ing.** Fond gull, whom I would vndertake to bastinado quickly, though there were a musket planted in thy mouth, arenot you the yong drouer of liuings *Academico* told me of, that ha[u]nts steeple faires. Base worme must thou needes discharge thy craboun to batter downe the walls of learning.

**Amor.** I thinke I haue committed some great sinne against my Mistris, that *I* am thus tormented with notable villaines: bold pesants I scorne, I scorne them.

**Furor** Nay pray thee good sweet diuell do not thou part,  
*to* I like an honest deuill that will shew

**Recor.** Himselfe in a true hellish smokey hew:  
 How like thy snout is to great Lucifers?  
 Such tallants had he, such a gleering eye,  
 And such a cunning slight in villany.

**Recor.** Oh the impudency of this age, and if *I* take you in my quarters.

**Furor.** Base slaue ile hang thee on a crossed rime,  
 And quarter.

**Ing.** He is gone *Furor*, stay thy fury.

**Sir Rad. Pag[e].** *I* pray you gentlemen giue 3. groats for a shilling

**Amo. Pag[e]:** What will you giue me for a good old sute of apparell?

**Phan.** *Habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest.*

**Ing.** Gramercy good lads: this is our share in happines,


to torment the happy : lets walke a long and laugh at the iest,  
its no staying here long, least *Sir Radericks* army of Baylifes  
and clownes be sent to apprehend vs,

**Phan.** *Procul hinc, procul ite prophani.*

Ile lash Apollon selfe with ierking hand,  
Vnlesse he pawne his wit to buy me land :

## Act. 4. Scen, 5.

**Burbage. Kempe.**

**Bur.** ow *Will Kempe*, if we can intertaine these  
schollers at a low rate, it wil be well, they  
haue oftentimes a good conceite in a part.

**Kempe** Its true indeede, honest *Dick*, but  
the slaues are somewhat proud, and besides, it is a good sport  
in a part, to see them neuer speake in their walke, but at the  
end of the stage, iust as though in walking with a fellow we  
should neuer speake but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where  
a man can go no further. I was once at a Comedie in  
Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths  
of all sorts on this fashion.

**Bur.** A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may  
bee besides they will be able to pen a part.

**Kemp.** Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell  
too much of that writer *Ouid*, and that writer *Metamorphosis*,  
and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Iuppiter*. Why heres our  
fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too.  
O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace*  
giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath giuen  
him a purge that made him beray his credit :

**Bur.** Its a shrewd fellow indeed : I wonder these schollers  
stay so long, they appointed to be here presently that we might  
try them : oh here they come.

**Stud.** Take heart, these lets our clouded thoughts refine,  
The sun shines brightest when it gins decline.

**Bur. M. Phil.** and *M. Stud.* God saue you.

**Kemp. M. Phil.** and *M. Otioso*, well met,

**Phil.** The same to you good *M. Burbage*. What *M. Kempe* how doth the Emperour of Germany?

**Stud.** God saue you *M. Kempe*: welcome *M. Kempe* from dancing the morrice ouer the Alpes,

**Kemp.** Well you merry knaues you may come to the honor of it one day, is it not better to make a foole of the world as I haue done, then to be fooled of the world, as you schollers are? But be merry my lads, you haue happened vpon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come North and South to bring it to our playhouse, and for honours, who of more report, then *Dick Burbage* and *Will: Kempe*, he is not counted a Gentleman, that knowes not *Dick Burbage* and *Wil Kemp*, there's not a country wench than can dance Sellengers Round but can talke of *Dick Burbage* and *Will Kempe*.

**Phil.** Indeed *M. Kempe* you are very famous, but that is as well for workes in print as your part in kne[e].

**Kempe.** You are at Cambridge still with sic[k]e kne[e], and be lusty humorous poets, you must vntrusse, I roade this [road] my last circuit, purposely because I would be iudge of your actions.

**Bur. M. Stud.** I pray you take some part in this booke and act it, that I may see what will fit you best, I thinke your voice would serue for *Hieronimo*, obserue how I act it and then imitate mee.

**Stud.** Who calls *Hieronimo* from his naked bed?  
And, &c.

**Bur.** Yho will do well after a while.

**Kemp.** Now for you, me thinkes you should belong to my tuition, and your face me thinkes would be good for a foolish Mayre or a foolish iustice of peace: marke me.—  
Forasmuch as there be two states of a common wealth,

he one of peace, the other of tranquility : two states of warre, the one of discord, the other of dissention : two states of an incorporation, the one of the Aldermen, the other of the Brethren : two states of magistrates, the one of gouerning, the other of bearing rule, now, as I said euen now for a good thing, thing cannot be said too often : Vertue is the shooinghorne of iustice, that is, vertue is the shooinghorne of doing well, that is, vertue is the shooinghorne of doing iustly, it behooueth mee and is my part to commend this shooinghorne vnto you. I hope this word shooinghorne doth not offend any of you my worshipfull brethren, for you beeing the worshipfull headsmen of the towne, know well what the horne meaneth, Now therefore I am determind not onely to teach but also to instruct, not onely the ignorant, but also the simple, not onely what is their duty towards their betters, but also what is their duty towards their superiours : come let me see how you can doe, sit downe in the chaire.

**Phil.** Forasmuch as there be. &c.

**Kemp.** thou wilt do well in time, if thou wilt be ruled by thy betters, that is by my selfe, and such graue Aldermen of the playhouse as I am.

**Bur.** I like your face, and the proportion of your body for *Richard* the 3. I pray M. *Phil.* let me see you act a little of it.

**Phil.** Now is the winter of our discontent,

Made glorious summer by the sonne of Yorke,

**Bur.** Very well I assure you, well M. *Phil.* and M. *Stud.* wee see what ability you are of : I pray walke with vs to our fellows, and weele agree presently.

**Phil.** We will follow you straight M. *Burbage.*

**Kempe.** Its good manners to follow vs, Maister *Phil.* and Maister *Otioso.*

**Phil.** And must the basest trade yeeld vs reliefe?

Must we be practis'd to those leaden spouts,

That nought downe vent but what they do receiue?

Some fatall fire hath scorcht our fortunes wing,

And still we fall, as we do vpward sprig:  
 As we striue vpward to the vaulted skie,  
 We fall and feele our hatefull destiny.

**Stud.** Wonder it is sweet friend thy pleading breath,  
 So like the sweet blast of the southwest wind,  
 Melts not those rockes of yce, those mounts of woe,  
 Congeald in frozen hearts of men below.

**Phil.** Wonder as well thou maist why mongst the waues.  
 Mongst the tempestuous waues on raging sea,  
 The wayling Marchant can no pity craue.  
 What cares the wind and weather for their paines?  
 One strikes the sayle, another turnes the same,  
 He shakes the maine, an other takes the Ore,  
 An other laboureth and taketh paine,  
 To pompe the sea into the sea againe.  
 Still they take paines, still the loud windes do blowe  
 Till the ships prouder mast be layd belowe:

**Stu.** Fond world that nere thinkes on that aged man,  
 That *Ariostoes* old swift paced man,  
 Whose name is Tyme, who neuer lins to run,  
 Loaden with bundles of decayed names,  
 The which in Lethes lake he doth intombe,  
 Saue onely those which swanlike schollers take,  
 And doe deliuer from that greedy lake.  
 Inglorious may they liue, inglorious die,  
 That suffer learning liue in misery.

**Phil.** What caren they, what fame their ashes haue,  
 When once thei'r coopt vp in silent graue?

**Stud.** If for faire fame they hope not when they dye,  
 Yet let them feare graues stayning Infamy.

**Phil.** Their spendthrift heires will those firebrands quench  
 Swaggering full moistly on a tauernes bench.

**Stud.** No shamed sire for all his glosing heire,  
 Must long be talkt of in the empty ayre.

**Stud.** Beleeue me thou that art my second selfe,  
 My vexed soule is not disquieted,



For that I misse, is gaudy painted state,  
 Whereat my fortunes fairely aim'd of late.  
 For what am I, the meanest of many mo,  
 That earning profit are repaide with wo?  
 But this it is that doth my soule torment,  
 To thinke so many actiueable wits,  
 That might contend with proudest birds of *Po*,  
 Sits now immur'd within their priuate cells,  
 Drinking a long lank watching candles smoake,  
 Spending the marrow of their flowring age,  
 In fruitelesse poring on some worme eate leafe:  
 When their deserts shall seeme of due to claime,  
 A cheerfull crop of fruitfull swelling sheafe,  
 Cockle their haruest is, and weeds their graine,  
 Contempt their portion their possession paine:

**Stud.** Schollers must frame to liue at a low sayle,

**Phil.** Ill sayling where there blowes no happy gale.

**Stud.** Our ship is ruin'd, all her tackling rent.

**Phil.** And all her gaudy furniture is spent.

**Stud.** Teares be the waues whereon her ruines bide.

**Phil.** And sighes the windes that wastes her broken side.

**Stud.** Mischiefe the Pilot is the ship to steare.

**Phil.** And Wo the passenger this ship doth beare.

**Stud.** Come *Philomusus*, let vs breake this chat,

**Phil.** And breake my heart oh would I could breake  
 that.

**Stud.** Lets learne to act that Tragick part we haue.

**Phil.** Would I were silent actor in my graue.

## Actus 5. Scena 1.

**Phil. and Stud.** *become Fiddlers with their consort.*

**Phil.**



And tune fellow Fiddlers, *Studioso*  
and I are ready.

**Stud:**

*going aside sayeth.*

*they tune.*

Fayre fell good *Orpheus*, that would  
rather be  
King of a mole hill, then a Keysars  
slaue:

Better it is mongst fidders to be chiefe,  
Then at plaiers trencher beg reliefe.  
But ist not strange this mimick apes should prize  
Vnhappy Schollers at a hireling rate.  
Vile world, that lifts them vp to hye degree,  
And treades vs downe in groueling misery.  
*England* affordes those glorious vagabonds,  
That carried earst their fardels on their backes,  
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes,  
Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes,  
And Pages to attend their maisterships:  
With mouthing words that better wits haue framed,  
They purchase lands, and now Esquiers are made.

**Phil.** What ere they seeme being euen at the best,  
They are but sporting fortunes scornfull iests.

**Stud.** So merry fortune is wont from ragges to take,  
Some ragged gro[o]me, and him some gallant make.

**Phil.** The world and fortune hath playd on vs too long.

**Stud.** Now to the world we fiddle must a song.

**Phil.** Our life is a playne song with cunning pend,  
Whose highest pitch in lowest base doth end.  
But see our fellowes vnto play are bent:  
If not our mindes, letts tune our instrument.

**Stud.** Letts in a priuate song our cunning try,  
Before we sing to stranger company.

*They tune.*

**Phil.** *sings.*

**H**ow can he sing whose voyce is hoarse with care?  
How can he play whose heart strings broken are?  
How can he keepe his rest that nere found rest?  
How can he keepe his time whome time nere blest?  
Onely he can in sorrow beare a parte,  
With vntaught hand, and with vntuned hart.  
Fond arts farewell, that swallowed haue my youth.  
Adiew vayne muses, that haue wrought my ruth,  
Repent fond syre that traynd'st thy happlesse sonne,  
In learnings loare, since bounteous almes are done.  
Cease, cease harsh tongue, vntuned musicke rest:  
Intombe thy sorrowes in thy hollow breast.

**Stud.** Thankes *Phil.* for thy pleasant song,  
Oh had this world a tutch of iuster grieve,  
Hard rockes would weepe for want of our releife.

**Phil.** The cold of wo hath quite vntun'd my voyce,  
And made it too too harsh for listining eare:  
Time was in time of my young fortunes spring,  
I was a gamesome boy and learned to sing.

But say fellow musitians, you know best whether we go, at  
what dore must we imperiously beg.

**Iack. fid.** Here dwells Sir *Raderick* and his sonne: it  
may be now at this good time of Newyeare he will be liberall,  
let vs stand neere and drawe.

**Phil.** Draw callest thou it, indeed it is the most desperate  
kinde of seruice that euer I aduentured on.

## Act. 5. Scena. 2.

*Enter the two Pages.*

Sir Rad pa[ge].



My maister bids me tell you that he is but newly fallen a sleepe, and you base slaues must come and disquiet him: what neuer a basket of Capons? masse, and if he comes, heele commit you all.

**Amor. Pag[e].** Sirra *Iack*, shall you and I play Sir *Raderick* and *Amoretto*, and reward these fiddlers. Ile, my maister *Amoretto*, and giue them as much as he vseth.

**S. Rad. pag[e].** And I my old maister Sir *Raderick*: fiddlers play: Ile reward you, fayth I will.

**Amor. pag[e].** Good fayth this pleaseth my sweete mistres admirably: cannot you play twytty twatty foole, or to be at her, to be at her.

**Rad. pag[e].** Haue you neuer a song of maister *Dowlands* making?

**Am. pag[e].** Or *Hos ego versiculos feci &c.* A pox on it, my maister *Am.* vseth it very often. I haue forgotten the verse.

**Rad. pag[e].** Sir *Theon*: here are a couple of fellows brought before me, and I know not how to decide the cause, looke in my Christmas booke who brought me a present

**Am. pag[e].** On New-yeares day goodman Foole brought you a present, but goodman Clowne brought you none.

**Rad. pag[e].** Then the right is on goodman fooles side.

**Am. pag[e].** My mistres is so sweete, that al the Phisitions in the towne cannot make her stinck, she neuer goes to the stoole, oh she is a most sweete little munkey. Please your worship good father yonder are some would speake with you.

**Rad. pag[e].** What haue they brought me any thing, if they haue not, say I take Phisick.

Forasmuch fiddlers, as I am of the peace, I must needs loue all weapons and instruments, that are for the peace,

among which I account your fiddles, because they can neither bite nor scratch, marry now finding your fiddles to iarre, and knowing that iarring is a cause of breaking the peace, I am by the vertue of my office and place to commit your quarelling fiddles to close prisonment in their cases.

*They call within.*

sha ho, Richard, Iack.

**Am. Page.** The foole within marres our play without. Fiddlers set it on my head, I vse to size my musicke, or go on the score for it, Ile pay it at the quarters end.

**Rad. Page** Farewell good *Pan*, sweete *Irenias adieu*, *Don Orpheus* a thousand times farewell.

**Iack Fid.** You swore you would pay vs for our musick.

**Rad. Page.** For that Ile giue Maister *Recorders* [*or rather Sir Radericks, p. 53*] law, and that is this, there is a double oath, a formall oath, and a materiall oath: materiall oath cannot be broken, the formall oath may be broken, I swore formally: farewell Fidlers.

**Phil.** Farewell good wags, whose wits praise worth I deeme,

Though somewhat waggish, so we all haue beene.

**Stud.** Faith fellow Fidlers, heres no siluer found in this place, no not so much as the vsuall Christmas entertainment of Musitians, a black Iack of Beere, and a Christmas Pye.

*They walke aside from their fellowes.*

**Phil.** Where ere we in the wide world playing be,  
Misfortune beares a part, and marres our melody,  
Impossible to please with Musickes straine,  
Our hearts strings broken, are nere to be tun'd  
againe.

**Stud.** Then let vs leaue this baser fidling trade,  
For though our purse should mend, our credit fade.

**Phil.** Full glad I am to see thy mindes free course,  
Declining from this trencher waiting trade.  
Well may I now disclose in plainer guise,

What earst I meant to worke in secret wise :  
 My busie conscience checkt my guilty soule,  
 For seeking maintenance by base vassallage,  
 And then suggested to my searching thought,  
 A shepherds poore secure contented life,  
 On which since then I doted euery houre,  
 And meant this same houre in sadder plight,  
 To haue stolne from thee in secrecie of night.

**Stud.** Deare friend thou seem'st to wrong my soule too  
 much,

Thinking that *Studioso* would account,  
 That fortune sowre, which thou accomptest sweete :  
 Nor any life to me can sweeter be,  
 Then happy swaines in plaine of *Arcady*.

**Phil.** Why then letts both go spend our litle store,  
 In the prouision of due furniture :  
 A shepards hooke, a tarbox and a scrippe,  
 And hast vnto those sheepe adorned hills,  
 Where if not blesse our fortunes we may blesse our  
 wills.

**Stud.** True mirth we may enioy in thacked stall,  
 Nor hoping higher rise, nor fearing lower fall.


**Phil.** Weele therefore discharge these fidders. Fellow  
 musitions, wee are sory that it hath beene your ill happe to  
 haue had vs in your company, that are nothing but scritch-  
 owles, and night Rauens, able to marre the purest melody: and  
 besides, our company is so ominous, that where we are, thence  
 liberality is packing, our resolution is therefore to wish you  
 well, and to bidde you farewell.

Come *Stud*: let vs hast away,  
 Returning neare to this accursed place.



## Actus 5. Scena. 3.


Enter Ingenioso, Academico.

Inge.  With *Academico*, it's the feare of that fellow, I meane the signe of the seargeants head, that makes me to be so hasty to be gone: to be brieft *Academico*, writts are out for me, to apprehend me for my playes, and now I am bound for the Ile of doggs. *Furror* and *Phantasma* comes after, remoouing the campe as fast as they can: farewell, *Mea si quid vota valebunt*.

**Acad.** Fayth *Ingenioso*: I thinke the Vniuersity is a melancholik life, for there a good fellow cannot sit two howres in his chamber, but he shall bee troubled with the bill of a Drawer, or a Vintner: but the point is, I know not how to better my selfe, and so I am fayne to take it.

## Act. 5. Scen. 4.

**Phil. Stud. Furor. Phant.**

Phil.  ho haue we there, *Ingenioso*, and *Academico*?  
Stud. The verye same, who are those, *Furor* and *Phantasma*?

**Furor** takes a louse off his sleeu.

**Furor.** And art thou there six footed Mercury?

**Phan.** *with* Are rymes become such creepers now a dayes?  
*his hand in* Presumptuous louse, that doth good manners  
*his bosome.* lack.

Daring to creepe vpon Poet *Furors* back:

*Multum refert quibuscum vixeris.*

*Non videmus Manticæ quod in tergo est.*

**Phil.** What *Furor* and *Phan.* too, our old colledge fellowes, let vs incounter them all. *Ing: Acad. Furor, Phantasma.* God saue you all.

**Stud.** What *Ingen. Acad. Furor, Phantasma* : howe do you braue lads.

**Ing.** What our deere friends *Phil.* and *Stud* ?

**Acad.** What our old friends *Phil.* and *Stud* ?

**Furor** What my supernaturall friends ?

**Ing.** What newes with you in this quarter of the Citty ?

**Phil.** We haue run through many trades, yet thriue by none

Poore in content, and onely rich in moane,  
A shepherds life thou knowst I wont t'admire,  
Turning a Cambridge apple by the fire.  
To liue in humble dale we now are bent,  
Spending our dayes in fearelesse merriment.

**Stud.** Weel teach each tree euen of the hardest kind,  
To keepe our wofull name within their rinde,  
Weel watch our flock, and yet weele sleepe  
withall,

Weele tune our sorrowes to the waters fall,  
The woods and rockes with our shrill songs weele  
blesse.

Let them proue kind, since men proue pittillesse.  
But say, whether are you and your company iogging : it  
seemes by your apparell you are about to wander.

**Ing.** Faith we are fully bent to be Lords of misrule in  
the worlds wide heath : our voyage is to the Ile of Dogges,  
there where the blattant beast doth rule and raigne Renting  
the credit of whom it please.

Where serpents tongs the pen men are to write,  
Where cats do waule by day, dogges by night :  
There shall engoared venom be my inke,  
My pen a sharper quill of porcupine,  
My stayned paper, this sin loaden earth :  
There will I write in lines shall neuer die,  
Our feared Lordings crying villany.

**Phil.** A gentle wit thou hadst, nor is it blame,  
To turne so tart, for time hath wronged the same,

- Stu.** And well thou dost from this fond earth to flit,  
Where most mens pens are hired Parasites.
- Aca.** Go happily, I wish thee store of gall,  
Sharply to wound the guilty world withall :
- Phil.** But say, what shall become of *Furor* and *Phantasma*?
- Ing.** These my companions still with me must wend,
- Aca.** Fury and Fansie on good wits attend.
- Furor.** When I arriue within the ile of Doggs,  
Don Phœbus I will make thee kisse the pompe.  
Thy one eye pries in euery Drapers stall,  
Yet neuer thinkes on poet *Furors* neede :  
*Furor* is lowsie, great *Furor* lowsie is,  
Ile make thee run this lowsie case I wis.  
And thou my cluttish landresse Cinthia,  
Nere thinkes on *Furors* linnen, *Furors* shirt :  
Thou and thy squirting boy *Endimion*,  
Lies slauering still vpon a lawlesse couch.  
*Furor* will haue thee carted through the dirt,  
That makest great poet *Furor* want this shirt.
- Inge.** Is not here a trus dogge that dare barke so boldly at  
the Moone.
- Phil.** Exclayming want and needy care and carke,  
Would make the mildest spright to bite and barke.
- Phan.** *Canes timidi vehementius latrant.* There are certaine  
burrs in the Ile of dogges called in our English tongue, men  
of worship, certaine briars as the *Indians* call them, as we  
say certayne lawyers, certayne great lumps of earth, as the  
*Ar[a]bians* call them, certayne grosers as wee tearme them,  
*quos ego sed motos præstat fluctus.*
- Inge.** We three vnto the snarling Iland hast,  
And there our vexed breath in snarling wast.
- Phil.** We will be gone vnto the downes of Kent,  
Sure footing we shall find in humble dale :  
Our fleecy flocke weel learne to watch and warde,  
In Iulyes heate and cold of Ianuary :  
Weel chant our woes vpon an oaten reede.

Whiles bleating flock vpon their supper feede :

**Stud.** So shall we shun the company of men,  
That growes more hatefull as the world growes old,  
Weel teach the murmering brookes in tears to flow :  
And sleepy rocke to wayle our passed wo.

**Acad.** Adew you gentle spirits, long adew :  
Your witts I loue and your ill fortune rue :  
Ile hast me to my Cambridge cell againe,  
My fortunes cannot wax but they may waine.

**Inge.** Adew good sheppards, happy may you liue,  
And if heereafter in some secret shade,  
You shall recount poore schollers miseries,  
Vouchsafe to mention with teares swelling eyes,  
*Ingeniosoes* thwarting destinies,  
And thou still happy *Academico*,  
That still maist rest vpon the muses bed,  
Inioying there a quiet slumbering,  
When thou repayrest vnto thy Grantaes streame,  
Wonder at thine owne blisse, pittie our case,  
That still doth tread ill fortunes endless maze.  
Wish them that are preferments Almoners,  
To cherish gentle wits in their greene bud:  
For had not Cambridge bin to me vnkinde,  
I had not turn'd to gall a milkye minde.

**Phil.** I wish thee of good hap a plentious store,  
Thy wit deserues no lesse, my loue can wish no more.  
Farewell, farewell good *Academico*.  
Neuer maist thou tast our forepassed woe.  
Wee wish thy fortunes may attaine their due :  
*Furor* and you *Phantasma* both adue.

**Acad.** Farewell, farewell, farewell, o long farewell,  
The rest my tongue conceales, let sorrow tell,

**Phan.** *Et longum vale, inquit Iola.*

**Furor.** Farewell my masters, *Furor's* a masty dogge,  
Nor can with a smooth glozing farewell cog.  
Nought can great *Furor* do, but barke and howle,

And snarle and grin, and carle, and towze the world,  
 Like a great swine by his long leane eard lugges.  
 Farewell musty, dusty, rusty, fusty London,  
 Thou art not worthy of great *Furors* wit,  
 That cheatest vertue of her due desert,  
 And sufferest great *Apolloes* sonne to want.

**Inge.** Nay stay a while and helpe me to content :  
 So many gentle witts attention,  
 Who kennes the lawes of euery comick stage,  
 And wonders that our scene ends discontent.  
 Ye ayrie witts subtill,  
 Since that few schollers fortunes are content.  
 Wonder not if our scene end discontent.  
 When that our fortunes reach their due content,  
 Then shall our scene end here in merriment.

**Phil.** Perhaps some happy wit with feeling hand,  
 Hereafter may record the pastorall  
 Of the two schollers of *Pernassus* hill,  
 And then our scene may end and haue content,

**Inge.** Meane time if there be any spightfull Ghost,  
 That smiles to see poore schollers miseries  
 Cold is his charity, his wit too dull,  
 We scorne his censure, he is a ieering gull,  
 But whatsoere refined sprights there be,  
 That deeply groane at our calamity :  
 Whose breath is turned to sighes, whose eyes are wet,  
 To see bright arts bent to their latest set :  
 Whence neuer they againe their heads shall reere,  
 To bless our art disgracing hemisphere.

**Ing.** Let them.

**Fur.** Let them.

**Phan.** Let them.

{ All giue vs a  
 plaudite.

**Acad.** And none but them.

**Phil.** And none but them.

**Stud.** And none but them.

The English Scholar's Library.

No. 14.

---

*BARNFIELD'S Poems.*

1594-1598.





The English Scholar's Library.

RICHARD BARNFIELD,

of Darlaston, Staffordshire, Esquire.

*Poems.*

1594-1598.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER,

HON. FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; F.S.A.,  
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,  
SIR JOSIAH MASON'S COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM.

1, MONTAGUE ROAD, BIRMINGHAM.

15 August, 1882.

No. 14.

*(All rights reserved.)*



# CONTENTS.



	PAGE
Bibliography ... ..	vii
First Lines of Poems and Stanzas ... ..	viii-x
INTRODUCTION ... ..	xi-xxiv
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 10px auto;"/>	
<i>The Affectionate Shepheard. Containing the Complaint of Daphnis for the loue of Ganymede</i> ... ..	I
[“Nothing else, but an imitation of <i>Virgill</i> , in the second Egologue of <i>Alexis</i> ,” p. 44.]	
Daphnis [ <i>BARNFIELD</i> ] Verse-Dedication to Lady Penelope Rich (Sir PHILIP SIDNEY’S <i>STELLA</i> ) ... ..	3
The Teares of an affectionate Shepheard sicke for Loue. Or The Complaint of <i>Daphnis</i> for the Loue of <i>Ganymede</i> ... ..	5-24
The Second Dayes Lamentation of the <i>Affectionate Shep- heard</i> ... ..	12-24
The Shepherds Content or the happines of a harmless life ...	25-33
Sonnet ... ..	34
The Complaint of Chastitie, &c. ... ..	35-37
Hellens Rape, or a light Lanthorne for light Ladies. Written in English Hexameters ... ..	38-40
<i>Cynthia. With certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of Cassandra</i> ... ..	41-80
Dedication to the Earle of Darby ... ..	43
To the curteous Gentlemen Readers ... ..	44
T. T. in commendation of the <i>Authour his worke</i> ... ..	45
[ <i>R. BARNFIELD</i> ] To his Mistresse ... ..	46
<i>Cynthia</i> ... ..	47-52
[Sonnets] ... ..	53-63
An Ode ... ..	64-66
<i>Cassandra</i> ... ..	67-80

	PAGE
<i>The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: or The praise of Money</i> ... ..	81-93
To the Gentlemen Readers ... ..	83-84
The prayse of Lady Pecunia ... ..	85-93
His Prayer to Pecunia ... ..	93
<i>The Complaint of Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie</i> ... ..	95-105
Verse-Dedication to Master <i>Edward Leigh</i> , of Grayes Inne	97
The Complaint of Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie ... ..	98-105
<i>The Combat, betweene Conscience and Couctous- nesse, in the minde of Man...</i> ... ..	107-114
Verse-Dedication to Maister <i>John Steuenton</i> , of <i>Dothill</i> , in the County of <i>Salop</i> , Esquire ... ..	109
The Combat betweene Conscience and Couetous- nesse in the mind of Man ... ..	110-114
<i>Poems: in diuers humours</i> ... ..	115-124
Verse-Dedication to Master <i>Nicholas Blackleech</i> , of Grayes Inne ... ..	117
Sonnet I. To his friend Maister R. L. <i>In praise of Musique and Poetrie</i> ... ..	118
Sonnet II. <i>Against the Dispraysers of Poetrie</i> ... ..	119
A Remembrance of some English Poets ... ..	119-120
An Ode ... ..	120-121
Written, at the Request of a Gentleman, vnder a Gentle- woman's Picture ... ..	122
An Epitaph vpon the Death, of Sir <i>Philip Sidney</i> , Knight	122
An Epitaph vpon the Death of his Aunt, Mistresse <i>Elizabeth Skrymsher</i> ... ..	123
A Comparison of the Life of Man ... ..	124



## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### A. *The Affectionate Shepheard, &c.*, by itself.

1. [November] 1594. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 1. The month is fixed by the passage on *p.* 44. Not entered at Stationers' Hall. Two copies known; at Sion College and Britwell.
7. 1842. London, 8vo. *Percy Society*. Vol. 20. Edited by J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S.

### B. *Cynthia, &c.*, by itself.

2. [January] 1595. London, 8vo. See title at *p.* 41. Entered at Stationers' Hall on 17th January, 1595. *Transcript*. ii. 669. *Ed.* 1875. The only copy is in the Bodleian Library, Malone's books.
6. 1841. Ryde, Isle of Wight, 12mo. *Beldornie Press*. Printed by Mr. E. V. UTTERSON, who states that he had never seen the *Affectionate Shepheard*.  
An impression of 16 copies only.

### C. *The Encomion of Lady Pccunia, &c.*, by itself.

3. 1598. London, 4to. See title at *p.* 81, and sub-titles at *pp.* 95, 107, and 115. Not entered at Stationers' Hall. One copy known.
4. 1605. London, 4to. Newly corrected and enlarged by RICHARD BARNFIELD, Graduate in Oxford. Two copies known. There are variations from the first edition in this text. Dr. GEORGE KINGSLEY has been good enough to verify the fresh *Dedication* of this new edition at *p.* 84, from the Bridgewater House copy.  
A manuscript transcript of this edition is in Ashmolean MS. 1153, at Oxford.
5. 1816. Auchinleck, Dumfriesshire, 4to. *Roxburghe Club*. A facsimile impression of 35 copies printed by JAMES SUTHERLAND, for ALEXANDER BOSWELL; and presented by his brother, JAMES BOSWELL, to the Roxburghe Club. B. M. 8104/4.  
A copy of the *text only* of this reprint is in the British Museum, 1077. e. 11.
8. 1866. [Maidenhead] 4to. *Illustrations of old English Literature*, i. Edited by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A. An impression of 50 copies.

### D. The three Collections of Poems together.

9. 1876. London, 4to. *Roxburghe Club*. The Complete Poems. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. About 40 copies printed.

This edition also includes a reprint of the Isham MS., which "is a small paper book of eighteen leaves, within a vellum skin," in the possession of Sir CHARLES H. ISHAM, Lamport Hall, Northampton. Some of the lines in this commonplace book may be by BARNFIELD.

Dr. GROSART also gives the poem from *England's Helicon*, which he thinks may also be by BARNFIELD.

See also Dr. GROSART's 50-copy reprint of SAMUEL NICHOLSON's *ACOLASTUS'S his After-witte*, for possible imitations of BARNFIELD.

10. 15 August, 1882. Birmingham, 8vo. The present impression.

## FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS.



	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
A CANDLE light, and ...	16	And with this sentence	51	But what talke I of .....	87
Admit thou come, into...	88	And yet the siluer-noted	18	But when the Worlde ...	86
Againe, we read of old...	15	Another while he wooes	30	But who can liue with...	99
Against my Birth-day ..	14	A paire of Knines, a.....	14	But who can shun the...	75
A guilded Nutmeg, and	14	Apply thy minde to be	21	But yet shee rather.....	37
Ah be not stained .....	17	As for example, in the..	19	By thee great <i>Collin</i> ...	31
Ah fairest <i>Ganymede</i> ...	60	As for the young man ...	87	By this the formost .....	49
Ah, little knew <i>Matilda</i>	36	A Shepherd loues no ...	32	By this, the Night.....	24
Ah no ; nor I my selfe :	62	As it fell vpon a Day ...	120	By this, young <i>Phœbus</i>	67
Ah therefore be not .....	70	Aye mee (distressed .....	113	<i>CHAUCEER</i> is dead ; and	119
Alas poore <i>Conscience</i> ...	112	BE[A]UTY and Maiesty	54	Cherry-lipt <i>Adonis</i> in ...	61
Alas (the while) that.....	7	Behold my grey head....	23	Compare the Cow and...	18
All these, and more .....	10	Be not beguild with .....	21	Compare the loue of.....	11
All which he eloquently	69	Be not offensive to the...	21	Compare the Wyld-cat...	19
Also if any proue a .....	30	Be patient in extreame...	23	DEEPE-wounding Arrow	31
And albeit the gift be ...	3	Betwixt amaze and .....	72	<i>Diana</i> (on a time).....	57
And alwaies (I am sure)	11	<i>Bounty</i> looke backe .....	102	Downe in a Dale, hard	48
And as the Coyne, she...	91	Bright Starre of Beauty	49	Downe sliding from that	45
And at the same time ...	6	Bugle and Teat, with ...	19	EVEN as a counterfeited	112
And <i>Bounty</i> , though her	105	But ah (alas) how can ...	46	Euen as <i>Apelles</i> could...	122
And <i>Daniell</i> , praised for	119	But ah (alas) my Teares	104	Euen as the Sunne .....	101
And <i>Drayton</i> , whose ...	119	But ah, she cannot (or...)	105	FAINE would she haue	78
And euery Morne by ...	8	But as the woefull.....	104	Faire-long-haire-wearing	15
And (for thy sake) this...	72	But ( <i>Bounty</i> ) if thou .....	102	Faire <i>Penthesilua</i> th' ...	68
And from her Ivory .....	67	But faire <i>Pecunia</i> .....	89	Faire <i>Philomela</i> , cease	100
And hauing both their...	6	But her an Old-Man.....	6	Farre be it from my.....	75
And hearing that her ...	74	But if the first did.....	76	<i>Fayre lowly Ladie</i> ...	3
And herein happie, I ...	102	But if thou wilt not .....	11	Fie on ambition, fie on	79
And if he so escape with	28	But if you want your ...	88	First he ordaines by Act	29
And in the sweltring.....	8	But I that lou'd thee for	11	First, in a royall Chaire	48
And last of all, if any ...	30	But I, whose hope is ...	103	Fond Loue is blinde ...	16
And last of all, in blacke	30	But leaue we him in.....	7	Fond Wretch, it was not	113
And manie thousand ...	10	But let mee feele the... ..	32	For as by death, her.....	80
And meaning now to ...	70	But <i>Liberalitie</i> is dead	99	For her, the Merchant...	88
And <i>Shakespeare</i> .....	120	But not preuailing.....	74	For her, the Gentleman	88
And sith there dies no ...	103	But now good-fortune ...	33	For if we doo consider...	19
(And tells her softly in...)	69	But now my Muse.....	63	For pledge that I am ...	77
And thou art shee, O ...	90	But now to her, whose...	91	For when his stately.....	15
And though I cannot ...	46	But now vnto her .....	88	For why against the.....	86
And thou loue-hating...	23	But she no sooner had...	71	GODDESSE of Golde .....	85
And thou loue-scorning	12	But sleepe his soule in...	29	Great Lady, sith I haue	93
And thou <i>Melpomene</i> ...	100	But sure it is not .....	102	Great was the mone ...	73
And thou my sweete.....	29	But this braue generall	75	HAD I the sweet .....	92
And thus it hapned .....	6	But to <i>Cassandra</i> now	73	Happy are they, that ...	79
And to conclude, the ...	51	But to returne to these...	75	He and <i>Cassandra</i> now	77
And when he hath her	87	But what care they .....	87		
And when it pleaseth ...	8	But what? (fond man)	76		
And when th'art wearie	13				



FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS. ix

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Heare Shepheards oft ...	22	Liue <i>Spenser</i> euer, in ...	119	Or if thou list to bathe...	9
Hee briefly t'her relates	69	Loe here beholde the ...	123	Or if thou dar'st to .....	9
Hee entertaines her .....	85	Loe here behold these ...	34	Or if thou lou'st to heare	9
Hee needes not feare ...	87	Long haue I long'd to ...	61	Or if thoult goe vnto...	9
Heerewith awaking .....	72	Looke how a brightsome	71	Or if thou wilt goe.....	13
He is a Courtier, for he	33	<i>Louely a Lasse, so</i> .....	38	Or in a mystie morning	13
He is not troubled with	25	Lyke to an other .....	91	Or when bad subiects ...	26
He leads his Wench a...	31			Or with Hare-pypes.....	13
He (noble Lord) .....	77	MANS life is vuell .....	124	Or wilt thou drinke a...	14
Here ended shee ; and..	79	Monster of Art .....	36	O that my Teares could	105
Here, hold this gloue ...	60	My hand, to helpe mee	103	O that Nobilitie, it selfe	101
Here, on love's altar.....	34			O who can comfort my...	98
Here-with, as weary of...	80	NAY more for money ...	92	O who can then .....	88
Here-with she blushing	70	NAY more than this .....	10		
He sits all Day .....	29	Nere-waining.....	45	PRAISE not thy selfe, let	23
Him leaue me (for a.....	71	Neuer againe, shall I ...	100	Pride looks aloft, still ...	17
His Luory-white and ...	5	New Coyne is coynd ...	91		
How happie were a .....	32	Next Morning when the	12	QUEENE of my thoughts	73
How on the Seas he.....	76	Nights were short, and	64		
Humillity in misery is...	17	No Briefes nor .....	25	RAVS'd from the cynders	45
Humillity is clad in .....	17	No flocke of sheepe, but	91	Remember Age, and ...	17
		Nor is the Derth of .....	104	Restrain thy steps from	23
		Not faire, <i>Adonis</i> in his	68	Right Diamonds are of	19
I DEEMED so; nor was I	49	Not faire <i>Hasionè</i> .....	91		
If chafed on thy haire ...	90	Not <i>Megabates</i> nor .....	62	SALMON and Trout are...	20
If it be sinne to loue a ...	5	Not proud <i>Alcyonous</i> ...	9	Scarce had <i>Apollo</i> .....	68
If Musique and sweet ...	118	Not th'hungry Lyon ...	71	Scarce had the morning	5
If <i>Pythias</i> death, of .....	103	Now doth he stroke.....	7	Scarce had the Syren ..	77
If thou wilt come and ...	10	Now had the poore-mans	79	Scarce was the louely ...	74
If thou wilt loue me.....	12	Now had the cole-blacke	110	Scarce were these.....	70
If wealth? Why .....	99	Now is she ioylesse .....	78	Sell thy sweet breath to	16
I haue a pleasant noted	14	Now is she nimbly to his .....	71	Serue <i>Ioue</i> (vpon thy ...	21
I liu'd (quoth she) to see	79	Now silent night drew...	78	She wakes the lecher ...	77
I loued once, (quoth hee)	69	Now sleepeth shee .....	72	She, weepes; he, wooes	74
Image of that, whose ...	97	Now was the Welkyn ...	47	Sighing, and sadly .....	58
Impartial <i>Parca</i> , will...	105	Now with a trice he.....	68	Siluer and Golde, and...	90
I neuer then, did write	98			Sith Conscience (long ...	109
Innumerable be the.....	20	O <i>ADULATION</i> , Canker	101	So <i>Cytheræa</i> would .....	105
In <i>Pau</i> repose thy trust	22	Obtaine a faithfull frend	22	So darke the dungeon ...	78
Insteede of teares, he ...	76	O fading Branches of ...	23	Some Courtiers carefull	27
In Westerne world amidst	51	O faire Boy trust not to	18	Some talke of <i>Ganymede</i>	59
In which delight feeding	49	O faire-foule Tincture ...	35	Sometimes I wish that...	57
I promis'd wealth .....	50	O fairest, faire, aboue ...	68	Speake <i>Eccho</i> , tell .....	59
I sing not of <i>Angellica</i>	85	O of all the Kindes of .....	25	Sporting at fancie .....	53
I spi'd him first, and ...	50	O glorious Sunne quoth	12	Sporting our selues to ...	49
It is reported of faire ...	55	Oh cruell Fortune.....	78	Swear no vaine oathes	21
I would put amber .....	8	Oh cruell <i>Parca</i> .....	76	Sweet Corral lips .....	56
		Oh foule Eclipses of.....	16	Sweet <i>Thames</i> I honour	56
KING <i>Pryam</i> dead and	74	Oh how the <i>Troyan</i> .....	78	SYDNEY. The Syren	28
		Oh lend thine yuorie ...	16		
LEARNE of the .....	16	Oh then be humble .....	17	TAKE not a flattring.....	22
Leaue <i>Guendolen</i> .....	9	Oh then be not so proud	20	<i>Terence</i> describeth .....	102
Leaue wicked things ...	21	Oh would I were, as.....	105	That <i>England</i> lost, that	122
Led by the swift report	84	Oh would shee would ...	7	The Courtier he fawn's	26
Lie there (quoth shee)...	79	Oh would to God he.....	8	The day shall come .....	75
Lift vp thy head, thou...	76	On th'other side, aboue	43	The greater that I feele	101
Like a great King he ...	29	Or if one stray to feede	30	The hardest steele with	24

# X FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
The iuyce of grapes .....	93	This is my Doome .....	37	What female now.....	36
The Knight, the Squire .....	27	This leare I learned of...	23	What man, hath lately...	100
The learned Sisters.....	20	This said <i>Apollo</i> s then	73	What shall I say to thee	36
The losse of her, is loose	104	This said : he sweetly ...	70	What, ten-yeeres sledge	74
The maimed Souldier ...	104	This was the doting.....	7	What Thing is then, so	89
The Meane is best, and	85	This was that faire and	7	What though with.....	31
The Merchants wife.....	103	Thou dost entice the...	36	When I poore forelorne	24
The mightie Monarch ...	26	Thou lazie man .....	47	VVhen loe, <i>Cassandra</i>	72
The more I weepe, the	32	Thou shalt (indeede) .....	72	When nothing could.....	89
Then call'd he vp the ...	52	Thou <i>Venus</i> , art my.....	50	When <i>Saturne</i> liu'd.....	86
Then how can I.....	93	Thou wast the Nurse ...	100	When will my May .....	11
Then how shall I .....	92	Thus as they wandred...	6	Where is <i>Mecenas</i> .....	99
Then shouldst thou .....	8	Thus doo I honour thee	11	Whether yee list, to .....	92
Then sith by mee, their	99	Thus doth he frolicke it	31	Which charge to him no	69
Then, sith the Pope is ...	92	Thus doth he keepe.....	30	Which done : relying on	71
Then Teares (if thou be	34	Thus euerie man is .....	28	Which saying to be true	75
Then will I lay out all...	14	Thus haue I shew'd the	50	Which with Quick.....	90
The Painful .....	28	Thus haue I showed in	33	White is the colour of ...	20
The peoples ioies .....	77	Thus is he neuer full ...	26	Who would not then a...	33
The Pinke, the .....	10	Thus, sacred Virgin ...	52	Why doo thy Corall lips	15
<i>The Queene of harts</i> .....	90	Thus was my loue, thus	58	Whylom that in a .....	45
There are so manie .....	33	Thus with the Worlde ...	86	Why should thy sweete	15
The reason is, because...	89	Thy tyme was once .....	90	VVhich when <i>Aurora</i> ...	73
Therefore as one, whose	102	To what vse serues a ...	19	Wilt thou set springes in	13
There growes the .....	10	To you that know the ...	117	With her, the Tenant ...	93
There might one see ...	48	Two stars there are in ...	55	With patience, haue I ...	111
These two examples by	15	VILE <i>Auarice</i> , why hast	103	Witness the trade of ...	89
The Skilful Scholler ...	27	Vile <i>Auaricia</i> , how .....	98	Witness these watrie eyes	12
The snow is white, and	18	Vpon a gorgious gold ...	67	VVit without wealth is...	51
The Stoicks thinke .....	54	Vpon a time the.....	6	VVoon with thy words	70
The tenor of which tale	69	Vpon a time, the craftie	101	VEA what more .....	18
The Trees (for sorrowe)	100	Vpon his head he wore a	68	Yet famous <i>Sabrina</i> on	73
The Tyme was once .....	89	Vse not thy louely lips...	22	Yet if thou wilt but .....	13
The young man .....	86	WEEPE Heauens now ...	98	Yet not so softly but.....	67
The wealthie Merchant	27	Weepe still mine eies ...	101	Yet (O Enthraller of.....	32
The whitest siluer is.....	18	Well is he tearmd a .....	27	Yet would I wish, the ...	92
The whylst the other ...	26	What can thy hart .....	88	You modest Dames .....	35
The Wife of <i>Hector</i> ...	104			You, you alone, can .....	89
Thinke on thy graue ...	22				





## INTRODUCTION.



CONSIDERING the way in which his name has been associated with that of SHAKESPEARE ; it is a strange thing that the present should be the first public reprint of BARNFIELD'S *Poems* ever made.

During this century, as will be seen from the *Bibliography* at *p.* vii., several limited editions (chiefly of some 16, 35, 40, or 50 copies each) have been produced of one or other of his three Collections of *Poems* : all the copies of all which impressions would barely number 400 ; and being for the most part privately printed, they are not now obtainable for either love or money. And, even if they were obtainable, it would be found that some of their texts were intentionally imperfect.

Dr. GROSART'S edition of 1876 is notable, among other things, as being the first collected edition put forth, either by BARNFIELD or any one else, of these *Poems*.

### I I .

THE confused ignorance prevailing respecting BARNFIELD'S life before Dr. GROSART'S researches recovered the registries of his birth and death with a copy of his Will, may be seen in so recent a Work, as the last edition of T. WARTON'S *History of English Poetry*, iv. 290, 436-440. *Ed.* 1871.

It may therefore be desirable to give here, the few undoubted facts that are, at present, known about him.

The Rev. T. BURNE, M.A., Rector of Norbury, near Newport, Shropshire, has most obligingly verified the following entries in the Register of that parish :—

1. Of the marriage of our Poet's parents.

RICHARDUS BARNEFIELD et MARIA SKRIMSHER matri.  
contraxere Aprillis xvi. [1572].

2. Of our Poet's birth.

RICARDUS BARNEFIELD baptizatus fuit 'die mensis  
[June] xiii. 1574.

3. Of the death of his mother, at the birth of his sister DOROTHEA, when our Poet was six years old.

DOROTHEA BARNEFIELD filia RICARDI BARNEFIELD  
baptizata fuit Martii xxv. [1581].

MARIA BARNEFIELD sepulta fuit die mensis  
p[ræ]d[ict]o xxii<sup>o</sup>

As Dr. GROSART has mentioned, the above names may be read BARNSFIELD.

It is clear from the poem at *p.* 123, that his aunt, ELIZABETH SKRIM-SHER, became a second mother to the young boy ; and that he ever felt grateful to her.

MALONE contributed the following to BOSWELL's presentation edition of *Lady Pecunia*, of 1816.

Braze Nose Coll. November 27, 1589.

*Richard Barnfield, Stafford, gen. fil. ætat. 15.*

Matriculated. *Regtm. Universitat Oxon.*

WOOD took no notice of BARNFIELD. Dr. BLISS (in the life of our Poet supplied by him to his edition of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 683. *Ed.* 1813) states that BARNFIELD took his B.A. degree 5 February, 1592 ; giving as his authority, *MS. Gough*, in *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.* 1 : adding :

“And in the following Lent [1592] performed the exercise for his master's gown ; to which, however, I cannot find that he was ever admitted. Certain it is, that he did not take this degree previous to the year 1600, as his name does not occur in the Register of Congregation, which is very perfect and regular about that period.”

The exact reference is *Gough's MSS. (Oxfordshire)* 1\* *p.* 204 : but a better authority for the degree, is WOOD's own transcript (*MS. F. 14*), *sub anno*, where he writes the name RICHARD BARIFIELD.

It has been thought that our Poet when he came to London, entered Gray's Inn : but his name does not occur in the Index of Admittances covering his lifetime, now *Harl. MS.* 1912.

He was evidently the friend of THOMAS WATSON ; of whom he thus writes, at *p.* 29,

And thou my sweete *Amintas* vertuous minde,  
Should I forget thy Learning or thy Loue ;  
Well might I be accounted but vnkinde,  
Whose pure affection I so oft did proue :  
Might my poore Plaints hard stones to pittie moue ;  
His losse should be lamented of each Creature,  
So great his Name, so gentle was his Nature.

In November, 1594, *æt.* 20, appeared *The Affectionate Shepheard*.

In the following January, 1595, *æt.* 21, the *Cynthia* was published.

In 1598, *æt.* 25, he issued *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, a quotation

from which is made, in the September of that year, by FRANCIS MERES, in his *Palladis Tamia*; who in the following passage calls him his *friend*.

As *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgil* and *Mantuan* in Latine, *Sanazar* in Italian, and [Thomas Watson] the Author of *Aminta Gaudia* and *Walsinghams Melibæus* are the best for Pastoral: so amongst vs the best in this kind are *Sir Philip Sidney*, Master *Challoner*, *Spenser*, *Stephen Gosson*, *Abraham Fraunce*, and *Barnfield*.

As noble *Mæcenas* that sprang from the Etruscan Kings, not only graced poets by his bounty, but also by being a poet himself; and as *James VI.*, now King of *Scotland*, is not only a favourer of poets, but a poet; as my friend Master *Richard Barnfield* hath in this distich passing well recorded,

*The King of Scots now living is a poet,  
As his Lepanto and his Furies show it* [see p. 119].

so *Elizabeth*, our dread Sovereign and gracious Queen. . . .

In 1605, BARNFIELD, *æt.* 31, put forth a new and altered edition of *Lady Pecunia*: and from this time, apparently, ceased to publish anything; probably living the life of a country gentleman in Staffordshire.

In this second Edition of 1605, seven fresh Stanzas, suggested by the new King that had come to the throne, are inserted after the Stanzas which appear on *p.* 91 of this edition: viz., the five following after

No garden can be cleansd of euery Weede.

## 37

But now more Angels than on Earth yet weare  
Her golden Impresse; haue to Heauen attended  
Hir Virgin-soule; now, now she soiornes there,  
Tasting more ioyes then may be comprehended.

Life, she hath changde for life (oh countless gaine)  
An earthlie rule, for an eternall Raigne.

## 38

Such a Successor leauing in her stead,  
So peerlesse worthie, and so Royall wise;  
In him her vertues liue, though she be dead:  
Bountie and zeale, in him both soueranize.

To him alone, Pecunia doth obay,  
He ruling her, that doth all others sway.

39

Bounty, that when she sickned, cras'd and fainted,  
 And when she left the earth had almost died ;  
 Hoping with her, in heauen to haue bin sainted,  
 And 'mongst the rest an Angels place supplied :  
     The King hath cherisht, and his life assured,  
     And of a long consumption, Bounti 's cured.

40

Plenty and Peace vpon his Throne attend,  
 Health and Content, vpon his person wait :  
 Conquest and Fame, his Royaltie defend,  
 May all good Planets smile vpon his state.  
     By whom all-drooping-vertues are reuiued,  
     And dying-Bounty, made againe long liued.

41

The hand of Heauen still take him to his keeping,  
 Him, in no danger, in no doubt forsaking ;  
 A thousand of his Angels garde him sleeping,  
 And all the hoast of heauen protect him waking.  
     That he in safety, peace and rest, may raigne,  
     whilst the two Poles, the frame of heuen sustain.

Then another, the sixth, after  
 But charms the eare, with heauenly Harmonie.

45

Stand forth who can and tell, and true lie saie  
 When England, Scotland, Ireland and France,  
 He euer saw Pecunia to displaie  
 Before these daies ; O wondrous happie chance.  
     Nor doth Pecunia onelie please the eie,  
     But charmes the eare, with heauenlie harmony.

And a seventh after  
 Yet is it worth but *Nine-pence*, at the most.

47

But Ireland alone, this Musicks sound  
 Being clad in Siluer, challenge for their coin  
 What though amongst vs much thereof be found  
 Authoritie, no subject dooth inioyne  
 About his worth to countenance the same,  
 Then men, not coin, are worthy of that blame.

BARNFIELD died at the early age of 52, leaving, as his will shews, a son and grandchild.

Thanks to Dr. GROSART, we know the year of his death ; of which the following record in the Register of St. Michael's, Stone, has been most kindly compared once more with the original, by the Rev. W. W. BAYLISS, M.A., Vicar of that parish.

*Nonima eorum qui sepulti erant Anno Domini 1626.*  
*[i.e., between 25 March, 1626, and 24 March, 1627.]*

Then after about thirty entries, we have the following one :

Richardus Barnefield generosus sepultus  
 fuit Sexto Die Martij Anno supradicto.

Then comes one more entry : after which we have the following official signatures for the year :

BARNABAS WILLATT	Minister.
JAMES TILL	} Churchwardens.
THOMAS AMBERYE	
ROGER BRADBURYE	
CHRISTOPHER DUTTON	

We have personally inspected our Poet's Will, in the District Probate Court at Lichfield. It is Number 57, of *anno* 1627, and is, line for line, as follows :

In the name of god Amen the xxvjth Daye  
 februarie in the yeares of the Raigne of our  
 Soveraigne lord CHARLES by the grace of  
 god of England Scotland ffrance and  
 Ireland kinge Defender of the faith &c  
*Anno Dom. 1626 [i.e., 1627].*

I RICHARD BARNFIELD of Dorlestone in the Countie  
 of Stafford Esquire sick in bodie but of perfecte Remem-  
 brance make this my last will and testament  
 in manner and fforme ffollowinge/ffirst I bequeath



my soule to Almightye god my Creator and maker and my Bodie to be buried in the parishe Church of Stone in the said Countie in full hope of of salvation and of a ioyfull Resurrectione throught Christ my onelie Saviour, and as concerninge my worldlie goodes my will and mind is that Master JOHN SKRIMSHER of Norburie Esquier his wife and sonne shall haue iijli beinge equallie Devided betwixt them, *Item* I giue to Master HENERIE HOCKENGULL my peece, Dagg, one Beddsteed one table, my best sadle and bridle, *Item* I giue to Mistris HOCKENGULL xx. *Item* I giue to CHARLES SKRIMSHER and GERRATE SKRIMSHER ether of them xx. *Item* I giue to mistris ELENOR SKRIMSHER xx. *Item* I giue to SARIE BOEYER xx. *Item* I giue to ELIZABETH SKRIMSHER xx. and alsoe one gould Ringe *Item* I giue to MARTHA xx. and my gilte spoone *Item* I giue to GRISELL SKRIMSHER xx. *Item* I giue my gran[d]childe JANE BARNEFEILD a gilte saulte which was MICHILL OFFELEYES if hee Doe not Redeeme the same in some short tyme But if hee Doe Redeeme it shee shall haue the whole xjli that he Doth owe me *Item* I giue to master MARTIN xs. *Item* I giue to my man RICHARD COTTERALL xls. my hare coulred sute and Cloake and xs. that I owe him, *Item* I giue to mistris DOODIE my Truckle bedd *Item* I giue to my Cozen RANFORDE my tow best sutes, *Item* I giue MARGARET RICHARSONE my gounne and xs. *Item* I giue GEORGE HILL my ould servant my other sadle and Bridle, *Item* I giue to euerie servant in the house xijd. *Item* I leaue vli. to bestowe of a Dinner at my Buriall *Item* I giue to the poore of Darlestone xijd. a peece *Item* I giue to the poor of Stone xls. *Item* I giue to JOHN GOODALE of waulton my blue breeches and friese Jerkine *Item* I giue to my sonne master ROBERT BARNEFIELD xx. *Item* the Residue of my goodes beinge vnbequeathed, I giue to master ROBERT

BARNEFIELD and mistris ELINOR SKRIMSHER  
 whome I leaue my sole Executors of this  
 my last will and testament In witness  
 whereof the Daie and yeare aboue written  
 I have putt my hand and seale

Sealed and subscribed in  
 presence of vs

*R.*  
 [Initial only.]

*Henry hockengull*

*Thomas Daintry*

*Richard Cotterell*

Probate was granted ELEANOR SKRIMSHER, on 7th April, 1627. With the Will is the following Inventory :

*John Doodie.* A true and perfecte Inventorie of all  
*Richard Challenor.* the goodes of RICHARD BARNEFEILDESQUIRE  
*Thomas Daintery.* Deceased [ap]prayed th xvth Daie of  
 March *Anno Domini* 1626 [*i.e.* 1627] by JOHN  
 PETER SERIEANTES DOODIE RICHARD CHALLENGOR THOMAS  
 his X mark. DAINTREY PETER SERIEANTE/

<i>It[em]</i> my tuw beddsteds	vjs	viijd
<i>item</i> one flockbedd	iijs	iiijd
<i>item</i> one bedd one boulster one pillowe one coverlid one cadware and three blankettes		iiijli
<i>item</i> nine sheetes three pillowberes [ <i>pillow      slips</i> ] and one Towell	xxjs	
<i>item</i> fo[u]re shirtes	xiijs	iiijd
<i>item</i> Caps	iijs	
<i>item</i> bandes cuffes handcarches and sockes	xs	
<i>item</i> stockens garters and sockes	xs	
<i>item</i> gloues	ijs	vjd
<i>item</i> all his w[ear]inge apperell	xli	
<i>item</i> tow sadd[les] and bridles	xs	
<i>item</i> his bookes	xs	
<i>item</i> one giult sault and spoone	vli	
<i>item</i> all his glasses	iijs	

<i>item</i> pewter [ <i>i.e.</i> , vessels &c.]	vjs	
<i>item</i> three chestes one deske boxes and table	xiijs	iiij <i>d</i>
<i>item</i> warminge pan and one close stoole	vjs	viiij <i>d</i>
<i>item</i> fireshovell tonges and grate	js	
<i>item</i> bootes shooes and slippers	xs	
<i>item</i> one locke and fetters	js	
<i>item</i> one peece and pistoll	xiijs	iiij <i>d</i>
<i>item</i> one brush and one cushen	js	vj <i>d</i>
<i>item</i> in moneyes	xl[ <i>li</i> ]	xvijs iiij <i>d</i>
	<b>Some lxxvjli</b>	<b>xvs 11d</b>
	[or rather £66 5s. 11 <i>d.</i> ]	

## I I I .



THE four editions of his three Collections of Poems issued in BARNFIELD'S lifetime, only *six* copies in all are now known to exist, viz., of

<i>The Affectionate Shepheard</i>	1594.	Two copies; at Britwell, and in Sion College, London.
<i>Cynthia</i> ... ..	1595.	One copy, in the Bodleian Library.
<i>The Encomion of</i> (1st Ed.)	1598.	One copy, in the Bodleian Library.
<i>Lady Pecunia</i> (2nd Ed.)	1605.	Two copies, at Bridgewater House, and the imperfect one in the Bodleian.

It is probably owing to this extraordinary scarcity of the original copies, that BARNFIELD has made so little impression upon posterity (the *Passionate Pilgrim* matter apart); and has been looked upon as one of our most out-of-the-way Poets.

The notices of our Author, in the first two centuries after his death, appear to have been but few and far between.

EDWARD PHILLIPS omitted our Author in his List of *Modern Poets* in his *Theatrum Poetarum*: but in the *Supplement* thereof, says

*Richard Barnfield*, one of the same Rank in Poetry with Doctor Lodge, Robert Green, Nicholas Breton, and other Contemporaries already mention'd in the foregoing Treatise of the Moderns.  
p. 231. Ed. 1675.

THOMAS WARTON thought our Poet to be

One of the most prominent of the minor literary luminaries of the age of Elizabeth. But as BARNFIELD'S writings have more than an ordinary share of merit, and as his name has

been associated, in a manner which could not be but flattering to his memory, with that of SHAKESPEARE, it seemed to be desirable to introduce in the present pages a somewhat more copious account of this author and his works. Such a tribute to the memory of BARNFIELD seemed to be due to one who, of all the minor poets of ELIZABETH'S reign, may perhaps be fairly regarded as occupying the first place.

The most remarkable feature about BARNFIELD is, that an author of such undoubted genius should have so little courted publicity. In his earliest production, the *Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594, his name nowhere appears [*but the authorship was avowed in the Cynthia; see p. 44*]; and all his works were ushered unostentatiously into the world without encomiastic verses by acquaintances or admirers, and with dedications prompted, so far as one can judge, by friendship or affection, rather than by the sense of interest or the desire to flatter.

*History of English Poetry*, iv. pp. 436, 7. Ed. 1871.

Then follows the confused account above referred to; after which comes :

A collected edition of BARNFIELD'S surviving works is a want in English literature, and would only form an appropriate and deserved tribute to the genius of so graceful and so neglected a poet.

*p. 439. idem.*

No author, whom we could name, has fairer pretensions to be regarded as a writer of genuine, untainted vernacular English.

*p. 440. idem.*

## I V .



HE association of BARNFIELD'S name with that of SHAKESPEARE (which has been the principal reason, hitherto, of his name being kept in remembrance) has arisen from W. JAGGARD'S including

the Sonnet *If Musique and sweet Poetrie agree*, at *p. 118*,  
and the Ode *As it fell upon a Day*, at *p. 120*.

in *The passionate Pilgrim*, 1599; and from his placing on the title-page of that Collection, the words, *By W. SHAKESPEARE*. The Staffordshire poet being 25, and the Warwickshire poet 35 in that year.

Mr. J. P. COLLIER, F.S.A., has advocated first the BARNFIELD authorship of these poems, and then that of SHAKESPEARE. His several arguments on both sides, are duly recorded by Dr. GROSART, in his edition of our Poet above referred to.

The opinion of the best scholars is generally for the BARNFIELD

authorship ; whose claims Mr. CHARLES EDMONDS has especially vindicated at length from the objections of Mr. COLLIER in the *Preface* to his reprint of the Isham copy of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, in 1870.

It may, however, be as well, on the occasion of this reimpression, briefly to summarize the proofs of BARNFIELD being the author of these poems : observing that the claim is, in either case, for *both* poems together, and not for either of them.

1. That BARNFIELD was not the man to steal any one else's poems is evident from the following modest disclaimer, at *p.* 44, of works which had wrongly been attributed to him.

Howsoever undeseruedly (I protest) I haue beene thought (of some) to haue beene the authour of two Books heretofore. I neede not to name them, because they are two-well knowne already : nor will I deny them, because they are dislik't ; but because they are not mine. This protestation (I hope) will satisfie th'indifferent.

The two Works referred to have been thought to be, R. B. Gent. *Greenes Funeralls*, 1594 ; and R. B. Gent. *ORPHEUS his Journey to Hell*, 1595 : but the latter of these, is out of the question ; for it was not registered at Stationers' Hall till the 26 August, 1595 (*Transcript &c.*, iii. 48. *Ed.* 1876) more than six months after the *Cynthia* containing the above passage, was entered for publication.

2. BARNFIELD, on the other hand, thus distinctly claims these pieces with the others, in *Poems in diuers humours*, at *p.* 117.

I vvrite these Lines ; fruits of vnriper yeares.

3. It is incredible that SHAKESPEARE should have written of any poet in these terms, as in the Sonnet *If Music, &c.*, at *p.* 118,

*Spenser* to mee ; whose deepe Conceit is such,  
As passing all Conceit, needs no defence.

4. Which lines are evidently BARNFIELD'S, for he thus repeats the expression in *A Remembrance of some English Poets* (including SHAKESPEARE himself), on the opposite page : which *Remembrance* has never been attributed to any one else but him.

Liue *Spenser* euer, in thy *Fairy Queene* :  
Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene ;

expressions which perfectly accord with the poetical position of BARNFIELD, who was one of the first professed imitators of SPENSER, *p.* 44.

5. *If Musique, &c.*, is the first of two Sonnets : for the authorship of the Second of which, we have the express testimony of his friend MERES, that it was written by BARNFIELD : see the lines quoted at *p.* xiii. As BARNFIELD was evidently incapable of *stealing* the First sonnet ; this proof that he wrote the latter is corroborative of his having written the former.

6. If BARNFIELD wrote the Sonnet, he wrote also the Ode : for the

poems, in this connection, are inseparable. They were either both written by him, or by SHAKESPEARE. Clearly to BARNFIELD, must the authorship be assigned.

7. But, then, Why did BARNFIELD omit these poems in his second edition of *Lady Pecunia* in 1605? This of course was a somewhat difficult matter to settle without seeing the original edition: and as the only copy known until recently was at Bridgewater House, this was not an easy matter, until the Rev. W. E. BUCKLEY identified the other copy in the Bodleian.

As Mr. COLLIER bases the SHAKESPEARE authorship of these poems solely on their omission from the 1605 edition: it is but right to state his later opinion precisely.

“My mistaken notion, twelve years ago [1846] was, that BARNFIELD, in 1605, had republished the whole of what had first appeared in 1598. This is not so. In 1605 he prefixed a general title-page, mentioning only three of the four divisions of his original work. 1. *Lady Pecunia, or The Praise of Money*. 2. *A Combat betwixt Conscience and Covetousness*; and 3. *The Complaint of Poetry, for the Death of Liberality*. He says not one word about what had been his fourth division in 1598, *Poems in divers humours*: but still, on the very last leaf of the impression of 1605, Barnfield places *A Remembrance of some English Poets*, which had appeared as one of the *Poems in divers humours* in 1598. *A Comparison of the Life of Man*, a seven-line stanza, is also reprinted; all the rest he seems purposely to have excluded as if they were not his.”

*Notes and Queries*, 1856.

“The second edition of BARNFIELD’s *Encomion*, under the title of *Lady Pecunia, or The praise of Money*, was not known at all until a comparatively recent date, and still more recently [? in 1856 as above] it was discovered that it did not contain the poems to which BARNFIELD seemed to have the earliest title. In 1605 BARNFIELD was too honest to retain what had been improperly attributed to him [*he himself claims them, see above*] in 1598. The Sonnet and the Poem are therefore not to be traced in the volume in our hands, which forms part of the library of Bridgewater house.” *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, i. pp. 47-50, Ed. 1865.

It will therefore be seen that the assertion of the SHAKESPEARE authorship rests, and rests only on the “make up” of the 1605 edition: without any regard to intrinsic merits, or to any assertion of authorship (as above at 2) on the part of BARNFIELD.



An examination, side by side, of the copies of the two editions in the Malone Collection (Nos. 295 and 300) in the Bodleian, will shew any one practically acquainted with printing, that Mr. COLLIER's references are nothing but random guesses.

The 1605 edition was never intended to be a careful reprint of the 1598 edition, the framework of which, in four distinct sections, was intentionally abandoned.

- a. The Section Title-pages of the First edition (as at *pp.* 95, 107, 115) were discarded.
- b. The Verse-Dedications of the First edition (as at *pp.* 97, 109, 117) were also discarded.
- c. The Sections do not follow in the same order as in the First edition : the *Combat* (*pp.* 107-114) in the second edition precedes the *Complaint* (*pp.* 95-105).
- d. That any of the *Poems in divers humours* were reprinted at all, is clearly owing to this last fact. For the 45th and last stanza of the *Complaint* ends on the top of the page preceding the last leaf. *A Comparison of the Life of Man* (see *p.* 124), therefore, just filled up that page nicely.

*A Remembrance of some English Poets* did the same for the opposite page of the last leaf ; the final page being left blank.

Therefore no question of authorship arises from the omissions which were purely a publisher's convenience, probably dictated by the price of the book.

It will also be seen that the section *Poems in divers humours* contains eight poems, of which two only were reprinted by BARNFIELD in 1605, "All the rest he seems purposely to have excluded as if they were not his," says Mr. COLLIER : but unfortunately one of these is *An Epitaph upon the Death of his Aunt Mistresse Elizabeth Skrymsher*, whom we know was BARNFIELD's mother's sister.

It is therefore evident that BARNFIELD, and not SHAKESPEARE wrote these poems : and if so, that they should be omitted from all future editions of the *Works* of our great Dramatist.

## V .



DISCARDING this modern and unnecessary entanglement, let us see what our Poet really is in himself, remarking that all his Verse is the production of a very young man.

Receiving the usual education given to an English gentleman at the time, this young barrister (as we should now call him), following the fashion of the Age, addicted himself to versification. Between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, he published, in his three Collections, some forty-five pieces, short and long, in different metres, and in varying styles, of what, in the present day, would be looked upon as *vers de société* : that is, skilful poetry, *not* expressing any personal feelings or describing any great epic action or passion.



So that we should not, by any means, consider him, with WARTON, as the first of the minor Elizabethan poets : indeed he seems to us hardly a third-rate poet ; if DRAYTON, DANIEL, CHAPMAN, CAMPION, and such others constituted, then, the second rank of our hierarchy of Makers.

Among other characteristics of these poems, the following are apparent.

1. An abundant vocabulary. Proportionately to their length, there is a large number of different words, and some of them out-of-the-way ones, in these poems.

2. There is evident also, a constant strain after novelty ; either through unusual subjects, or by unusual treatment of ordinary subjects. BARNFIELD avows this, at *p.* 83, in regard to *Lady Pecunia*,

Being determined to write of something, and yet not resolved of any thing, I considered with my selfe, if one should write of Loue (they will say) why, euery one writes of Loue : if of Vertue, why, who regards Vertue? To be short, I could thinke of nothing, but either it was common, or not at all in request ;

and it is also characteristic of many of his poems.

This craving after something cleverly strange, has laid him open to the charge of equivocal writing ; which disappears at once, when we consider his versification was for the most part but an amusement, and had little serious or personal in it.

He being about twenty years of age, wrote in imitation of VIRGIL his *Affectionate Shepheard*, and the twenty *Sonnets* in *Cynthia* (*pp.* 53-63), to a youth, whom he named GANYMEDE, in the character of an old man thus described at *p.* 23 :

Behold my gray head, full of siluer haire,  
My wrinckled skin, deepe furrowes in my face :  
Cares bring Old-Age, Old-Age increaseth cares ;  
My Time is come, and I haue run my Race :  
Winter hath snow'd vpon my hoarie head,  
And with my Winter all my ioys are dead.

It is clearly a piece of artificiality, a trying after the uncommon.

So likewise, he selected his punning and bantering *Prayse of Lady Pecunia*, because it was unhackneyed.

At length I bethought my selfe of a Subiect, both new (as hauing neuer beene written vpon before) and pleasing (as I thought) because Mans Nature (commonly) loues to heare that praised, with whose pressence, hee is most pleased. *p.* 83.

3. Another noticceable point is his hearty recognition in verse of the greater merits of recent or contemporary English poets : as of SIDNEY, at *pp.* 28, 31, 119, 122 ; WATSON, at *pp.* 29, 31 ; SPENSER, at *pp.* 31, 118, 119 ; DRAYTON, at *pp.* 31, 119 ; DANIEL, at *p.* 119 ; SHAKESPEARE at *p.* 120 ; with others of an earlier date.

## VI.



THE other principal references may be given.

They are, RITSON, *Bibliographia Poetica*, 124, *Ed.* 1802. ELLIS, *Specimens of the English Poets*, ii. 356, *Ed.* 1803. BELOE, *Anecdotes of Literature*, ii. 68, *Ed.* 1807. BODENHAM'S *England's Helicon*, 126, *Ed.* 1812. SIR E. BRYDGES, *Restituta*, iv. 490, *Ed.* 1816. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 3 S. xvi. f. 159. *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, i. 184-6, Cheetham Society, 1860. *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, iv. 15.

## VII.



IN CONCLUSION, we cannot refrain from the expression of our gratification at yet another lost English Author being restored to life again, through our instrumentality. How many more are there? We cannot say. Though we have been constantly printing for now nearly fourteen years: there seems more ahead, than behind. Will this Generation own the Endeavour, or shall it be left to Posterity to do so?





# The Affectionate Shepherd.

Containing the Complaint of *Daphnis* for  
the loue of *Ganymede*.

*Amor plus mellis, quam fellis, est.*



L O N D O N ,

Printed by Iohn Danter for T. G. and E. N.  
and are to bee sold in Saint Dunstones  
Church-yard in Fleetstreet,

1 5 9 4 .





To the Right Excellent  
and most beautifull Lady, the Ladie  
PENELOPE RITCH.

**E** Ayre loucly Ladie, whose Anglique eyes  
Are Vestall Candles of sweet Beauties Treasure,  
Whose speech is able to inchaunt the wise,  
Conuerting Ioy to Paine, and Paine to Pleasure;  
Accept this simple Toy of my Soules Dutie,  
Which I present vnto thy matchles Beautie.

*And albeit the gift be all too meane,  
Too meane an Offering for thine Iuoric Shrine;  
Yet must thy Beautie my iust blame susteane,  
Since it is mortall, but thy selfe diuine.  
Then (Noble Ladie) take in gentle worth,  
This new-borne Babe which here my Muse brings forth.*

Your Honours most affectionate  
and perpetually deuoted Shepheard:

DAPHNIS.







The Teares of an  
affectionate Shepheard sicke  
for Loue.

O R

The Complaint of *Daphnis* for the Loue  
of *Ganimede*.



Carce had the morning Starre hid from the  
light [spangled,  
Heauens crimson Canopie with stars be-  
But I began to rue th'vnhappy sight  
Of that faire Boy that had my hart in-  
tangled;  
Cursing the Time, the Place, the  
sense, the sin;  
I came, I saw, I viewd, I slipped in.

If it be sinne to loue a sweet-fac'd Boy,  
(Whose amber locks trust vp in golden tramels  
Dangle adowne his louely cheekes with ioy,  
When pearle and flowers his faire haire enamels)  
If it be sinne to loue a louely Lad;  
Oh then sinne I, for whom my soule is sad.

His Iuory-white and Alabaster skin  
Is staine throughout with rare Vermillion red,  
Whose twinkling starrie lights do neuer blin  
To shine on louely *Venus* (Beauties bed :)  
But as the Lillie and the blushing Rose,  
So white and red on him in order growes.



Vpon a time the Nymphs bestird them-selues  
 To trie who could his beautie soonest win :  
 But he accounted them but all as Elues,  
 Except it were the faire Queene *Guendolen*,  
 Her he embrac'd, of her was beloued,  
 With plaints he proued, and with teares he moued.

But her an Old-Man had beene sutor too,  
 That in his age began to doate againe ;  
 Her would he often pray, and often woo,  
 When through old-age enfeebled was his Braine :  
 But she before had lou'd a lustie youth  
 That now was dead, the cause of all her ruth.

And thus it hapned, Death and *Cupid* met  
 Vpon a time at swilling *Bacchus* house,  
 Where daintie cates vpon the Board were set,  
 And Goblets full of wine to drinke carouse :  
 Where Loue and Death did loue the licor so,  
 That out they fall and to the fray they goe.

And hauing both their Quiuers at their backe  
 Fild full of Arrows ; Th'one of fatall steele,  
 The other all of gold ; Deaths shaft was black,  
 But Loues was yellow : Fortune turnd her wheele ;  
 And from Deaths Quiuer fell a fatall shaft,  
 That vnder *Cupid* by the winde was waft.

And at the same time by ill hap there fell  
 Another Arrow out of *Cupids* Quiuer ;  
 The which was carried by the winde at will,  
 And vnder Death the amorous shaft did shiuer :  
 They being parted, Loue tooke vp Deaths dart,  
 And Death tooke vp Loues Arrow (for his part.)

Thus as they wandred both about the world,  
 At last Death met with one of feeble age :  
 Wherewith he drew a shaft and at him hurld  
 The vnknowne Arrow ; (with a furious rage)  
 Thinking to strike him dead with Deaths blacke dart,  
 But he (alas) with Loue did wound his hart.

This was the doting foole, this was the man  
That lou'd faire *Guendolena* Queene of Beautie ;  
Shee cannot shake him off, doo what she can,  
For he hath vowd to her his soules last duety :  
    Making him trim vpon the holy-daies ;  
    And crownes his Loue with Garlands made of Baies.

Now doth he stroke his Beard ; and now (again)e  
He wipes the driuel from his filthy chin ;  
Now offers he a kisse ; but high Disdaine  
Will not permit her hart to pity him :  
    Her hart more hard than Adamant or steele,  
    Her hart more changeable than Fortunes wheele.

But leaue we him in loue (vp to the eares)  
And tell how Loue behau'd himselfe abroad ;  
Who seeing one that mourned still in teares  
(a young-man groaning vnder Loues great Load)  
    Thinking to ease his Burden, rid his paines :  
    For men haue grieffe as long as life remains.

Alas (the while) that vnawares he drue  
The fatall shaft that Death had dropt before ;  
By which deceit great harme did then issue,  
Staying his face with blood and filthy goare.  
    His face, that was to *Guendolen* more deere  
    Than loue of Lords, of any lordly Peere.

This was that faire and beautifull young-man,  
Whom *Guendolena* so lamented for ;  
This is that Loue whom she doth curse and ban,  
Because she doth that dismall chaunce abhor :  
    And if it were not for his Mothers sake,  
    Euen *Ganimede* himselfe she would forsake.

Oh would shee would forsake my *Ganimede*,  
Whose sugred loue is full of sweete delight,  
Vpon whose fore-head you may plainly reade  
Loues Pleasure, grau'd in yuorie Tables bright :  
    In whose faire eye-balls you may clearly see  
    Base Loue still staine with foule indignitie.

Oh would to God he would but pittie mee,  
That loue him more than any mortall wight ;  
Then he and I with loue would soone agree,  
That now cannot abide his Sutors sight.

O would to God (so I might haue my fee)  
My lips were honey, and thy mouth a Bee.

Then shouldst thou sucke my sweete and my faire flower  
That now is ripe, and full of honey-berries :  
Then would I leade thee to my pleasant Bower  
Fild full of Grapes, of Mulberries, and Cherries ;  
Then shouldst thou be my Waspe or else my Bee,  
I would thy hiue, and thou my honey bee.

I would put amber Bracelets on thy wrists,  
Crownets of Pearle about thy naked Armes :  
And when thou sitst at swilling *Bacchus* feasts  
My lips with charmes should saue thee from all harmes :  
And when in sleepe thou tookst thy chiefest Pleasure,  
Mine eyes should gaze vpon thine eye-lids Treasure.

And euery Morne by dawning of the day,  
When *Phæbus* riseth with a blushing face,  
*Siluanus* Chappel-Clarkes shall chaunt a Lay,  
And play thee hunts-vp in thy resting place :  
My Coote thy Chamber, my bosome thy Bed ;  
Shall be appointed for thy sleepy head.

And when it pleaseth thee to walke abroad,  
(Abroad into the fields to take fresh ayre :)  
The Meades with *Floras* treasure should be strowde,  
(The mantled meaddowes, and the fields so fayre.)  
And by a siluer Well (with golden sands)  
Ile sit me downe, and wash thine yuory hands.

And in the sweltring heate of summer time,  
I would make Cabinets for thee (my Loue :)  
Sweet-smelling Arbours made of Eglantine  
Should be thy shrine, and I would be thy Doue.  
Coole Cabinets of fresh greene Laurell boughs  
Should shadow vs, ore-set with thicke-set Eughes.

Or if thou list to bathe thy naked limbs,  
Within the Christall of a Pearle-bright brooke,  
Paued with dainty pibbles to the brims ;  
Or cleare, wherein thyselfe thy selfe mayst looke ;  
    Weele goe to *Ladon*, whose still trickling noyse,  
    Will lull thee fast asleepe amids thy ioyes.

Or if thoult goe vnto the Riuer side,  
To angle for the sweet fresh-water fish :  
Arm'd with thy implements that will abide  
(Thy rod, hooke, line) to take a dainty dish ;  
    Thy rods shall be of cane, thy lines of silke,  
    Thy hooks of siluer, and thy bayts of milke.

Or if thou lou'st to heare sweet Melodie,  
Or pipe a Round vpon an Oaten Reede,  
Or make thy selfe glad with some myrthfull glee,  
Or play them Musicke whilst thy flocke doth feede ;  
    To *Pans* owne Pipe Ile helpe my louely Lad,  
    (*Pans* golden Pype) which he of *Syrinx* had.

Or if thou dar'st to climbe the highest Trees  
For Apples, Cherries, Medlars, Peares, or Plumbs,  
Nuts, Walnuts, Filbeards, Chest-nuts, Ceruices,  
The hoary Peach, when snowy winter comes ;  
    I haue fine Orchards full of mellowed frute ;  
    Which I will giue thee to obtain my sute.

Not proud *Alcynous* himselfe can vaunt,  
Of goodlier Orchards or of brauer Trees  
Than I haue planted ; yet thou wilt not graunt  
My simple sute ; but like the honey Bees  
    Thou suckst the flowre till all the sweet be gone ;  
    And lou'st mee for my Coyne till I haue none.

Leaue *Guendolen* (sweet hart) though she be faire  
Yet is she light ; not light in vertue shining :  
But light in her behaiour, to impaire  
Her honour in her Chastities declining ;  
    Trust not her teares, for they can watonnize,  
    When teares in pearle are trickling from her eyes.

If thou wilt come and dwell with me at home ;  
 My sheep-cote shall be strowd with new greene rushes :  
 Weele haunt the trembling Prickets as they rome  
 About the fields, along the hauthorne bushes ;  
 I haue a pie-bald Curre to hunt the Hare :  
 So we will liue with daintie forrest fare.

Nay more than this, I haue a Garden-plot,  
 Wherein there wants nor hearbs, nor roots, nor flowers ;  
 (Flowers to smell, roots to eate, hearbs for the pot,)  
 And dainty Shelters when the Welkin lowers :  
 Sweet-smelling Beds of Lillies and of Roses,  
 Which Rosemary banks and Lauender incloses.

There growes the Gilliflowre, the Mynt, the Dayzie  
 (Both red and white,) the blew-veynd-Violet :  
 The purple Hyacinth, the Spyke to please thee,  
 The scarlet dyde Carnation bleeding yet ;  
 The Sage, the Sauery, and sweet Margerum,  
 Isop, Tyme, and Eye-bright, good for the blinde and dumbe.

The Pinke, the Primrose, Cowslip, and Daffadilly,  
 The Hare-bell blue, the crimson Cullumbine,  
 Sage, Lettis, Parsley, and the milke-white Lilly,  
 The Rose, and speckled flowre cald Sops in wine,  
 Fine pretie King-cups, and the yellow Bootes,  
 That growes by Riuers, and by shallow Brookes.

And manie thousand moe (I cannot name)  
 Of hearbs and flowers that in gardens grow,  
 I haue for thee ; and Coneyes that be tame,  
 Yong Rabbets, white as Swan, and blacke as Crow,  
 Some speckled here and there with daintie spots :  
 And more I haue two mylch and milke-white Goates.

All these, and more, Ile giue thee for thy loue ;  
 If these, and more, may tyce thy loue away :  
 I haue a Pidgeon-house, in it a Doue,  
 Which I loue more than mortall tongue can say :  
 And last of all, Ile giue thee a little Lambe  
 To play withall, new weaned from her Dam.

But if thou wilt not pittie my Complaint,  
My Teares, nor Vowes, nor Oathes, made to thy Beautie :  
What shall I doo ? But languish, die, or faint,  
Since thou dost scorne my Teares, and my Soules Duetie :  
    And Teares contemned, Vowes and Oaths must faile ;  
    For where Teares cannot, nothing can preuaile.

Compare the loue of faire Queene *Gucndolin*  
With mine, and thou shalt [s]ee how she doth loue thee :  
I loue thee for thy qualities diuine,  
But She doth loue another Swaine about thee :  
    I loue thee for thy gifts, She for hir pleasure ;  
    I for thy Vertue, She for Beauties treasure.

And alwaies (I am sure) it cannot last,  
But sometime Nature will denie those dimples :  
In stead of Beautie (when thy Blossom's past)  
Thy face will be deformed, full of wrinckles :  
    Then She that lou'd thee for thy Beauties sake,  
    When Age draws on, thy loue will soone forsake.

But I that lou'd thee for thy gifts diuine,  
In the December of thy Beauties waning,  
Will still admire (with ioy) those louely eie,  
That now behold me with their beauties baning :  
    Though Ianuarie will neuer come againe,  
    Yet Aprill yeres will come in showers of raine.

When will my May come, that I may embrace thee ?  
When will the hower be of my soules ioying ?  
Why dost thou seeke in mirthe still to disgrace mee ?  
Whose mirth's my health, whose grieffe's my harts annoying.  
    Thy bane my bale, thy blisse my blessednes,  
    Thy ill my hell, thy weale my welfare is.

Thus doo I honour thee that loue thee so,  
And loue thee so, that so doo honour thee,  
Much more than anie mortall man doth know,  
Or can discern by Loue or Iealozie :  
    But if that thou disdainst my louing euer ;  
    Oh happie I, if I had loued neuer. *Finis.*

*Plus fellis quam mellis Amor.*

# The second Dayes Lamentation of the *Affectionate Shepherd.*

**N**Ext Morning when the golden Sunne was risen,  
And new had bid good morrow to the Mountaines;  
When Night her siluer light had lockt in prison,  
Which gaue a glimmering on the christall  
Fountaines:  
Then ended sleepe: and then my cares began,  
Eu'n with the vprising of the siluer Swan.

O glorious Sunne quoth I, (viewing the Sunne)  
That lightenst euerie thing but me alone:  
Why is my Summer season almost done?  
My Spring-time past, and Ages Autumne gone?  
My Haruest's come, and yet I reapt no corne:  
My loue is great, and yet I am forlorne.

Witnes these watrie eyes my sad lament  
(Receauing cisternes of my ceaseles teares),  
Witnes my bleeding hart my soules intent,  
Witnes the weight distressed *Daphnis* beares:  
Sweet Loue, come ease me of thy burthens paine;  
Or els I die, or else my hart is slaine.

And thou loue-scorning Boy, cruell, vnkinde;  
Oh let me once againe intreat some pittie:  
May be thou wilt relent thy marble minde,  
And lend thine eares vnto my dolefull Dittie:  
Oh pittie him, that pittie craues so sweetly;  
Or else thou shalt be neuer named meekly.

If thou wilt loue me, thou shalt be my Boy,  
My sweet Delight, the Comfort of my minde,  
My Loue, my Doue, my Sollace, and my Ioy:  
But if I can no grace nor mercie finde,  
Ile goe to *Caucasus* to ease my smart,  
And let a Vulture gnaw vpon my hart.



Yet if thou wilt but show me one kinde looke  
(A small reward for my so great affection)  
Ile graue thy name in Beauties golden Booke,  
And shrowd thee vnder *Hellicons* protection ;  
    Making the Muses chaunt thy louely prayse :  
    (For they delight in Shepherds lowly layes.)

And when th'art wearie of thy keeping Sheepe  
Vpon a louely Downe, (to please thy minde)  
Ile giue thee fine ruffe-footed Doues to keepe,  
And pretie Pidgeons of another kinde :  
    A Robbin-red-brest shall thy Minstrell bee,  
    Chirping thee sweet, and pleasant Melodie.

Or if thou wilt goe shoote at little Birds  
With bow and boulte (the Thrustle-cocke and Sparrow)  
Such as our Countrey hedges can afford's ;  
I haue a fine bowe, and an yuorie arrow :  
    And if thou misse, yet meate thou shalt [not] lacke,  
    Ile hang a bag and bottle at thy backe.

Wilt thou set springes in a frostie Night,  
To catch the long-billd Woodcocke and the Snype ?  
(By the bright glimmering of the Starrie light)  
The Partridge, Phæsant, or the greedie Grype ?  
    Ile lend thee lyme-twigs, and fine sparrow calls,  
    Wherewith the Fowler silly Birds intrhalls.

Or in a mystie morning if thou wilt  
Make pit-falls for the Larke and Pheldifare ;  
Thy prop and sweake shall be both ouer-guilt ;  
With *Cyparissus* selfe thou shalt compare  
    For gins and wyles, the Oozels to beguile ;  
    Whilst thou vnder a bush shalt sit and smile.

Or with Hare-pypes (set in a muset hole)  
Wilt thou deceaue the deep-earth-deluing Coney ?  
Or wilt thou in a yellow Boxen bole,  
Taste with a wooden splent the sweet lythe honey ?  
    Clusters of crimson Grapes Ile pull thee downe ;  
    And with Vine-leaues make thee a louely Crowne.

Or wilt thou drinke a cup of new-made Wine  
 Froathing at top, mixt with a dish of Creame ;  
 And Straw-berries, or Bil-berries in their prime,  
 Bath'd in a melting Sugar-Candie streame :  
 Bunnell and Perry I haue for thee (alone)  
 When Vynes are dead, and all the Grapes are gone.

I haue a pleasant noted Nightingale,  
 (That sings as sweetly as the siluer Swan)  
 Kept in a Cage of bone ; as white as Whale,  
 Which I with singing of *Philemon* wan :  
 Her shalt thou haue, and all I haue beside ;  
 If thou wilt be my Boy, or else my Bride.

Then will I lay out all my Lardarie  
 (Of Cheese, of Cracknells, Curds and Clowted-creame)  
 Before thy male-content ill-pleasing eye :  
 But why doo I of such great follies dreame ?  
 Alas, he will not see my simple Coate ;  
 For all my speckled Lambe, nor milk-white Goate.

Against my Birth-day thou shalt be my guest :  
 Weele haue Greene-cheeses and fine Silly-bubs ;  
 And thou shalt be the chiefe of all my feast.  
 And I will giue thee two fine pretie Cubs,  
 With two young Whelps, to make thee sport withall,  
 A golden Racket, and a Tennis-ball.

A guilded Nutmeg, and a race of Ginger,  
 A silken Girdle, and a drawn-worke Band,  
 Cuffs for thy wrists, a gold Ring for thy finger,  
 And sweet Rose-water for thy Lilly-white hand,  
 A Purse of silke, bespangd with spots of gold,  
 As braue a one as ere thou didst behold.

A paire of Kniues, a greene Hat and a Feather,  
 New Gloues to put vpon thy milk-white hand  
 Ile giue thee, for to keep thee from the weather ;  
 With Phœnix feathers shall thy Face be fand,  
 Cooling those Cheekes, that being cool'd wexe red,  
 Like Lillyes in a bed of Roses shed.

Why doo thy Corall lips disdain to kisse,  
And sucke that Sweete, which manie haue desired ?  
That Baulme my Bane, that meanes would mend my misse :  
Oh let me then with thy sweete Lips b'inspired ;  
    When thy Lips touch my Lips, my Lips will turne  
    To Corall too, and being cold yce will burne.

Why should thy sweete Loue-locke hang dangling downe,  
Kissing thy girdle-steed with falling pride ?  
Although thy Skin be white, thy haire is browne :  
Oh let not then thy haire thy beautie hide ;  
    Cut off thy Locke, and sell it for gold wier :  
    (The purest gold is tryde in hottest fier).

Faire-long-haire-wearing *Absolon* was kild,  
Because he wore it in a brauerie :  
So that whiche gracle his Beautie, Beautie spild,  
Making him subiect to vile slauerie,  
    In being hangd : a death for him too good,  
    That sought his owne shame, and his Fathers blood.

Againe, we read of old King *Priamus*,  
(The haplesse syre of valiant *Hector* slaine)  
That his haire was so long and odious  
In youth, that in his age it bred his paine :  
    For if his haire had not been halfe so long,  
    His life had been, and he had had no wrong.

For when his stately Citie was destroyd  
(That Monument of great Antiquitie)  
When his poore hart (with grieffe and sorrow cloyd)  
Fled to his Wife (last hope in miserie ;)   
    *Pyrrhus* (more hard than Adamantine rockes)  
    Held him and halde him by his aged lockes.

These two examples by the way I show,  
To proue th'indecencie of mens long haire :  
Though I could tell thee of a thousand moe,  
Let these suffice for thee (my louely Faire)  
    Whose eye's my starre ; whose smiling is my Sunne ;  
    Whose loue did ende before my ioyes begunne.

Fond Loue is blinde, and so art thou (my Deare)  
 For thou seest not my Loue, and great desart ;  
 Blinde Loue is fond, and so thou dost appeare ;  
 For fond, and blinde, thou greeust my greeuing hart :  
     Be thou fond-blinde, blinde-fond, or one, or all ;  
     Thou art my Loue, and I must be thy thrall.

Oh lend thine yuorie fore-head for Loues Booke,  
 Thine eyes for candles to behold the same ;  
 That when dim-sighted ones therein shall looke  
 They may discerne that proud disdainefull Dame ;  
     Yet claspe that Booke, and shut that Cazement light ;  
     Lest th'one obscurde, the other shine too bright.

Sell thy sweet breath to th'daintie Musk-ball-makers ;  
 Yet sell it so as thou mayst soone redeeme it :  
 Let others of thy beauty be pertakers ;  
 Els none but *Daphnis* will so well esteeme it :  
     For what is Beauty except it be well knowne ?  
     And how can it be knowne, except first showne ?

Learne of the Gentlewomen of this Age,  
 That set their Beauties to the open view,  
 Making Disdaine their Lord, true Loue their Page ;  
 A Custome Zeale doth hate, Desert doth rue :  
     Learne to looke red, anon waxe pale and wan,  
     Making a mocke of Loue, a scorne of man.

A candle light, and couer'd with a vaile,  
 Doth no man good, because it giues no light ;  
 So Beauty of her beauty seemes to faile,  
 When being not seene it cannot shine so bright.  
     Then show thy selfe and know thy selfe withall,  
     Lest climing high thou catch too great a fall.

Oh foule Eclipser of that fayre sun-shine,  
 Which is intitled Beauty in the best ;  
 Making that mortall, which is els diuine,  
 That stains the fayre which Womens steeme not least :  
     Get thee to Hell againe (from whence thou art)  
     And leaue the Center of a Woman's hart.

Ah be not staine, (sweet Boy) with this vilde spot,  
Indulgence Daughter, Mother of mischaunce ;  
A blemish that doth euery beauty blot ;  
That makes them loath'd, but neuer doth aduaunce  
Her Clyents, fautors, friends ; or them that loue her ;  
And hates them most of all, that most reprove her.

Remember Age, and thou canst not be proud,  
For age puls downe the pride of euery man ;  
In youthfull yeares by Nature tis allowde  
To haue selfe-will, doo Nurture what she can ;  
Nature and Nurture once together met,  
The Soule and shape in decent order set.

Pride looks aloft, still staring on the starres,  
Humility looks lowly on the ground ;  
Th'one menaceth the Gods with ciuill warres,  
The other toyles til he haue Vertue found :  
His thoughts are humble, not aspiring hye ;  
But Pride looks haughtily with scornfull eye.

Humillity is clad in modest weedes,  
But Pride is braue and glorious to the show ;  
Humillity his friends with kindnes feedes,  
But Pride his friends (in neede) will neuer know :  
Supplying not their wants, but them disdainng ;  
Whilst they to pittie neuer neede complaying.

Humillity in misery is relieu'd,  
But Pride in neede of no man is regarded ;  
Pitty and Mercy weepe to see him grieu'd  
That in distresse had them so well rewarded :  
But Pride is scornd, contemnd, disdaind, derided,  
Whilst Humblenes of all things is prouided.

Oh then be humble, gentle, meeke, and milde ;  
So shalt thou be of euery mouth commended ;  
Be not disdainfull, cruell, proud, (sweet childe)  
So shalt thou be of no man much condemnd ;  
Care not for them that Vertue doo despise ;  
Vertue is loathde of fooles ; loude of the wise.

O faire Boy trust not to thy Beauties wings,  
 They cannot carry thee aboue the Sunne:  
 Beauty and wealth are transitory things,  
 (For all must ende that euer was begunne)  
 But Fame and Vertue neuer shall decay;  
 For Fame is toombles, Vertue liues for aye.

The snow is white, and yet the pepper's blacke,  
 The one is bought, the other is contemned:  
 Pibbles we haue, but store of Ieat we lacke;  
 So white comparde to blacke is much condemned:  
 We doo not praise the Swanne because shees white,  
 But for she doth in Musique much delite.

And yet the siluer-noted Nightingale,  
 Though she be not so white is more esteemed;  
 Sturgion is dun of hew, white is the Whale,  
 Yet for the daintier Dish the first is deemed;  
 What thing is whiter than the milke-bred Lilly?  
 Thou knowes it not for naught, what man so silly?

Yea what more noysomer vnto the smell  
 Than Lillies are? what's sweeter than the Sage?  
 Yet for pure white the Lilly beares the Bell  
 Till it be faded through decaying Age;  
 House-Doues are white, and Oozels Blacke-birds bee;  
 Yet what a difference in the taste, we see.

Compare the Cow and Calfe, with Ewe and Lambe;  
 Rough hayrie Hydes, with softest downy Fell;  
 Hecfar and Bull, with Weather and with Ramme,  
 And you shall see how far they doo excell;  
 White Kine with blacke, blacke Coney-skins with gray,  
 Kine, nesh and strong; skin, deare and cheape alway.

The whitest siluer is not alwaies best,  
 Lead, Tynne, and Pewter are of base esteeme;  
 The yellow burnisht gold, that comes from th'East,  
 And West (of late inuented), may beseeme  
 The worlds ritch Treasury, or *Mydas* eye;  
 (The Ritch mans God, poore mans felicitie.)

Bugle and Ieat, with snow and Alablaster  
I will compare : White Dammasin with blacke ;  
Bullas and wheaton Plumbs, (to a good Taster,)  
The ripe red Cherries haue the sweetest smacke ;  
    When they be greene and young, th'are sowre and naught ;  
    But being ripe, with eagerness th'are baught.

Compare the Wyld-cat to the brownish Beauer,  
Running for life, with hounds pursued sore ;  
When Hunts-men of her pretious Stones bereaue her  
(Which with her teeth sh'had bitten off before) :  
    Restoratiues, and costly curious Felts  
    Are made of them, and rich imbroydred Belts.

To what vse serues a peece of crimbling Chalke ?  
The Agget stone is white, yet good for nothing :  
Fie, fie, I am asham'd to heare thee talke ;  
Be not so much of thine owne Image doating :  
    So faire *Narcissus* lost his loue and life.  
    (Beautie is often with itselfe at strife).

Right Diamonds are of a russet hieu,  
The brightsome Carbuncles are red to see too,  
The Saphyre stone is of a watchet blue,  
(To this thou canst not chuse but soone agree too) :  
    Pearles are not white but gray, Rubies are red :  
    In praise of Blacke, what can be better sed ?

For if we doo consider of each mortall thing  
That flies in welkin, or in waters swims,  
How euerie thing increaseth with the Spring,  
And how the blacker still the brighter dims :  
    We cannot chuse, but needs we must confesse,  
    Sable excels milk-white in more or lesse.

As for example, in the christall cleare  
Of a sweete streame, or pleasant running Riuer,  
Where thousand formes of fishes will appeare,  
(Whose names to thee I cannot now deliuer :)  
    The blacker still the brighter haue disgrac'd,  
    For pleasant profit, and delicious taste.



Salmon and Trout are of a ruddie colour,  
Whiting and Dare is of a milk-white hiew :  
Nature by them (perhaps) is made the fuller,  
Little they nourish, be they old or new :  
Carp, Loach, Tench, Eeles (though black and bred in mud)  
Delight the tooth with taste, and breed good blud.

Innumerable be the kindes, if I could name them ;  
But I a Shepheard, and no Fisher am :  
Little it skills whether I praise or blame them,  
I onely meddle with my Ew and Lamb :  
Yet this I say, that blacke the better is,  
In birds, beasts, frute, stones, flowres, herbs, mettals, fish.

And last of all, in blacke there doth appeare  
Such qualities, as not in yuorie ;  
Black cannot blush for shame, looke pale for fear,  
Scorning to weare another liuorie.  
Blacke is the badge of sober Modestie,  
The wonted weare of ancient Grauetie.

The learned Sisters sute themselues in blacke,  
Learning abandons white, and lighter hues :  
Pleasure and Pride light colours neuer lacke ;  
But true Religion doth such Toyes refuse :  
Vertue and Grauity are sisters growne,  
Since blacke by both, and both by blacke are knowne.

White is the colour of each paltry Miller,  
White is the Ensigne of each comman Woman ;  
White, is white Vertues for blacke Vyces Piller ;  
White makes proud fooles inferiour vnto no man :  
White, is the white of Body, blacke of Minde,  
(Vertue we seldome in white Habit finde.)

Oh then be not so proud because th'art fayre,  
Vertue is onely the ritche gift of God :  
Let not selfe-pride thy vertues name impayre,  
Beate not greene youth with sharpe Repentance Rod :  
(A Fiend, a Monster, and mishapen Diuel ;  
Vertues foe, Vyces friend, the roote of euill.)

Apply thy minde to be a vertuous man,  
Auoyd ill company (the spoyle of youth ;)  
To follow Vertues Lore doo what thou can  
(Whereby great profit vnto thee ensu[e]th :)  
    Reade Bookes, hate Ignorance, (the foe to Art,  
    The Damme of Errour, Enuy of the hart).

Serue *Ioue* (vpon thy knees) both day and night,  
Adore his Name aboue all things on Earth :  
So shall thy vowes be gracious in his sight,  
So little Babes are blessed in their Birth :  
    Thinke on no worldly woe, lament thy sin ;  
    (For lesser cease, when greater griefes begin).

Swear no vaine oathes ; heare much, but little say ;  
Speake ill of no man, tend thine owne affaires,  
Bridle thy wrath, thine angrie mood delay ;  
(So shall thy minde be seldome cloyd with cares :)  
    Be milde and gentle in thy speech to all,  
    Refuse no honest gaine when it doth fall.

Be not beguild with words, proue not vngratefull,  
Releeue thy Neighbour in his greatest need,  
Commit no action that to all is hatefull,  
Their want with welth, the poore with plentie feed :  
    Twit no man in the teeth with what th'hast done ;  
    Remember flesh is fraile, and hatred shunne.

Leaue wicked things, which Men to mischiefe moue,  
(Least crosse mis-hap may thee in danger bring,)  
Craue no preferment of thy heauenly *Ioue*,  
Nor anie honor of thy earthly King :  
    Boast not thy selfe before th'Almighties sight,  
    (Who knowes thy hart, and anie wicked wight).

Be not offensiue to the peoples eye,  
See that thy praiers harts true zeale affords,  
Scorne not a man that's falne in miserie,  
Esteeme no tatling tales, nor babling words ;  
    That reason is exiled alwaies thinke,  
    When as a drunkard rayles amidst his drinke.

Use not thy louely lips to loathsome lyes,  
 By craftie meanes increase no worldly wealth ;  
 Striue not with mightie Men (whose fortune flies)  
 With temp'rate diet nourish wholesome health :  
     Place well thy words, leaue not thy frend for gold ;  
     First trie, then trust ; in ventring be not bold.

In *Pan* repose thy trust ; extoll his praise  
 (That neuer shall decay, but euer liues):  
 Honor thy Parents (to prolong thy dayes),  
 Let not thy left hand know what right hand giues :  
     From needie men turn not thy face away,  
     (Though Charitie be now yclad in clay).

Heare Shepherds oft (thereby great wisdome growes),  
 With good aduice a sober answer make :  
 Be not remoou'd with euery winde that blowes,  
 (That course doo onely sinfull sinners take).  
     Thy talke will shew thy fame or els thy shame ;  
     (As pratling tongue doth often purchase blame).

Obtaine a faithfull frend that will not faile thee,  
 Thinke on thy Mothers paine in her child-bearing,  
 Make no debate, least quickly thou bewaile thee,  
 Visit the sicke with comfortable chearing :  
     Pittie the prisner, helpe the fatherlesse,  
     Reuenge the Widdowes wrongs in her distresse.

Thinke on thy graue, remember still thy end,  
 Let not thy winding-sheete be staine with guilt,  
 Trust not a fained reconciled frend,  
 More than an open foe (that blood hath spilt)  
     (Who tutcheth pitch, with pitch shalbe defiled),  
     Be not with wanton companie beguiled.

Take not a flattring woman to thy wife,  
 A shameles creature, full of wanton words,  
 (Whose bad, thy good ; whose lust will end thy life,  
 Cutting thy hart with sharpe two edged swords :)  
     Cast not thy minde on her whose lookes allure,  
     But she that shines in Truth and Vertue pure.

Praise not thy selfe, let other men commend thee ;  
Beare not a flattring tongue to glauer anie,  
Let Parents due correction not offend thee :  
Rob not thy neighbor, seeke the loue of manie ;  
Hate not to heare good Counsell giuen thee,  
Lay not thy money vnto Vsurie.

Restraine thy steps from too much libertie,  
Fulfill not th'enuious mans malitious minde ;  
Embrace thy Wife, liue not in lecherie ;  
Content thyselfe with what Fates haue assignde :  
Be rul'd by Reason, Warning dangers saue ;  
True Age is reuerend worship to thy graue.

Be patient in extreame Aduersitie,  
(Man's chiefest credit growes by dooing well,)  
Be no high-minded in Prosperity ;  
Falshood abhorre, nor lying fable tell.  
Giue not thy selfe to Sloth, (the sinke of Shame,  
The moath of Time, the enemie to Fame.)

This leare I learned of a Bel-dame Trot,  
(When I was yong and wylde as now thou art) :  
But her good counsell I regarded not ;  
I markt it with my eares, not with my hart :  
But now I finde it too-too true (my Sonne),  
When my Age-withered Spring is almost done.

Behold my gray head, full of siluer haire,  
My wrinckled skin, deepe furrowes in my face :  
Cares bring Old-Age, Old-Age increaseth cares ;  
My Time is come, and I haue run my Race :  
Winter hath snow'd vpon my hoarie head,  
And with my Winter all my ioyes are dead.

And thou loue-hating Boy, (whom once I loued),  
Farewell, a thousand-thousand times farewell ;  
My Teares the Marble Stones to ruth haue moued ;  
My sad Complaints the babling Ecchoes tell :  
And yet thou wouldst take no compassion on mee,  
Scorning that crosse which Loue hath laid vpon mee.

The hardest steele with fier doth mend his misse,  
 Marble is mollifyde with drops of Raine ;  
 But thou (more hard than Steele or Marble is)  
 Doost scorne my Teares, and my true loue disdaine,  
 Which for thy sake shall euerlasting bee,  
 Wrote in the Annalls of Eternitie.

By this, the Night (with darknes ouer-spred)  
 Had drawne the curtaines of her cole-blacke bed ;  
 And *Cynthia* muffling her face with a clowd,  
 (Lest all the world of her should be too prowde)  
 Had taken *Conge* of the sable Night,  
 (That wanting her cannot be halfe so bright ;)

When I poore forlorne man and outcast creature  
 (Despairing of my Loue, despise of Beautie)  
 Grew male-content, scorning his louely feature,  
 That had disdained my euer-zealous dutie :  
 I hy'd me homeward by the Moone-shine light ;  
 Forswearing Loue, and all his fond delight.

FINIS.





# The Shepherds Content

OR

The happines of a harmless life.

Written upon Occasion of the

*former Subject.*



F all the kindes of common Countrey life,  
 Me thinkes a Shepherds life is most Con-  
 tent ;  
 His State is quiet Peace, deuoyd of strife ;  
 His thoughts are pure from all impure  
 intent,  
 His Pleasures rate sits at an easie rent :  
 He beares no mallice in his harmles hart,  
 Malicious meaning hath in him no part.

He is not troubled with th'afflicted minde,  
 His cares are onely ouer silly Sheepe ;  
 He is not vnto Iealozie inclinde,  
 (Thrice happie Man) he knowes not how to weepe ;  
 Whil'st I the Treble in deepe sorrowes keepe ;  
 I cannot keepe the Meane ; for why (alas)  
 Griefes haue no meane, though I for meane doe passe.

No Briefes nor Semi-Briefes are in my Songs,  
 Because (alas) my grieffe is seldome shoot ;  
 My Prick-Song's alwayes full of Largues and Longs,  
 (Because I neuer can obtaine the Port  
 Of my desires : Hope is a happie Fort.)  
 Prick-song (indeed) because it pricks my hart ;  
 And Song, because sometimes I ease my smart.

The mightie Monarch of a royall Realme,  
Swaying his Scepter with a Princely pompe ;  
Of his desires cannot so steare the Healme,  
But sometime falls into a deadly dumpe,  
When as he heares the shrilly-sounding Trumpe  
Of Forren Enemies, or home-bred Foes ;  
His minde of grieve, his hart is full of woes.

Or when bad subjects gainst their Soueraigne  
(Like hollow harts) vnnaturally rebell,  
How carefull is he to suppress againe  
Their desperate forces, and their powers to quell  
With loyall harts, till all (again) be well :  
When (being subdu'd) his care is rather more  
To keepe them vnder, than it was before.

Thus is he neuer full of sweete Content,  
But either this or that his ioy debars :  
Now Noble-men gainst Noble-men are bent,  
Now Gentlemen and others fall at iarrs :  
Thus is his Countrey full of ciuill warrs ;  
He still in danger sits, still fearing Death :  
For Traitors seeke to stop their Princes breath.

The whylst the other hath noemie,  
Without it be the Wolfe and cruell Fates  
(Which no man spare): when as his disagree  
He with his sheep-hooke knaps them on the pates,  
Schooling his tender Lambs from wanton gates :  
Beasts are more kinde then Men, Sheepe seeke not blood  
But countrey caytiues kill their Countreyes good.

The Courtier he fawn's for his Princes fauour,  
In hope to get a Princely ritche Reward ;  
His tongue is tipt with honey for to glauer ;  
Pride deales the Deck whilst Chance doth choose the Card,  
Then comes another and his Game hath mard ;  
Sitting betwixt him, and the morning Sun :  
Thus Night is come before the Day is done.



Some Courtiers carefull of their Princes health,  
Attends his Person with all dilligence  
Whose hand's their hart ; whose welfare is their wealth,  
Whose safe Protection is their sure Defence,  
For pure affection, not for hope of pence :  
Such is the faithfull hart, such is the minde,  
Of him that is to Vertue still inclinde.

The skilfull Scholler, and braue man at Armes,  
First plies his Booke, last fights for Countries Peace ;  
Th'one feares Obliuion, th'other fresh Alarmes ;  
His paines nere ende, his trauailes neuer cease ;  
His with the Day, his with the Night increase :  
He studies how to get eternall Fame ;  
The Souldier fights to win a glorious Name.

The Knight, the Squire, the Gentleman, the Clowne,  
Are full of crosses and calamities ;  
Lest fickle Fortune should begin to frowne,  
And turne their mirth to extreame miseries :  
Nothing more certaine than incertainties ;  
Fortune is full of fresh varietie :  
Constant in nothing but inconstancie.

The wealthie Merchant that doth crosse the Seas,  
To *Denmarke, Poland, Spaine, and Barbarie* ;  
For all his ritches, liues not still at ease ;  
Sometimes he feares ship-spyling Pyracie,  
Another while decept and treacherie  
Of his owne Factors in a forren Land ;  
Thus doth he still in dread and danger stand.

Well is he tearmd a Merchant-Venturer,  
Since he doth venter lands, and goods, and all :  
When he doth trauell for his Traffique far,  
Little he knowes what fortune may befall,  
Or rather what mis-fortune happen shall :  
Sometimes he splits his Ship against a rocke ;  
Loosing his men, his goods, his wealth, his stocke.

And if he so escape with life away,  
 He counts himselfe a man most fortunate,  
 Because the waues their rigorous rage did stay,  
 (When being within their cruell powers of late,  
 The Seas did seeme to pittie his estate)  
 But yet he neuer can recouer health,  
 Because his ioy was drowned with his wealth.

The painfull Plough-swaine, and the Husband-man  
 Rise vp each morning by the breake of day,  
 Taking what toyle and drudging paines they can,  
 And all is for to get a little stay;  
 And yet they cannot put their care away:  
 When Night is come, their cares begin afresh,  
 Thinking vpon their Morrowes busines.

Thus euerie man is troubled with vnrest,  
 From rich to poore, from high to low degree:  
 Therefore I thinke that man is truly blest,  
 That neither cares for wealth nor pouertie,  
 But laughs at Fortune and her foolerie;  
 That giues rich Churles great store of golde and fee,  
 And lets poore Schollers liue in miserie,

O fading Branches of decaying Bayes  
 Who now will water your dry-wither'd Armes?  
 Or where is he that sung the louely Layes  
 Of simple Shepherds in their Countrey-Farmes?  
 Ah he is dead, the cause of all our harmes:  
 And with him dide my ioy and sweete delight;  
 And cleare to Clowdes, the Day is turnd to Night.

SYDNEY. The Syren of this latter Age;  
 SYDNEY. The Blasing-starre of England's glory;  
 SYDNEY. The Wonder of wise and sage;  
 SYDNEY. The Subiect of true Vertues story;  
 This Syren, Starre, this Wonder, and this Subiect;  
 In dumbe, dim, gone, and mard by Fortunes Obiect.

And thou my sweete *Amintas* vertuous minde,  
Should I forget thy Learning or thy Loue ;  
Well might I be accounted but vnkinde,  
Whose pure affection I so oft did proue :  
Might my poore Plaints hard stones to pittie moue ;  
His losse should be lamented of each Creature,  
So great his Name, so gentle was his Nature.

But sleepe his soule in sweet Elysium,  
(The happy Hauen of eternall rest :)  
And let me to my former matter come,  
Prouing by Reason, Shepheard's life is best,  
Because he harbours Vertue in his Brest ;  
And is content (the chiefest thing of all)  
With any fortune that shall him befall.

He sits all Day lowd-piping on a Hill,  
The whilst his flocke about him daunce apace,  
His hart with ioy, his eares with Musique fill :  
Anon a bleating Weather beares the Bace,  
A Lambe the Treble ; and to his disgrace  
Another answers like a middle Meane :  
Thus euery one to beare a Part are faine.

Like a great King he rules a little Land,  
Still making Statutes, and ordaying Lawes ;  
Which if they breake, he beates them with his Wand :  
He doth defend them from the greedy Iawes  
Of rau'ning Woolues, and Lyons bloody Pawes.  
His Field, his Realme ; his Subiects are his Sheepe ;  
Which he doth still in due obedience keepe.

First he ordaines by Act of Parliament,  
(Holden by custome in each Countrey Towne),  
That if a sheepe (with any bad intent)  
Presume to breake the neighbour Hedges downe,  
Or haunt strange Pastures that be not his owne ;  
He shall be pounded for his lustines,  
Vntill his Master finde out some redres.

Also if any proue a Strageller  
 From his owne fellowes in a forraine field,  
 He shall be taken for a wanderer,  
 And forc'd himselve immediatly to yeeld,  
 Or with a wyde-mouth'd Mastiue Curre be kild.  
 And if not claimd within a twelue-month's space,  
 He shall remaine with Land-lord of the place.

Or if one stray to feede far from the rest,  
 He shall be pincht by his swift pye-bald Curre ;  
 If any by his fellowes be opprest,  
 The wronger (for he doth all wrong abhorre)  
 Shall be well bangd so long as he can sturre.  
 Because he did anoy his harmeles Brother,  
 That meant not harme to him nor any other.

And last of all, if any wanton Weather,  
 With briers and brambles teare his fleece in twaine,  
 He shall be forc'd t'abide cold frosty weather,  
 And powring showres of ratling stormes of raine,  
 Till his new fleece begins to grow againe :  
 And for his rashnes he is doom'd to goe  
 without a new Coate all the Winter throw.

Thus doth he keepe them, still in awfull feare,  
 And yet allowes them liberty inough ;  
 So deare to him their welfare doth appeare,  
 That when their fleeces gin to waxen rough,  
 He combs and trims them with a Rampicke bough,  
 Washing them in the streames of siluer *Ladon*,  
 To cleanse their skinnes from all corruption.

Another while he woos his Country Wench,  
 (With Chaplets crownd, and gaudy girlonds dight)  
 Whose burning Lust her modest eye doth quench,  
 Standing amazed at her heauenly sight,  
 (Beauty doth rauish Sense with sweet Delight)  
 Clearing *Arcadia* with a smoothed Browe  
 When Sun-bright smiles melts flakes of driuen snowe.

Thus doth he frolicke it each day by day,  
And when Night comes drawes homeward to his Coate,  
Singing a Iigge or merry Roundelay ;  
(For who sings commonly so merry a Noate,  
As he that cannot chop or change a groate)  
And in the winter Nights (his chiefe desire)  
He turns a Crabbe or Cracknell in the fire.

He leads his Wench a Country Horn-pipe Round,  
About a May-pole on a Holy-day ;  
Kissing his louely Lasse (with Garlands Crownd)  
With whoopping heigh-ho singing Care away ;  
Thus doth he passe the merry month of May :  
And all th'yere after in delight and ioy,  
(Scorning a King) he cares for no annoy.

What though with simple cheere he homely fares ?  
He liues content, a King can doo no more ;  
Nay not so much, for Kings haue manie cares :  
But he hath none ; except it be that sore  
Which yong and old, which vexeth ritche and poore,  
The pangs of Loue. O ! who can vanquish Loue ?  
That conquers Kingdomes, and the Gods aboute ?

Deepe-wounding Arrow, hart-consuming Fire ;  
Ruler of Reason, slaue to tyraunt Beautie ;  
Monarch of harts, Fuell of fond desire,  
Prentice to Folly, foe to faind Duetie.  
Pledge of true Zeale, Affections moitie ;  
If thou kilst where thou wilt, and whom it list thee,  
(Alas) how can a silly Soule resist thee ?

By thee great *Collin* lost his libertie,  
By thee sweet *Astrophel* forwent his ioy ;  
By thee *Amyntas* wept incessantly,  
By thee good *Rowland* liu'd in great annoy ;  
O cruell, peeuish, vylde, blind-seeing Boy :  
How canst thou hit their harts, and yet not see ?  
(If thou be blinde, as thou art faind to bee).

A Shepherd loues no ill, but onely thee ;  
 He hath no care, but onely by thy causing :  
 Why doost thou shoot thy cruell shafts at mee ?  
 Giue me some respite, some short time of pausing :  
 Still my sweet Loue with bitter lucke th'art sawcing :  
 Oh, if thou hast a minde to shew thy might ;  
 Kill mightie Kings, and not a wretched wight.

Yet (O Enthraller of infranchizd harts)  
 At my poor hart if thou wilt needs be ayming,  
 Doo me the fauour, show me both thy Darts,  
 That I may chuse the best for my harts mayming,  
 (A free consent is priuiledgd from blaming :)  
 Then pierce his hard hart with thy golden Arrow,  
 That thou my wrong, that he may rue my sorrow.

But let mee feele the force of thy lead Pyle,  
 What should I doo with loue when I am old ?  
 I know not how to flatter, fawne, or smyle ;  
 Then stay thy hand, O cruell Bow-man hold :  
 For if thou strik'st me with thy dart of gold,  
 I swear to thee (by Ioues immortall curse)  
 I haue more in my hart, than in my purse.

The more I weepe, the more he bends his Bow,  
 For in my hart a golden Shaft I finde :  
 (Cruell, vnkinde) and wilt thou leaue me so ?  
 Can no remorse nor pittie moue thy minde ?  
 Is Mercie in the Heauens so hard to finde ?  
 Oh, then it is no meruaile that on earth  
 Of kinde Remorce there is so great a dearth.

How happie were a harmles Shepherds life,  
 If he had neuer knowen what Loue did meane ;  
 But now fond Loue in euery place is rife,  
 Staining the purest Soule with spots vncleane,  
 Making thicke purses, thin : and fat bodies, leane :  
 Loue is a fiend, a fire, a heauen, a hell ;  
 Where pleasure, paine, and sad repentance dwell.

There are so manie *Danaes* nowadayes,  
That loue for lucre; paine for gaine is sold:  
No true affection can their fancie please,  
Except it be a *Ioue*, to raine downe gold  
Into their laps, which they wyde open hold:  
If *legem pone* comes, he is receau'd,  
When *Vix haud habeo* is of hope bereau'd.

Thus haue I showed in my Countrey vaine  
The sweet Content that Shepherds still inioy;  
The mickle pleasure, and the little paine  
That euer doth awayte the Shepherds Boy:  
His hart is neuer troubled with annoy.  
He is a King, for he commands his Sheepe;  
He knowes no woe, for he doth seldome weepe.

He is a Courtier, for he courts his Loue:  
He is a Scholler, for he sings sweet Ditties:  
He is a Souldier, for he wounds doth proue;  
He is the fame of Townes, the shame of Citties;  
He scornes false Fortune, put true Vertue pitties.  
He is a Gentleman, because his nature  
Is kinde and affable to euerie Creature.

Who would not then a simple Sheheard bee,  
Rather than be a mightie Monarch made?  
Since he inioyes such perfect libertie,  
As neuer can decay, nor neuer fade:  
He seldome sits in dolefull Cypresse shade,  
But liues in hope, in ioy, in peace, in blisse:  
Ioying all ioy with this content of his.

But now good-fortune lands my little Boate  
Vpon the shoare of his desired rest:  
Now I must leaue (awhile) my rurall noate,  
To thinke on him whom my soule loueth best;  
He that can make the most vnhappy blest:  
In whose sweete lap Ile lay me downe to sleepe,  
And neuer wake till Marble-stones shall weepe.





## SONNET.



OE here behold these tributarie Teares  
 Paid to thy faire, but cruell tyrant Eyes ;  
 Loe here the blossome of my youthfull  
 yeares,  
 Nipt with the fresh of thy Wraths winter,  
 dyes,

Here on Loues Altar I doo offer vp  
 This burning hart for my Soules sacrifice ;  
 Here I receaue this deadly-poysned Cu[p]  
 Of *Circe* charm'd ; wherein deepe Magicke lyes.

Then Teares (if thou be happie Teares indeed),  
 And Hart (if thou be lodged in his brest),  
 And Cup (if thou canst helpe despaire with speed) ;  
 Teares, Hart, and Cup conjoyne to make me blest :  
 Teares moue, Hart win, Cup cause, ruth, loue, desire,  
 In word, in deed, by moane, by zeale, by fire.

FINIS.





# THE COMPLAINT OF CHASTITIE.

Briefely touching the cause of the death of *Matilda Fitzwalters* an English Ladie ; sometime loued of King *Iohn*, after poysoned. The Storie is at large written by *Michael Dreyton*.



Ou modest Dames, inricht with Chastitie.  
Maske your bright eyes with *Vestacs* sable  
Vaile,  
Since few are left so faire or chast as shee ;  
(Matter for me to weepe, you to bewaile):  
For manie seeming so, of Vertue faile ;  
Whose louely Cheeks (with rare ver-  
million tainted)  
Can neuer blush because their faire is  
painted.

O faire-foule Tincture, staine of Woman-kinde,  
Mother of Mischiefe, Daughter of Deceate,  
False traitor to the Soule, blot to the Minde,  
Vsurping Tyrant of true Beauties seate,  
Right Cousner of the eye, lewd Follies baite,  
The flag of filthines, the sinke of shame,  
The Diuells dye, dishonour of thy name.

Monster of Art, Bastard of bad Desier,  
 Il-worshipt Idoll, false Imagerie,  
 Ensigne of Vice, to thine owne selfe a lier,  
 Silent Inchaunter, mindes Anātomie,  
 Sly Bawd to Lust, Pandor to Infamie,  
     Slaunder of Truth, Truth of Dissimulation ;  
     Staining our Clymate more than anie Nature.

What shall I say to thee ? thou scorne of Nature,  
 Blacke spot of sinne, vylde lure of lecherie ;  
 Iniurious Blame to euerie faemale creature,  
 Wronger of time, Broker of trecherie,  
 Trap of greene youth, false Womens witcherie,  
 Hand-maid of pride, high-way to wickednesse ;  
     Yet path-way to Repentance, nere the lesse.

Thou dost entice the minde to dooing euill,  
 Thou setst dissention twixt the man and wife ;  
 A Saint in show, and yet indeed a deuill :  
 Thou art the cause of euerie common strife ;  
 Thou art the life of Death, the death of Life !  
     Thou doost betray thyselfe to Infamie,  
     When thou art once discerned by the eye.

Ah, little knew *Matilda* of thy being,  
 Those times were pure from all impure complection ;  
 Then Loue came at Desert, Desert of seeing,  
 Then Vertue was the mother of Affection,  
 (But Beautie now is vnder no subiection),  
     Then women were the same that men did deeme,  
     But now they are the same they doo not seeme.

What fæmale now intreated of a King  
 With gold and iewels, pearles and precious stones,  
 Would willingly refuse so sweete a thing ?  
 Onely for a little show of Vertue ones ?  
 Women haue kindnes grafted in their bones.  
     Gold is a deepe-perswading Orator,  
     Especially where few the fault abhor.

But yet shee rather deadly poyson chose,  
(Oh cruell Bane of most accursed Clime ;) )  
Than staine that milk-white Mayden-virgin Rose,  
Which shee had kept vnspotted till that time :  
And not corrupted with this earthly slime  
Her soule shall liue : inclosd eternally,  
In that pure shrine of Immortality.

This is my Doome : and this shall come to passe,  
For what are Pleasures but still-vading ioyes ?  
Fading as flowers, brittle as a glasse,  
Or Potters Clay ; crost with the least annoyes ;  
All things in this life are but trifling Toyes :  
But Fame and Vertue neuer shall decay,  
For Fame is Toomblesse, Vertue liues for aye !

*F I N I S.*





# Hellens Rape.

O R

A light Lanthorne for light Ladies.

Written in English Hexameters.



*Onely a Lasse, so loued a Lasse, and (alas) such  
a louing*

*Lasse, for a while (but a while) was none such  
a sweet bonny Loue-Lasse*

*As Helen, Mænelaus louing, low'd, loulie a  
loue-lasse,*

*Till spightfull Fortune from a loue-lasse made  
her a loue-lesse*

*Wife. From a wise woman to a wittles vvanton abandond,  
When her mate (vnawares) made warres in Peloponessus,  
Adultrous Paris (then a Boy) kept sheepe as a shepheard  
On Ida Mountaine, vnknowne to the King for a Keeper  
Of sheep, on Ida Mountaine, as a Boy, as a shepheard :  
Yet such sheep he kept, and was so seemlie a shepheard,  
Seemlie a Boy, so seemlie a youth, so seemlie a Younker,  
That on Ida was not such a Boy, such a youth, such a Younker.  
Sonne now reconcil'd to the Father, fained a letter  
Sent him by Iupiter (the greatest God in Olympus)  
For to repaire with specde to the brauest Græcian Haucn,*

*And to redeeme againe Hesyone latelie reuolted  
From Troy by Ajax, whom she had newly betrothed.  
Well, so well he told his tale to his Aunt Amaryllis  
That Amaryllis, (his Aunt,) obtaind aid of his aged  
Syre, that he sent him a ship, and made Capten of Argus.  
Great store went to Greece with lust-bewitched Alexis,  
Telamour, and Tydias : with these he sliceth the salt seas,  
The salt seas slicing, at length he comes to the firme land,  
Firme land an auntient Iland cald old Lacedæmon.  
Argus (eye full Earle) when first the ken of a Castle  
He had spide bespake : (to the Mate, to the men, to the Mates-man)  
Lo behold of Greece (quoth he) the great Cytadella.  
(Ycleaped Menela) so tearmed of Deliaes Husband :  
Happie Helen, Womens most woonder, beautifull Helen.  
Oh would God (quoth he) with a flattring Tongue he repeated :  
Oh would God (quoth he) that I might deserue to be husband  
To such a happie huswife, to such a beautifull Helen.  
This he spake to intice the minde of a lecherous young-man :  
But what spurres need now, for an vntam'd Titt to be trotting :  
Or to add old Oile to the flame, new flaxe to the fier :  
Paris heard him hard, and gaue good eare to his hearkening :  
And then his loue to a lust, his lust was turnd to a fier,  
Fier was turnd to a flame, and flame was turnd to a burning  
Brand : and mothers Dreame was then most truelie resolued.  
Well so far th'are come, that now th'are come to the Castle,  
Castle all of stone, yet euerie stone vvas a Castle :  
Euerie foote had a Fort, and euerie Fort had a fountaine,  
Euerie fountaine a spring, and euerie spring had a spurting  
Streame : so strong without, vwithin, so stately a building,  
Neuer afore vvas seene ; If neuer afore Polyphœbe  
Was seene : vvas to be seene, if nere to be seene vvas Olympus.  
Flowers vvere framd of flints, Walls, Rubies, Rafters of Argent :  
Pauement of Chrisolite, Windows contriu'd of a Cristall :  
Vessels were of gold, with gold was each thing adorned :  
Golden Webs more worth than a vvealthy Souldan of Egypt,  
And her selfe more vworth than a vvealthy Souldan of Egypt :*



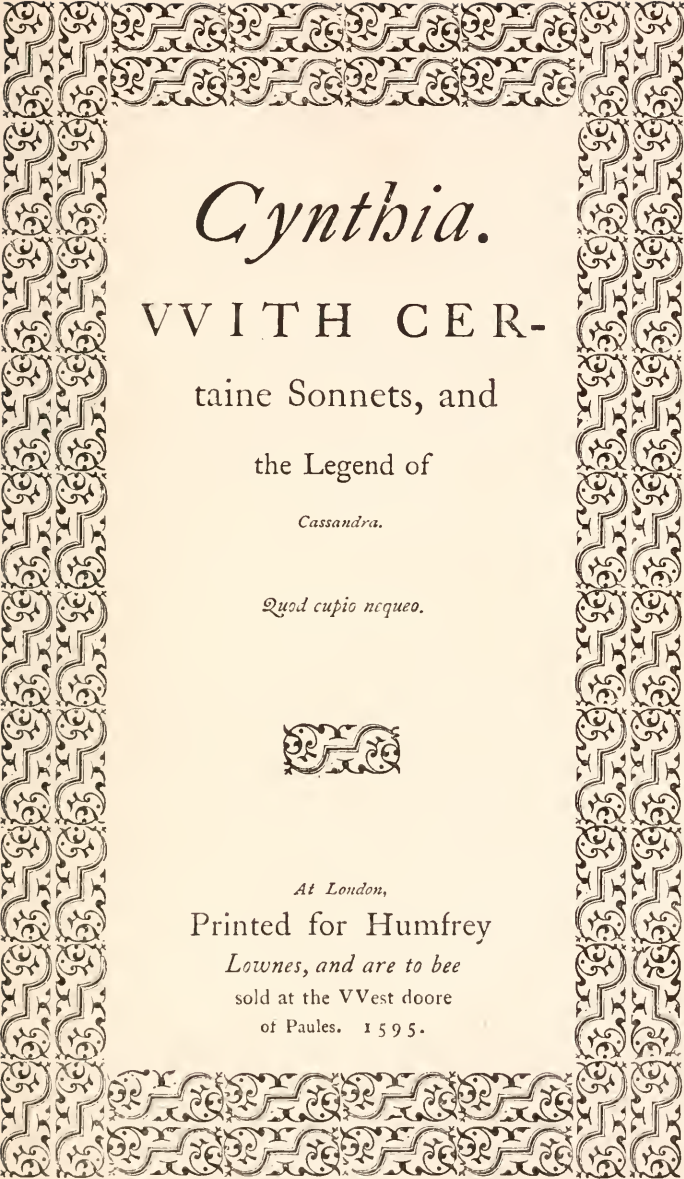
*And her selfe more worth than all the wealth shee possessed ;  
 Selfe ? indeede such a selfe, as thundring Ioue in Olympus,  
 Though he were father could finde in his hart to be husband.  
 Embassage ended, to the Queene of faire Lacedæmon ;  
 (Happie King of a Queene so faire, of a Countrey so famous)  
 Embassage ended, a Banquet braue was appointed :  
 Sweet Repast for a Prince, fine Iunkets fit for a Kings sonne.  
 Biskets and Carrawayes, Confets, Tart, Plate, Ielley, Ginger-  
 bread,*

*Lymons and Medlars : and Dishes moe by a thousand.  
 First they fell to the feast, and after fall to a Dauncing,  
 And from a Dance to a Trance, from a Trance they fell to a falling,  
 Either in other armes, and either in armes of another.  
 Pastime ouer-past, and Banquet duely prepared,  
 Deuoutly pared : Each one hies home to his owne home,  
 Saue Lord and Ladie ; Young Lad, but yet such an old Lad,  
 In such a Ladies lappe, at such a slipperie by-blow,  
 That in a vworld so vvilde, could not be found such a wilie  
 Lad : in an Age so old, could not be found such an old lad :  
 Old lad, and bold lad, such a Boy, such a lustie Iuuentus :  
 Well to their vvorke they goe, and both they iumble in one Bed :  
 Worke so well they like, that they still like to be vvorking :  
 For Aurora mounts before he leaues to be mounting :  
 And Astræa fades before she faints to be falling :  
 (Helen a light Huswife, now a lightsome starre in Olympus.)*

F I N I S .







*Cynthia.*

VVITH CER-

taine Sonnets, and

the Legend of

*Cassandra.*

*Quod cupio nequeo.*



*At London,*

Printed for Humfrey

*Lownes, and are to bee*

sold at the VVest doore

of Paules. 1595.



To the Right Honorable, and  
 most noble-minded Lorde,  
 William Stanley, Earle of  
 Darby, &c.

**R**ight Honorable, the dutifull affection I beare to your  
 manie vertues, is cause, that to manifest my loue to  
 your Lordship, I am constrained to shew my simple-  
 nes to the world. Many are they that admire your  
 worth, of the which number, I (though the meanest in abilitie, yet  
 with the formost in affection) am one that most desire to serue, and  
 onely to serue your Honour.

Small is the gift, but great is my good-will; the which, by how  
 much the lesse I am able to expresse it, by so much the more it is  
 infinite. Live long: and inherit your Predecessors vertues, as  
 you doe their dignitie and estate. This is my wish: the which your  
 honorable excellent giftes doe promise me to obtaine: and whereof  
 these few rude and vnpolished lines, are a true (though an vn-  
 deserving) testimony. If my ability were better, the signes should  
 be greater; but being as it is, your honour must take me as I am,  
 not as I should be. My yeares being so young, my perfection can-  
 not be greater: But howsoever it is, yours it is; and I my selfe am  
 yours; in all humble seruice, most ready to be commaunded.

Richard Barnefeilde.

To the curteous Gentlemen Readers.

**G**entlemen; the last Terme [*i.e.*, November 1594] there came forth a little toy of mine, intituled, *The affectionate Shepheard*: In the which, his Country Content found such friendly fauor, that it hath encouraged me to publish my second fruites.

*The affectionate Shepheard* being the first: howsoever undeseruedly (I protest) I haue beene thought (of some) to haue beene the authour of two Books heretofore. I neede not to name them, because they are two-well knowne already: nor will I deny them, because they are dislik't; but because they are not mine. This protestation (I hope) will satisfie th'indifferent: as for them that are maliciously enuious, as I cannot, so I care not to please. Some there were, that did interpret *The affectionate Shepheard*, otherwise then (in truth) I meant, touching the subiect thereof, to wit, the loue of a Shepheard to a boy; a fault, the which I will not excuse, because I neuer made. Onely this, I will vnshadow my conceit: being nothing else, but an imitation of *Virgill*, in the second Eglogue of *Alexis*. In one or two places (in this Booke) I vse the name of *Eliza* pastorally: wherein, lest any one should misconster my meaning (as I hope none will) I haue here briefly discouered my harmeles conceit as concerning that name: whereof once (in a simple Shepherds deuice) I wrot this Epigramme.

*One name there is, which name aboue all other  
I most esteeme, as time and place shall proue:  
The one is Vesta, th'other Cupids Mother,  
The first my Goddesses is, the last my loue;  
Subiect to Both I am: to that by berth;  
To this for beautie; fairest on the earth.*

Thus, hoping you will beare with my rude conceit of *Cynthia*, (if for no other cause, yet, for that it is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet, Maister *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*) I will leaue you to the reading of that, which I so much desire may breed your Delight.

*Richard Barnefeild.*

T. T. in commendation of the  
*Authour his worke.*

**W**Hylom that in a shepherds gray coate masked,  
(Where masked loue the nonage of his skill)  
Reares new Eagle-winged pen, new tasked,  
To scale the by-clift Muse sole-pleasing hill :  
Dropping sweete Nectar poesie from his quill,  
Admires faire C Y N T H I A with his iuory pen  
Faire C Y N T H I A lou'd, fear'd, of Gods and men.

Downe sliding from that cloudes ore-pearing mountaine :  
Decking with double grace the neighbour plaines, [fountain,  
Drawes christall dew, from P E G A S E foote-sprung  
Whose flower set banks, delights, sweet choice containes :  
Nere yet discoverd to the country swaines :  
Heere bud those branches, which adorne his turtle,  
With loue made garlands, of heart-bleeding Mirtle.

Rays'd from the cynders, of the thrice-sact towne :  
I L L I O N S sooth-telling S Y B I L L I S T' appeares,  
Eclipsing P H O E B U S loue, with scornfull frowne,  
Whose tragicke end, affords warme-water teares,  
(For pittie-wanting P A C O E, none forbeares)  
Such period haps, to beauties price ore-priz'd :  
Where I A N V S-faced loue, doth lurke disguis'd.

Nere-waining C Y N T H I A yeelds thee triple thanks,  
Whose beames vnborrowed darke the worlds faire eie  
And as full streames that euer fill their bankes,  
So those rare Sonnets, where wits ripe doth lie,  
With Troian Nymph, doe soare thy fame to skie.  
And those, and these, contend thy Muse to raise  
(Larke mounting Muse) with more then common praise.



*To his Mistresse.*

**B**right Starre of Beauty, fairest Faire alieu,  
 Rare president of peerelesse chastity;  
 (In whom the Muses and the Graces striue,  
 VVhich shall possesse the chiefest part of thee : )  
 Oh let these simple lines accepted bee :  
 VVhich here I offer at thy sacred shrine :  
 Sacred, because sweet Beauty is diuine.

And though I cannot please each curious eare,  
 With sugred Noates of heauenly Harmonie :  
 Yet if my loue shall to thy selfe appeare,  
 No other Muse I will inuoke but thee :  
 And if thou wilt my faire *Thalia* be,  
 Ile sing sweet Hymnes and praises to thy name,  
 In that cleare Temple of eternall Fame.

But ah (alas) how can mine infant Muse  
 (That neuer heard of *Helicon* before)  
 Performe my promise past : when they refuse  
 Poore Shepherds Plaints ? yet will I still adore  
 Thy sacred Name, al though I write no more :  
 Yet hope I shall, if this accepted bee :  
 If not, in silence sleepe eternally.





## CYNTHIA.



Now was the Welkyn all inuelloped  
 With duskie Mantle of the sable Night :  
 And CYNTHIA lifting vp her drouping  
 head,  
 Blusht at the Beautie of her borrowed  
 light,  
 When Sleepe now summon'd euey  
 mortal wight.

Then loe (me thought) I saw or seem'd to see,  
 An heauenly Creature like an Angell bright,  
 That in great haste came pacing towards me :  
 Was neuer mortall eye beheld so faire a Shee.

Thou lazie man (quoth she) what mak'st thou heere  
 (Luld in the lap of Honours Enimie ?)  
 I heere commaund thee now for to appeare  
 (By vertue of I O V E S mickle Maiestie)  
 In yonder Wood. (Which with her finger shee  
 Out-poynting) had no sooner turn'd her face,  
 And leauing mee to muze what she should bee,  
 Yuanished into some other place :  
 But strait (me thought) I saw a rout of heauenlie Race.



Downe in a Dale, hard by a Forrest side,  
 (Vnder the shaddow of a loftie Pine,)  
 Not far from whence a trickling streame did glide,  
 Did nature by her secret art combine,  
 A pleasant Arbour, of a spreading Vine:  
 Wherein Art stroue with nature to compaire,  
 That made it rather seeme a thing diuine  
 Being scituate all in the open Aire:  
 A fairer nere was seene, if any seene so faire.

There might one see, and yet not see (indeede)  
 Fresh *Flora* flourishing in chieftest Prime,  
 Arrayed all in gay and gorgeous weede,  
 The Primrose and sweet-smelling Eglantine,  
 As fitted best beguiling so the time:  
 And euer as she went she strewd the place,  
 Red-roses mixt with Daffadillies fine,  
 For Gods and Goddesses, that in like case  
 In this same order sat, with il-beseeming grace.

First, in a royall Chaire of massie gold,  
 (Bard all about with plates of burning steele)  
 Sat *Iupiter* most glorious to behold,  
 And in his hand was placed Fortunes wheele:  
 The which he often turn'd, and oft did reele.  
 And next to him, in grieve and gealouzie,  
 (If sight may censure what the heart doth feele)  
 In sad lament was placed *Mercurie*;  
 That dying seem'd to weep, and weeping seem'd to die.

On th'other side, aboue the other twaine,  
 (Delighting as it seem'd to sit alone)  
 Sat *Mulciber*; in pride and high disdaine,  
 Mounted on high vpon a stately throne,  
 And euen with that I heard a deadly grone:  
 Muzing at this, and such an vncouth sight,  
 (Not knowing what shoulde make that piteous mone)  
 I saw three furies, all in Armour dight,  
 With euery one a Lampe, and euery one a light.

I deemed so; nor was I much deceau'd,  
For poured forth in sensuall Delight,  
There might I see of Sences quite bereau'd  
King *Priams* Sonne, that *Alexander* hight  
(Wrapt in the Mantle of eternall Night.)  
And vnder him, awaiting for his fall,  
Sate Shame, here Death, and there sat fel Despight,  
That with their Horroure did his heart appall:  
Thus was his Blisse to Bale, his Hony turn'd to gall.

In which delight feeding mine hungry eye,  
Of two great Goddesses a sight I had,  
And after them in wondrous Iollity,  
(As one that inly ioy'd, so was she glad)  
The Queene of Loue full royallie yclad,  
In glistring Gold, and peerelesse precious stone,  
There might I spie: and her Companion had,  
Proud *Paris*, Nephew to *Laomedon*,  
That afterward did cause the Death of many a one.

By this the formost melting all in teares,  
And rayning downe resolued Pearls in showers,  
Gan to approach the place of heauenly Pheares,  
And with her weeping, watring all their Bowers,  
Throwing sweet Odors on those fading flowers,  
At length, she them bespake thus mournfullie.  
High *Ioue* (quoth she) and yee Cœlestiall powers,  
That here in Iudgement sit twixt her and mee,  
Now listen (for a while) and iudge with equitie.

Sporting our selues to day, as wee were woont  
(I meane, I, *Pallas*, and the Queene of Loue.)  
Intending with *Diana* for to hunt,  
On *Ida* Mountaine top our skill to proue,  
A golden Ball was trindled from aboue,  
And on the Rinde was writ this Poesie,  
*PVLCHERIMÆ* for which a while we stroue,  
Each saying shee was fairest of the three,  
When loe a shepherds Swaine not far away we see.

I spi'd him first, and spying thus bespake,  
 Shall yonder Swaine vnfolde the mysterie?  
 Agreed (quoth *Venus*) and by *Stygian* Lake,  
 To whom he giues the ball so shall it bee:  
 Nor from his censure will I flie, quoth shee,  
 (Poynting to *Pallas*) though I loose the gole.  
 Thus euery one yplac'd in her degree,  
 The Shepheard comes, whose partial eies gan role,  
 And on our beuties look't, and of our beuties stole.

I promis'd wealth, *Minerua* promised wit,  
 (Shee promis'd wit to him that was vnwise,)  
 But he (fond foole) had soone refused it,  
 And minding to bestow that glorious Prize,  
 On *Venus*, that with pleasure might suffize  
 His greedie minde in loose lasciuiousnes:  
 Vpon a sudden, wanting goode aduice,  
 Holde heere (quoth he) this golden Ball possesse,  
 Which *Paris* giues to thee for meede of worthines,

Thus haue I shew'd the summe of all my sute,  
 And as a Plaintiffe heere appeale to thee,  
 And to the rest. Whose folly I impute  
 To filthie lust, and partialitie,  
 That made him iudge amisse: and so doo we  
 (Quoth *Pallas*, *Venus*;) nor will I gaine-say,  
 Although it's mine by right, yet willinglie,  
 I heere disclaime my title and obey:  
 When silence being made, *Ioue* thus began to saie.

Thou *Venus*, art my darling, thou my deare,  
 (*Minerua*;) shee, my sister and my wife:  
 So that of all a due respect I beare,  
 Assign'd as one to end this doubtfull strife,  
 (Touching your forme, your fame, your loue, your life)  
 Beauty is vaine much like a gloomy light,  
 And wanting wit is counted but a trife,  
 Especially when Honour's put to flight:  
 Thus of a louely, soone becomes a loathly sight.

VVit without wealth is bad, yet counted good,  
wealth wanting wisdom's worse, yet deem'd as wel,  
From whence (for ay) doth flow, as from a flood,  
A pleasant Poyson, and a heauenly Hell,  
where mortall men do couet still to dwell.  
Yet one there is to Vertue so inclin'd,  
That as for Maiesty she beares the Bell,  
So in the truth who tries her princelie minde,  
Both Wisdom, Beauty, Wealth, and all in her shall find.

In Westerne world amids the Ocean maine,  
In compleat Vertue shining like the Sunne,  
In great Renowne a maiden Queene doth raigne,  
Whose royall Race, in Ruine first begun,  
Till Heauens bright Lamps dissolue shall nere be done :  
In whose faire eies Loue linckt with vertues been,  
In euerlasting Peace and Vnion.  
Which sweet Consort in her full well beseeme  
Of Bounty, and of Beauty fairest Fayrie Queene.

And to conclude, the gifts in her yfound,  
Are all so noble, royall, and so rare,  
That more and more in her they doe abound ;  
In her most peerelesse Prince without compare,  
Endowing still her minde with vertuous care :  
That through the world (so wide) the flying fame,  
(And Name that Enuies selfe cannot impaire,)  
Is blown of this faire Queen, this gorgeous dame,  
Fame borrowing al men's mouths to royalize the same.

And with this sentence *Iupiter* did end,  
This is the Pricke (quoth he), this is the praies,  
To whom, this as a Present I will send,  
That shameth *Cynthia* in her siluer Raies,  
If so you three this deed doe not displease.  
Then one, and all, and euery one of them,  
To her that is the honour of her daies,  
A second *Iudith* in I E R V S A L E M.  
To her we send this Pearle, this Jewell, and this Iem.

Then call'd he vp the winged *Mercury*,  
 (The mighty Messenger of Gods enrold,)  
 And bad him hither hastily to hie,  
 Whom tended by her Nymphes he should behold,  
 (Like Pearles ycouched all in shining gold.)  
 And euen with that, from pleasant slumbring sleepe,  
 (Desiring much these wonders to vnfold)  
 I wak'ning, when *Aurora* gan to peepe,  
 Depriu'd so soone of my sweet Dreame, gan almost weepe.

*The Conclusion.*

**T**Hus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastitie,  
 This difference is betwixt the Moone and thee :  
 Shee shines by Night ; but thou by Day do'st  
 shine :

Shee Monthly changeth ; thou dost nere decline :  
 And as the Sunne, to her, doth lend his light,  
 So hee, by thee, is onely made so bright :  
 Yet neither Sun, nor Moone, thou canst be named,  
 Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed :  
 Then, since an heauenly Name doth thee befall,  
 Thou *VIRGO* art : (if any Signe at all).

FINIS.





[SONNETS.]

SONNET. I.



Porting at fancie, setting light by loue,  
There came a theefe, and stole away my  
heart,

(And therefore robd me of my chiefest  
part)

Yet cannot Reason him a felon proue.  
For why his beauty (my hearts thiefe)  
affirmeth,

Piercing no skin (the bodies fensiu wall)  
And hauing leaue, and free consent withall,  
Himselfe not guilty, from loue guilty tearmeth,  
Conscience the Iudge, twelue Reasons are the Iurie,  
They finde mine eies the be[a]utie t' haue let in,  
And on this verdict giuen, agreed they bin,  
VVherefore, because his beauty did allure yee,  
Your Doome is this: in teares still to be drowned,  
VVhen his faire forehead with disdain is frowned.

## SONNET. III.

**B**E[a]uty and Maiesty are false at odds,  
 Th'one claimes his cheek, the other claimes  
 his chin;  
 Then Vertue comes, and puts her title in.  
 (Quoth she) I make him like th'immortall Gods.  
 (Quoth Maiesty) I owne his lookes, his Brow,  
 His lips, (quoth Loue) his eyes, his faire is mine.  
 And yet (quoth Maiesty) he is not thine,  
 I mixe Disdaine with Loues congealed Snow.  
 I, but (quoth Loue) his lockes are mine (by right)  
 His stately gate is mine (quoth Maiesty,)  
 And mine (quoth Vertue) is his Modestie.  
 Thus as they strue about this heauenly wight,  
 At last the other two to Vertue yeeld,  
 The lists of Loue, fought in faire Beauties field.

## SONNET. IIII.

**T**He Stoicks thinke, (and they come neere the truth,)  
 That vertue is the chiefest good of all,  
 The Academicks on *Idea* call.  
 The Epicures in pleasure spend their youth,  
 The Perrepatetickes iudge felicitie,  
 To be the chiefest good aboue all other,  
 One man, thinks this: and that conceaues another:  
 So that in one thing very few agree.  
 Let Stoicks haue their Vertue if they will,  
 And all the rest their chiefe-supposed good,  
 Let cruell Martialists delight in blood,  
 And Mysers ioy their bags with gold to fill:  
 My chiefest good, my chiefe felicity,  
 Is to be gazing on my loues faire eie.




SONNET. IIII.

**T**wo stars there are in one faire firmament,  
(Of some intitl'd *Ganymedes* sweet face),  
VVhich other stars in brightnes doe disgrace,  
As much as *Po* in clearenes passeth *Trent*.  
Nor are they common natur'd stars : for why,  
These stars when other shine vaile their pure light,  
And when all other vanish out of sight,  
They adde a glory to the worlds great eie.  
By these two stars my life is onely led,  
In them I place my ioy, in them my pleasure,  
Loue's piercing Darts, and Natures precious treasure  
With their sweet foode my fainting soule is fed :  
Then when my sunne is absent from my sight  
How can it chuse (with me) but be dark night ?


SONNET. V.

**I**T is reported of faire *Thetis* Sonne,  
(*Achilles* famous for his chiuallry,  
His noble minde and magnanimity,)  
That when the Troian wars were new begun,  
Whos'euer was deepe-wounded with his speare,  
Could neuer be recured of his maime,  
Nor euer after be made whole againe :  
Except with that speares rust he holpen were.  
Euen so it fareth with my fortune now,  
Who being wounded with his piercing eie,  
Must either thereby finde a remedy,  
Or els to be releeu'd, I know not how.  
Then if thou hast a minde still to annoy me,  
Kill me with kisses, if thou wilt destroy me.

## SONNET. VI.

weet Corrall lips, where Nature's treasure lies,  
 The balme of blisse, the soueraigne salue of  
 sorrow,  
 The secret touch of loues heart-burning arrow,  
 Come quench my thirst or els poor *Daphnis* dies.  
 One night I dream'd (alas twas but a Dreame)  
 That I did feele the sweetnes of the same,  
 Where-with inspir'd, I young againe became,  
 And from my heart a spring of blood did streame,  
 But when I wak't, I found it nothing so,  
 Saue that my limbs (me thought) did waxe more strong  
 And I more lusty far, and far more yong.  
 This gift on him rich Nature did bestow.  
 Then if in dreaming so, I so did speede,  
 What should I doe, if I did so indeede ?

## SONNET. VII.

weet *Thames* I honour thee, not for thou art  
 The chiefest Riuer of the fairest Ile,  
 Nor for thou dost admirers eies beguile,  
 But for thou hold'st the keeper of my heart,  
 For on thy waues, (thy Christal-billow'd waues,)  
 My fairest faire, my siluer Swan is swimming :  
 Against the sunne his pruned feathers trimming :  
 Whilst *Neptune* his faire feete with water laues,  
 Neptune, I feare not thee, not yet thine eie,  
 And yet (alas) *Apollo* lou'd a boy,  
 And *Cyparissus* was *Siluanus* ioy.  
 No, no, I feare none but faire *Thetis*, I,  
 For if she spie my Loue, (alas) aie me,  
 My mirth is turn'd to extreame miserie.

SONNET. VIII.

**S**ometimes I wish that I his pillow were,  
So might I steale a kisse, and yet not seene,  
So might I gaze vpon his sleeping eine,  
Although I did it with a panting feare :  
But when I well consider how vaine my wish is,  
Ah foolish Bees (thinke I) that doe not sucke  
His lips for hony ; but poore flowers doe plucke  
Which haue no sweet in them : when his sole kisses,  
Are able to reuiue a dying soule.  
Kisse him, but sting him not, for if you doe,  
His angry voice your flying will pursue :  
But when they heare his tongue, what can controule,  
Their back-returne ? for then they plaine may see,  
How hony-combs from his lips dropping bee.

SONNET. IX.

**D***iana* (on a time) walking the wood,  
To sport herselfe, of her faire traine forlorne,  
Chaunc't for to pricke her foote against a thorne,  
And from thence issu'd out a streame of blood.  
No sooner shee was vanisht out of sight,  
But loues faire Queen came there away by chance,  
And hauing of this hap a glym'ring glance,  
She put the blood into a christall bright,  
When being now come vnto mount *Rhodope*,  
With her faire hands she formes a shape of Snow,  
And blends it with this blood ; from whence doth grow  
A louely creature, brighter than the Dey.  
And being christned in faire *Paphos* shrine,  
She call'd him *Ganymede* : as all diuine.

## S O N N E T . X .



Thus was my loue, thus was my *Ganymed*,  
(Heauens ioy, worlds wonder, natures fairest  
work,


In whose aspect Hope and Dispaire doe lurke)  
Made of pure blood in whitest snow yshed,  
And for sweete *Venus* only form'd his face,  
And his each member delicately framed,  
And last of all faire *Ganymede* him named,  
His limbs (as their Creatrix) her imbrace.  
But as for his pure, spotles, vertuous minde,  
Because it sprung of chaste *Dianaes* blood,  
(Goddesse of Maides, directresse of all good,)  
Hit wholly is to chastity inclinde.  
And thus it is : as far as I can proue,  
He loues to be beloued, but not to loue.

## S O N N E T X I .




Sighing, and sadly sitting by my Loue,  
He ask't the cause of my hearts sorrowing,  
Coniuring me by heauens eternall King  
To tell the cause which me so much did moue.  
Compell'd : (quoth I) to thee will I confesse,  
Loue is the cause ; and only loue it is  
That doth deprivue me of my heauenly blisse.  
Loue is the paine that doth my heart oppresse.  
And what is she (quoth he) whom thou dos't loue ?  
Looke in this glasse (quoth I) there shalt thou see  
The perfect forme of my fælicitie.  
When, thinking that it would strange Magique proue,  
He open'd it : and taking of the couer,  
He straight perceau'd himselfe to be my Louer.

SONNET. XII.

ome talke of *Ganymede* th' *Idalian* Boy,  
And some of faire *Adonis* make their boast,  
Some talke of him whom louely *Læda* lost,  
And some of *Ecchoes* loue that was so coy.  
They speake by heere-say, I of perfect truth,  
They partially commend the persons named,  
And for them, sweet *Encomions* haue framed :  
I onely t'him haue sacrificized my youth.  
As for those wonders of antiquitie,  
And those whom later ages haue inioy'd,  
(But ah what hath not cruell death destroide ?  
Death, that enuies this worlds felicitie),  
They were (perhaps) lesse faire then Poets write.  
But he is fairer then I can indite.

SONNET. XIII.

peake *Eccho*, tell ; how may I call my loue ? *Loue.*  
But how his *Lamps* that are so christa-  
line ? *Eyne.*  
Oh happy starrs that make your heauens diuine :  
And happy *Iems* that admiration moue.  
How tearm'st his golden tresses wau'd with aire ? *Haire.*  
Oh louely haire of your more-louely Maister,  
Image of loue, faire shape of *Alabla*ster,  
Why do'st thou driue thy *Louer* to dispaire ?  
How do'st thou cal the bed wher beuty grows ? *Rose.*  
Faire virgine-*Rose*, whose mayden blossoms couer  
The milke-white *Lilly*, thy imbracing *Louer* :  
Whose kisses makes thee oft thy red to lose.  
And blushing oft for shame, when he hath kist thee,  
He vades away, and thou raing'st where it list thee.


## SONNET. XI III.

**H**ere, hold this gioue (this milk-white cheueril gloue)  
 Not quaintly ouer-wrought with curious knots,  
 Not deckt with golden spangs, nor siluer spots,  
 Yet wholsome for thy hand as thou shalt proue.  
 Ah no; (sweet boy) place this gloue neere thy heart,  
 Weare it, and lodge it still within thy brest,  
 So shalt thou make me (most vnhappy,) blest.  
 So shalt thou rid my paine, and ease my smart :  
 How can that be (perhaps) thou wilt reply,  
 A gloue is for the hand not for the heart,  
 Nor can it well be prou'd by common art,  
 Nor reasons rule. To this, thus answer I :  
 If thou from gloue do'st take away the g,  
 Then gloue is loue : and so I send it thee.


## SONNET. XV.

**A** fairest *Ganymede*, disdain me not,  
 Though silly Sheepeheard I, presume to loue thee,  
 Though my harsh songs and Sonnets cannot  
 moue thee,  
 Yet to thy beauty is my loue no blot.  
*Apollo*, *Ioue*, and many Gods beside,  
 S' daind not the name of cuntry shepherds swains,  
 Nor want we pleasure, though we take some pains,  
 We liue contentedly : a thing call'd pride,  
 Which so corrupts the Court and euery place,  
 (Each place I meane where learning is neglected,  
 And yet of late, euen learnings selfe's infected)  
 I know not what it meanes, in any case :  
 Wee onely (when *Molorchus* gins to peepe)  
 Learne for to folde, and to vnfold our sheepe.

SONNET. XVI.

ong haue I long'd to see my Loue againe,  
Still haue I wisht, but neuer could obtaine it ;  
Rather than all the world (if I might gaine it)  
Would I desire my loues sweet precious gaine.  
Yet in my soule I see him euerie day,  
See him, and see his still sterne countenance,  
But (ah) what is of long continuance,  
Where Maiestie and Beautie beares the sway?  
Sometimes, when I imagine that I see him,  
(As loue is full of foolish fantasies)  
VVeening to kisse his lips, as my loues fee's,  
I feele but Aire : nothing but Aire to bee him.  
Thus with *Ixion*, kisse I clouds in vaine :  
Thus with *Ixion*, feele I endles paine.

SONNET. XVII.

herry-lipt *Adonis* in his snowie shape,  
Might not compare with his pure Iuorie white,  
On whose faire front a Poets pen may write,  
Whose rosiate red excels the crimson grape,  
His loue-enticing delicate soft limbs,  
Are rarely fram'd t'intrap poore gazing eies :  
His cheekes, the Lillie and Carnation dies,  
With louely tincture which *Apolloes* dims.  
His lips ripe strawberries in Nectar wet,  
His mouth a Hiue, his tongue a hony-combe,  
Where Muses (like Bees) make their mansion.  
His teeth pure Pearle in blushing Correll set.  
Oh how can such a body sinne-procuring,  
Be slow to loue, and quicke to hate, enduring ?



## SONNET. XVIII.

**N**ot *Megabætes* nor *Cleonymus*,  
 (Of whom great *Plutarch* makes such mention,  
 Praying their faire with rare inuention)  
 As *Ganymede* were halfe so beauteous.  
 They onely pleas'd the eies of two great Kings,  
 But all the worlde at my loue stands amazed,  
 Nor one that on his Angels face hath gazed,  
 But (rauisht with delight) him Presents brings.  
 Some weaning Lambs, and some a suckling Kyd,  
 Some Nuts, and fil-beards, others Peares and Plums,  
 Another with a milk-white Heyfar comes ;  
 As lately *Ægons* man (*Damætas*) did :  
 But neither he, nor all the Nymphs beside,  
 Can win my *Ganymede*, with them t'abide.

## SONNET. XIX.

**A**H no ; nor I my selfe : though my pure loue  
 (Sweete *Ganymede*) to thee hath still beene pure,  
 And euen till my last gaspe shall aie endure,  
 Could euer thy obdurate beuty moue :  
 Then cease oh Goddess sonne (for sure thou art,  
 A Goddess sonne that canst resist desire)  
 Cease thy hard heart, and entertaine loues fire,  
 Within thy sacred breast : by Natures art.  
 And as I loue thee more then any Creature,  
 (Loue thee, because thy beautie is diuine ;  
 Loue thee, because my selfe, my soule is thine :  
 Wholie deuoted to thy louelie feature),  
 Euen so of all the vowels, I and V,  
 Are dearest vnto me, as doth ensue.

S O N N E T . X X .

**B**Ut now my Muse toyld with continuall care,  
Begins to faint, and slacke her former pace,  
Expecting fauour from that heauenly grace,  
That maie (in time) her feeble strength repaire.  
Till when (sweete youth) th'essence of my soule,  
(Thou that dost sit and sing at my hearts grieffe.  
Thou that dost send thy shepheard no reliefe)  
Beholde, these lines ; the sonnes of Teares and Dole.  
Ah had great *Colin* chiefe of shepheards all,  
Or gentle *Rowland*, my professed friend,  
Had they thy beautie, or my pennance pend,  
Greater had beene thy fame, and lesse my fall :  
But since that euerie one cannot be wittie,  
Pardon I craue of them, and of thee, pittie.

F I N I S .





## A N O D E .



Nights were short, and daies were long ;  
 Blossoms on the Hawthorn's hung :  
*Philomæle* (Night-Musiques-King)  
 Tolde the comming of the spring.  
 Whose sweete siluer-sounding voice  
 Made the little birds reioice :  
 Skipping light from spray to spray,  
 Till *Aurora* shew'd the day.  
 Scarce might one see, when I might see  
 (For such chaunces sudden bee)  
 By a well of Marble-stone  
 A Shepheard lying all alone.  
 Weepe he did ; and his weeping  
 Made the fading flowers spring.  
*Daphnis* was his name (I weene)  
 Youngest Swaine of Summers Queene.  
 When *Aurora* saw 'twas he.  
 Weepe she did for companie :  
 Weepe she did for her sweete sonne  
 That (when antique *Troy* was wonne)  
 Suffer'd death by lucklesse fate,  
 Whom she now laments too late :  
 And each morning (by Cocks crew)  
 Showers downe her siluer dew.  
 Whose teares (falling from their spring)  
 Giue moysture to each liuing thing,  
 That on earth increase and grow,

Through power of their friendlie foe.  
Whose effect when *Flora* felt,  
Teares, that did her bosome melt,  
(For who can resist teares often,  
But Shee whom no teares can soften ?)  
Peering straite aboue the banks,  
Shew'd herselfe to giue her thanks.  
Wondring thus at Natures worke,  
(Wherein many maruailles lurke)  
Me thought I heard a dolefull noise,  
Consorted with a mournfull voice,  
Drawing nie to heare more plaine,  
Heare I did, vnto my paine,  
(For who is not pain'd to heare  
Him in grieffe whom heart holdes deare?)  
Silly swaine (with grieffe ore-gone)  
Thus to make his piteous mone.  
Loue I did, (alas the while)  
Loue I did, but did beguile  
My deare loue with louing so,  
(VVhom as then I did not know.)  
Loue I did the fairest boy,  
That these fields did ere enioy.  
Loue I did, fair *Ganymed* ;  
(*Venus* darling, beauties bed :)  
Him I thought the fairest creature ;  
Him the quintessence of Nature :  
But yet (alas) I was deceiu'd,  
(Loue of reason is bereau'd)  
For since then I saw a Lasse,  
(Lasse) that did in beauty passe,  
(Passe) faire *Ganymede* as farre  
As *Phæbus* doth the smallest starre.  
Loue commaunded me to loue ;  
Fancy bade me not remoue  
My affection from the swaine

Which he cannot graunt the crauer ?)  
 Loue at last (though loath) preuailde ;  
 (Loue) that so my heart assailde ;  
 Whom I neuer could obtaine :  
 (For who can obtaine that fauour,  
 Wounding me with her faire eies,  
 (Ah how Loue can subtelize,  
 And deuize a thousand shifts,  
 How to worke men to his drifts.)  
 Her it is, for whom I mourne ;  
 Her, for whom my life I scorne ;  
 Her, for whom I weepe all day ;  
 Her, for whom I sigh, and say,  
 Either She, or els no creature,  
 Shall enioy my loue : whose feature  
 Though I neuer can obtaine,  
 Yet shall my true loue remaine :  
 Till (my body turn'd to clay)  
 My poore soule must passe away,  
 To the heauens ; where (I hope)  
 Hit shall finde a resting scope :  
 Then since I loued thee (alone)  
 Remember me when I am gone.  
 Scarce had he these last words spoken,  
 But me thought his heart was broken ;  
 With great grieffe that did abound,  
 (Cares and grieffe the heart confound)  
 In whose heart (thus riu'd in three)  
 E L I Z A written I might see :  
 In Characters of crimson blood,  
 (VVhose meaning well I vnderstood.)  
 Which, for my heart might not behold,  
 I hyed me home my sheep to folde.



## CASSANDRA.



PON a gorgeous gold embossed bed, [sunne,  
With Tissue curtaines drawne against the  
(Which gazers eies into amazement led,  
So curiously the workmanship was done,)  
Lay faire *Cassandra*, in her snowie smocke,  
Whose lips the Rubies and the pearles  
did locke.

And from her Iuory front hung dangling downe,  
A bush of long and louely curled haire ;  
Whose head impalled with a precious Crowne  
Of orient Pearle, made her to seeme more faire :  
And yet more faire she hardly could be thought,  
Then Loue and Nature in her face had wrought.

By this, young *Phæbus* rising from the East,  
Had tane a view of this rare Paragon :  
Wherewith he soone his radiant beames addresst,  
And with great ioy her (sleeping) gazed vpon :  
Til at the last, through her light cazements cleare,  
He stole a kisse ; and softly call'd her Deare.

Yet not so softly but (therwith awak't,)  
Shee gins to open her faire christall couers,  
Wherewith the wounded God, for terror quakt,  
(Viewing those darts that kill disdained louers :)  
And blushing red to see himselfe so shamed  
He scorns his Coach, and his owne beauty blamed.

Now with a trice he leaues the azure skies,  
 (As whilome *Ioue* did at *Europaes* rape,)  
 And raiisht with her loue-a[l]luring eies,  
 He turns himselfe into a humane shape :  
 And that his wish the sooner might ensue,  
 He sutes himselfe like one of *Venus* crew.

Vpon his head he wore a Hunters hat  
 Of crimson veluet, spangd with stars of gold,  
 Which grac'd his louely face : and ouer that  
 A siluer hatband ritchly to behold :  
 On his left shoulder hung a loose Tyara,  
 As whilome vs'd faire *Penthesilea*.

Faire *Penthesilea* th'*Amazonian* Queene,  
 When she to Troy came with her warlike band,  
 Of braue Viragoes glorious to be seene ;  
 Whose manlike force no power might withstand :  
 So look't *Apollo* in his louely weedes,  
 As he vnto the Troian Damzell speedes.

Not faire, *Adonis* in his chiefest pride,  
 Did seeme more faire, then young *Apollo* seemed,  
 When he through th'aire inuisibly did glide,  
 T'obtaine his Loue, which he Angelike deemed ;  
 Whom finding in her chamber all alone,  
 He thus begins t'expresse his piteous mone.

O fairest, faire, aboue all faires (quoth hee)  
 If euer Loue obtained Ladies fauour,  
 Then shew thy selfe compassionate to me,  
 Whose head surpriz'd with thy diuine behavior,  
 Yeelds my selfe captiue to thy conqu'ring eies :  
 O then shew mercy, do not tyrannize.

Scarce had *Apollo* vtter'd these last words  
 (Rayning downe pearle from his immortall eies)  
 When she for answeare, naught but feare affords,  
 Filling the place with lamentable cries :  
 But *Phæbus* fearing much these raging fits,  
 With sugred kisses sweetely charm'd her lips.



(And tells her softly in her softer eare)  
That he a God is, and no mortall creature :  
Wherewith abandoning all needlesse feare,  
(A common frailtie of weake womans nature)  
She boldly askes him of his deitie,  
Gracing her question with her wanton eie.

Which charge to him no sooner was assignde,  
But taking faire *Cassandra* by the hand  
(The true bewraier of his secrete minde)  
He first begins to let her vnderstand,  
That he from *Demogorgon* was descended :  
Father of th'Earth, of Gods and men commended.

The tenor of which tale he now recites,  
Closing each period with a rauisht kisse :  
Which kindnes, she vnwillingly requites,  
Conioyning oft her Corrall lips to his :  
Not that she lou'd the loue of any one ;  
But that she meant to cozen him anone.

Hee briefly t'her relates his pedegree :  
The sonne of *Ioue*, sole guider of the sunne,  
He that slue *Python* so victoriouslie,  
He that the name of wisdomes God hath wonne,  
The God of Musique, and of Poetry :  
Of Phisicke, Learning, and Chirurgery.

All which he eloquently reckons vp,  
That she might know how great a God he was :  
And being charm'd with *Cupid's* golden cup  
He partiallie vnto her praise doth passe,  
Calling her tipe of honour, Queen of beauty :  
To whom all eies owe tributary duety.

I loued once, (quoth hee) aie me I lou'd,  
As faire a shape as euer nature framed :  
Had she not been so hard t'haue beene remou'd,  
By birth a sea-Nymph ; cruell *Daphne* named :  
Whom, for shee would not to my will agree,  
The Gods transform'd into a Laurell tree.

Ah therefore be not, (with that word he kist her)  
 Be not (quot[h] he) so proud as *Daphne* was :  
 Ne care thou for the anger of my sister,  
 She cannot, nay she shall not hurt my *Cass* :  
     For if she doe, I vow (by dreadfull night)  
     Neuer againe to lend her of my light.

This said : he sweetly doth imbrace his loue,  
 Yoaking his armes about her Iuory necke :  
 And calls her wanton *Venus* milk-white Doue,  
 VVhose ruddie lips the damaske roses decke.  
     And euer as his tongue compiles her praise,  
     Loue daintie Dimples in her cheekes doth raise.

And meaning now to worke her stratagem  
 Vpon the silly God, that thinks none ill,  
 She hugs him in her armes, and kisses him ;  
 (Th'easlyer to intice him to her will.)  
     And being not able to maintaine the feeld,  
     Thus she begins (or rather seemes) to yeeld.

VVoon with thy words, and raiisht with my beauty,  
 Loe here *Cassandra* yeelds her selfe to thee,  
 Requiring nothing for thy vowed duety,  
 But only firmnesse, Loue, and secrecy :  
     Which for that now (euen now) I meane to try thee,  
     A boone I crave ; which thou canst not deny me.

Scarce were these honywords breath'd from her lips,  
 But he, supposing that she ment good-faith,  
 Her filed tongues temptations interceps ;  
 And (like a Nouice,) thus to her he saith :  
     Aske what thou wilt, and I will giue it thee ;  
     Health, wealth, long life, wit, art, or dignitie.

Here-with she blushing red, (for shame did adde  
 A crimson tincture to her palish hew,)  
 Seeming in outward semblance passing glad,  
 (As one that th'end of her petition knew)  
     She makes him sweare by vgly *Acheron*,  
     That he his promise should performe anon.

Which done : relying on his sacred oath,  
She askes of him the gift of prophecie :  
He (silent) giues consent : though seeming loath  
To grant so much to fraile mortalitie :  
    But since that he his vowes maie not recall,  
    He giues to her the sp'rite propheticall.

But she no sooner had obtain'd her wish,  
VVhen strait vnpris'ning her lasciuious armes  
From his softe bosom (th'aluary of blisse)  
She chastely counterchecks loues hote alarmes :  
    And fearing lest his presence might offend her,  
    She slips aside ; and (absent) doth defend her.

*(Muliere ne credas, ne mortuæ quidem.)*

Looke how a brightsome Planet in the skie,  
(Spangling the Welkin with a golden spot)  
Shootes suddenly from the beholders eie,  
And leaues him looking there where she is not :  
    Euen so amazed *Phæbus* (to descric her)  
    Lookes all about, but no where can espie her.

Not th'hungry Lyon, hauing lost his pray,  
With greater furie runneth through the wood,  
(Making no signe of momentarie staie,  
Till he haue satisfi'd himslfe with blood,)  
    Then angry *Phæbus* mounts into the skie :  
    Threatning the world with his hot-burning eie.

Now nimble to his glist'ring Coach he skips,  
And churlishlie ascends his loftie chaire,  
Yerking his head strong Iades with yron whips,  
Whose fearefull neighing ecchoes through the aire,  
    Snorting out fierie Sulphure from their nosethrills :  
    Whose deadly damp the worlds poore people kills.

Him leaue me (for a while) amidst the heauens,  
VVreaking his anger on his sturdie steedes :  
Whose speedful course the day and night now eeuen,  
(The earth dis-robbed of her summer weedes)  
    And nowe black-mantled night with her browne vaile,  
    Couers each thing that all the world might quaile.

VWhen loe, *Cassandra* lying at her rest,  
 (Her rest were restlesse thoughts :) it so befell,  
 Her minde with multitude of cares opprest,  
 Requir'd some sleepe her passions to expell :  
 VWhich when sad *Morpheus* will did vnderstand,  
 He clos'd her eie-lids with his leaden hand.

Now sleepeth shee : and as shee sleepes, beholde ;  
 Shee seemes to see the God whom late shee wronged  
 Standing before her ; whose fierce looks vnfold,  
 His hidden wrath (to whom iust ire belonged)  
 Seeing, shee sighs, and sighing quak't for feare,  
 To see the shaddow of her shame appeare.

Betwixt amaze and dread as shee thus stands,  
 The fearefull vision drew more neere vnto her :  
 Aud pnyoning her armes in captiue bands  
 So sure, that mortall wight may not vndoe her,  
 He with a bloody knife (oh cruell part,)  
 VWith raging fury stabd her to the heart.

Heerewith awaking from her slumbring sleepe,  
 (For feare, and care, are enemies to rest :)  
 At such time as *Aurora* gins to peepe  
 And shew her selfe ; far orient in the East :  
 Shee heard a voice which said : O wicked woman,  
 Why dost thou stil the gods to vengeance summon ?

Thou shalt (indeede) fore-tell of things to come ;  
 And truely, too ; (for why my vowes are past)  
 But heare the end of *Ioues* eternall doome :  
 Because thy promise did so little last,  
 Although thou tell the truth, (this gift I giue thee)  
 Yet for thy falsehood, no man shall beleue thee.

And (for thy sake) this pennance I impose  
 Vpon the remnant of all woman kinde,  
 For that they be such truth professed foes ;  
 A constant woman shall be hard to finde :  
 And that all flesh at my dread name may tremble,  
 When they weep most, then shall they most dissemble.

This said *Apollo* then : And since that time  
His words haue proved true as Oracles :  
Whose turning thoughtes ambitiously doe clime  
To heauens height ; and world with lightnes fills :  
VVhose sex are subject to inconstancie,  
As other creatures are to destinie.

Yet famous *Sabrina* on thy banks doth rest  
The fairest Maide that euer world admired :  
Whose constant minde, with heauenly gifts possest  
Makes her rare selfe of all the world desired.  
In whose chaste thoughts no vanitie doth enter ;  
So pure a minde *Endymions* Love hath lent her.

Queene of my thoughts, but subiect of my verse,  
(Divine *Eliza*) pardon my defect :  
Whose artlesse pen so rudely doth reherse  
Thy beauties worth ; (for want of due respect)  
Oh pardon thou the follies of my youth ;  
Pardon my faith, my loue, my zeale, my truth.

But to *Cassandra* now : who hauing heard  
The cruell sentence of the threatning voice ;  
At length (too late) begins to waxe affeard,  
Lamenting much her vnrepentant choice :  
And seeing her hard hap without reliefe,  
She sheeds salt teares in token of her grieffe.

VVhich when *Aurora* saw, and saw t'was shee,  
Euen shee her selfe whose far-renowmed fame  
Made all the world to wonder at her beauty,  
It mou'd compassion in this ruthfull Dame :  
And thinking on her Sonnes sad destinie,  
With mournfull teares she beares her companie.

Great was the mone, which faire *Cassandra* made :  
Greater the kindnesse, which *Aurora* shew'd :  
VVhose sorrow with the sunne began to fade,  
And her moist teares on th'earths green grasse bestow'd :  
Kissing the flowers with her siluer dew,  
VVhose fading beautie, seem'd her case to rew.

Scarce was the louely Easterne Queene departed,  
 From stately *Ilion* (whose proud-reared wals  
 Seem'd to controule the cloudes, till *Vulcan* darted  
 Against their Tower his burning fier-bals)  
 When sweet *Cassandra* (leauing her soft bed)  
 In seemely sort her selfe apparelled.

And hearing that her honourable Sire,  
 (Old princely *Pryannus Troy's* aged King)  
 Was gone into *Ioues* Temple, to conspire  
 Against the *Greekes*, (whom he to war did bring)  
 Shee, (like a Furie), in a bedlam rage,  
 Runs gadding thither, his fell wrath t'assuage.

But not preuailing : truely she fore-tolde  
 The fall of *Troy* (with bold erected face :)  
 They count her hare-brain'd, mad, and ouer-bold,  
 To presse in presence in so graue a place :  
 But in meane season *Paris* he is gone,  
 To bring destruction on faire *Ilion*.

What, ten-yeeres siedge by force could not subuert,  
 That, two false traitors in one night destroi'd :  
 Who richly guerdon'd for their bad desert,  
 Vvas of *Aeneas* but small time inioi'd :  
 VVho, for concealement of *Achilles* loue,  
 Vvas banished ; from *Ilion* to remoue.

King *Pryam* dead and all the Troians slaine ;  
 (His sonnes, his friends and deere confederates)  
 And lots now cast for captiues that remaine,  
 (Whom Death hath spared for more cruell fates)  
*Cassandra* then to *Agamemnon* fell,  
 With whom a Lemman she disdain'd to dwell.

Shee, weepes ; he, wooes ; he would, but she would not :  
 He, tell's his birth ; shee, pleades virginie :  
 He saith, selfe-pride doth rarest beauty blot :  
 (And with that word he kist her louingly :)  
 Shee, yeeldingly resists ; he faines to die :  
 Shee, fall's for feare ; he, on her feareleslie.

But this braue generall of all the *Greekes*,  
VVas quickly foyled at a womans hands,  
For who so rashly such incounters seekes,  
Of hard mis-hap in danger euer stands :  
Onely chaste thoughts, vertuous abstinence,  
Gainst such sweet poyson is the sur'st defence.

But who can shun the force of beauties blow ?  
Who is not rauisht with a louely looke ?  
Grac'd with a wanton eie, (the hearts dumb show)  
Such fish are taken with a siluer hooke :  
And when true loue cannot these pearles obtaine  
*Vnguentum Album* is the only meane.

Farre be it from my thought (diuine Maid)  
To haue relation to thy heauenly hew,  
(In whose sweete voice the Muses are imbaid)  
No pen can paint thy commendation due :  
Saue only that pen, which no pen can be,  
An Angels quill, to make a pen for thee.

But to returne to these vnhappie Louers,  
(Sleeping securely in each others armes)  
VVhose sugred ioies nights sable mantle couers,  
Little regarding their ensuing harmes :  
VVhich afterward they iointlie both repented :  
" Fate is fore-seene, but neuer is preuented."

Which saying to be true, this lucklesse Dame  
Approued in the sequele of her story :  
Now waxing pale, now blushing red (for shame),  
She seales her lips with silence (womens glory)  
Till *Agamemnon* vrging her replies,  
Thus of his death she truely prophecies.

The day shall come, (quoth she) O dismal daie !  
When thou by false *Ægistus* shalt be slaine :  
Heere could she tell no more ; but made a stay.  
(From further speech as willing to refraine :)  
Not knowing then, nor little did she thinke,  
That she with him of that same cup must drinke



But what? (fond man) he laughs her skil to scorne,  
 And iesteth at her diuination:  
 Ah to what vnbeliefe are Princes borne?  
 (The onely ouer-throw of many a Nation:)  
 And so it did befall this lucklesse Prince,  
 Whom all the world hath much lamented since.

Insteede of teares, he smileth at her tale:  
 Insteede of grieffe, he makes great shew of gladnes:  
 But after blisse, there euer followes bale;  
 And after mirth, there alwaies commeth sadnes:  
 But gladnesse, blisse, and mirth had so possest him,  
 That sadnes, bale, and grieffe could not molest him.

Oh cruell *Parcæ* (quoth *Cassandra* then)  
 Why are you *Parcæ*, yet not mou'd with praier?  
 Oh small security of mortall men,  
 That liue on earth, and breathe this vitall aire:  
 When we laugh most, then are we next to sorrow;  
 The Birds feede vs to-day, we them to-morrow.

But if the first did little moue his minde,  
 Her later speeches lesse with him preuailed;  
 Who beinge wholly to selfe-will inclinde,  
 Deemes her weake braine with lunacy assailed:  
 And still the more shee counceles him to stay,  
 The more he striueth to make haste away.

How on the Seas he scap'd stormes, rocks and sholes,  
 (Seas that enuide the conquest he had wone,  
 Gaping like hell to swallow Greekish soules,)  
 I heere omit; onely suppose it done:  
 His storm-tyrde Barke safely brings him to shore,  
 His whole Fleete els, or suncke or lost before.

Lift vp thy head, thou ashie-cyndred *Troy*,  
 See the commaunder of thy traitor foes,  
 That made thy last nights woe, his first daies ioie,  
 Now gins his night of ioy and daie of woes:  
 His fall be thy delight, thine was his pride:  
 As he thee then, so now thou him deride.

He and *Cassandra* now are set on shore,  
VWhich he salutes with ioy, she greetes with teares,  
Currors are sent that poast to Court before,  
Whose tidings fill th'adultrous Queene with feares,  
Who with *Ægistus* in a lust-staind bed,  
Her selfe, her King, her State dishonored.

She wakes the lecher with a loud-strain'd shriek,  
Loue-toies they leaue, now doth lament begin :  
Ile flie (quoth he) but she doth that mislike,  
Guilt vnto guilt, and sinne she ads to sinne :  
Shee meanes to kill (immodest loue to couer)  
A kingly husband, for a caytiue louer.

The peoples ioies, conceiued at his returne,  
Their thronging multitudes : their gladsome cries,  
Their gleeful hymnes, whiles piles of incense burne :  
Their publique shewes, kept at solemnities :  
We passe : and tell how King and Queene did meet,  
Where he with zeale, she him with guile did greet.

He (noble Lord) fearelesse of hidden treason,  
Sweetely salutes this weeping Crocodile :  
Excusing euery cause with instant reason  
That kept him from her sight so long a while :  
She, faintly pardons him ; smiling by Art :  
(For life was in her lookes, death in her hart.)

For pledge that I am pleas'd receiue (quoth shee)  
This rich wrought robe, thy *Clytemnestras* toile :  
Her ten yeeres worke this day shall honour thee,  
For ten yeeres war, and one daies glorious spoile :  
Whil'st thou contendedst there, I heere did this :  
Weare it my loue, my life, my ioy, my blisse.

Scarce had the Syren said what I haue write,  
But he (kind Prince) by her milde words misled,  
Receiu'd the robe, to trie if it were fit ;  
(The robe) that had no issue for his head ;  
Which, whilst he vainly hoped to haue found,  
*Ægistus* pierst him with a mortal wound.

Oh how the *Troyan* Damzell was amazed  
 To see so fell and bloody a Tragedie,  
 Performed in one Act ; she naught but gazed,  
 Vpon the picture ; whom shee dead did see,  
     Before her face : whose body she emballms,  
     With brennish teares, and sudden deadly qualms.

Faine would she haue fled backe on her swift horse  
 But *Clytemnestra* bad her be content,  
 Her time was com'n : now bootelesse vsd she force,  
 Against so many ; whom this Tygresse sent  
     To apprehend her : who (within one hower  
     Brought backe againe) was lockt within a Tower.

Now is she ioylesse, friendlesse, and (in fine)  
 Without all hope of further libertie :  
 Insted of cates, cold water was her wine,  
 And *Agamemmons* corps her meate must be,  
     Or els she must for hunger starue (poore sole)  
     What could she do but make great mone and dole.

So darke the dungeon was, wherein she was,  
 That neither Sunne (by day) nor Mone (by night)  
 Did shew themselues : and thus it came to passe.  
 The Sunne denide to lend his glorious light  
     To such a periur'd wight, or to be seene ;  
     (What neede she light, that ouer-light had bin ?)

Now silent night drew on ; when all things sleepe,  
 Saue theeves, and cares ; and now stil mid-night came :  
 When sad *Cassandra* did naught els but weepe ;  
 Oft calling on her *Agamemmons* name.  
     But seeing that the dead did not replie,  
     Thus she begins to mourne, lament, and crie.

Oh cruell Fortune (mother of despaire,)  
 Well art thou christen'd with a cruell name :  
 Since thou regardest not the wise, or faire,  
 But do'st bestow thy riches (to thy shame)  
     On fooles and lowly swaines, that care not for thee :  
     And yet I weepe, and yet thou do'st abhorre me.

Fie on ambition, fie on filthy pride,  
The roote of ill, the cause of all my woe :  
On whose fraile yce my youth first slipt aside :  
And falling downe, receiu'd a fatall blow.  
Ah who hath liu'd to see such miserie  
As I haue done, and yet I cannot die ?

I liu'd (quoth she) to see *Troy* set on fire :  
I liu'd to see, renowned *Hector* slaine :  
I liu'd to see, the shame of my desire :  
And yet I liue, to feel my grieuous paine :  
Let all young maides example take by me,  
To keepe their oathes, and spotlesse chastity.

Happy are they, that neuer liu'd to know  
What 'tis to liue in this world happily :  
Happy are they which neuer yet felt woe :  
Happy are they, that die in infancie :  
Whose sins are cancell'd in their mothers wombe :  
Whose cradle is their graue, whose lap their tomb.

Here ended shee ; and then her teares began,  
That (Chorus-like) at euery word downe rained.  
VVhich like a paire of christall fountaines ran,  
Along her louely cheekes : with roses stained :  
Which as they wither still (for want of raine)  
Those siluer showers water them againe.

Now had the poore-mans clock (shrill chauntcleare)  
Twice giuen notice of the Mornes approach,  
(That then began in glorie to appeare,  
Drawne in her stately colour'd saffron-Coach)  
VVhen shee (poore Lady) almost turn'd to teares,  
Began to teare and rend her golden haire.

Lie there (quoth shee) the workers of my woes  
You trifling toies, which my liues staine haue bin :  
You, by whose meanes our coines chiefly growes,  
Clothing the backe with pride, the soule with sin :  
Lie there (quoth shee) the causers of my care ;  
This said, her robes she all in pieces tare.

Here-with, as weary of her wretched life,  
(VVhich shee inioy'd with small felicitie)  
She ends her fortune with a fatall knife ;  
(First day of ioy, last day of miserie :)

Then why is death accounted Nature's foe,  
Since death (indeed) is but the end of woe ?

For as by death, her bodie was released  
From that strong prison made of lime and stone ;  
Euen so by death her purest soule was eased,  
From bodies prison, and from endlesse mone :  
VVhere now shee walkes in sweete *Elysium*  
(The place for wrongful Death and Martirdum.)

FINIS.



The Encomion of Lady Pecunia :  
OR  
The praise of Money.

*quærenda pecunia primum est,  
Virtus post nummos.* Horace.

By *Richard Barnfeild*, Graduate in *Oxford*.



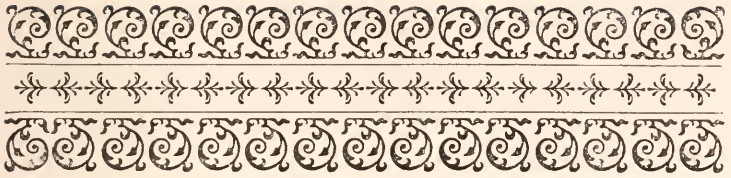
LONDON,

Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are  
to be sold at his shoppe neere Temple-barre,  
at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.







## To the Gentlemen Readers.

**G**entlemen, being encouraged through your gentle acceptance of my *Cynthia*, I haue once more aduentured on your Curtesies: hoping to finde you (as I haue done heretofore) friendly. Being determined to write of somthing, and yet not resolved of any thing, I considered with my selfe, if one should write of Loue (they will say) why, euery one writes of Loue: if of Vertue, why, who regards Vertue? To be short, I could thinke of nothing, but either it was common, or not at all in request. At length I bethought my selfe of a Subiect, both new (as hauing neuer beene written vpon before) and pleasing (as I thought) because Mans Nature (commonly) loues to heare that praised, with whose presence, hee is most pleased.

*Erasmus* (the glory of *Netherland*, and the refiner of the Latin Tongue) wrote a whole Booke, in *the prayse of Folly*. Then if so excellent a Scholler, writ in praise of Vanity, why may not I write in praise of that which is profitable? There are no two Countreys, where Gold is esteemed, lesse than in *India*, and more then in *England*: the reason is, because the *Indians* are barbarous, and our Nation ciuill.

I haue giuen *Pecunia* the title of a Woman, Both for the termination of the Word, and because (as Women are) shee is lov'd of men. The brauest Voyages in the World, haue beene made for Gold: for it, men haue venterd (by Sea) to the furthest parts of the Earth: In the Pursute whereof, *Englands Nestor* and *Neptune* (*Haukins* and *Drake*) lost their

liues. Vpon the Deathes of the which two, of the first I writ this :

*The Waters were his Winding sheete, the Sea was made his Toome ;  
Yet for his fame the Ocean Sea, was not sufficient roome.*

Of the latter this :

*England his hart ; his Corps the Waters haue ;  
And that which raysd his fame, became his grave.*

The *Pratorians* (after the death of *Pertinax*) in the election of a new Emperour, more esteemed the money of *Iulianus*, then either the vertue of *Scuerus*, or the Valour of *Pessennius*. Then of what great estimation and account, this Lady *Pecunia*, both hath beene in the Worlde, and is at this present, I leaue to your Iudgement. But what speake I so much of her praise in my Epistle, that haue commended her so at large in my Booke ? To the reading wherof, (Gentlemen) I referre you.



[THE AUTHORS FIRST EPISTLE-  
DEDICATORY (1605).

[Collated with the Bridgwater House copy.]



Ed by the swift report of winged Fame,  
With siluer trumpet, sounding forth your name  
To you I dedicate this merry Muse,  
And for my Patron, I your fauour chuse :  
She is a Lady, she must be respected :  
She is a Queene, she may not be neglected.  
This is the shadow, you the substance haue,  
Which substance now this shadow seems to craue.

RICHARD BARNFIELD.]



## The prayse of Lady Pecunia.



Sing not of *Angellica* the faire,  
 (For whom the Palladine of *Fraunce* fell  
 mad)  
 Nor of sweet *Rosamond*, olde *Cliffords* heire,  
 (Whose death did make the second *Henry*  
 sad)  
 But of the fairest Faire *Pecunia*,  
 The famous Queene of rich *America*.

Goddesse of Golde, great Empresse of the Earth,  
 O thou that canst doe all Things vnder Heauen:  
 That doost conuert the saddest minde to Mirth;  
 (Of whom the elder Age was quite bereauen)  
 Of thee Ile sing, and in thy Prayse Ile write;  
 You *golden Angels* helpe me to indite.

You, you alone, can make my Muse to speake;  
 And tell a golden Tale, with siluer Tongue:  
 You onely can my pleasing silence breake;  
 And adde some Musique, to a merry Songue:  
 But amongst all the fiue, in Musicks Art,  
 I would not sing the *Counter-tenor* part.

The Meane is best, and that I meane to keepe;  
 So shall I keepe my selfe from That I meane:  
 Lest with some Others, I be forc'd to weepe,  
 And cry *Peccauit*, in a dolefull Scæne.  
 But to the matter which I haue in hand,  
 The Lady Regent, both by Sea and Land.

When *Saturne* liu'd, and wore the Kingly Crowne,  
 (And *Ioue* was yet vnborne, but not vnbred)  
 This Ladies fame was then of no renowne ;  
 (For Golde was then, no more esteem'd then Lead)  
     Then Truth and Honesty were onely vs'd,  
     Siluer and Golde were vtterly refus'd.

But when the Worlde grew wiser in Conceit,  
 And saw how Men in manners did decline,  
 How Charitie began to loose her heate,  
 And One did at anothers good repine,  
     Then did the Aged, first of all respect her ;  
     And vowd from thenceforth, neuer to reiect her.

Thus with the Worlde, her beauty did increase ;  
 And manie Suters had she to obtaine her :  
 Some sought her in the Wars, and some in peace ;  
 But few of youthfull age, could euer gaine her :  
     Or if they did, she soone was gone againe ;  
     And would with them, but little while remaine.

For why against the Nature of her Sexe,  
 (That commonlie dispise the feeble Olde)  
 Shee, loues olde men ; but young men she reiects ;  
 Because to her, their Loue is quicklie colde :  
     Olde men (like Husbands ielous of their Wiues)  
     Lock her vp fast, and keepe her as their Liues.

The young man carelesse to maintaine his life,  
 Neglects her Loue (as though he did abhor her)  
 Like one that hardly doeth obtaine a wife,  
 And when he hath her once, he cares not for her :  
     Shee, seeing that the young man doeth despyse her,  
     Leaues the franke heart, and flies vnto the Myser.

Hee intertaines her, with a ioyfull hart ;  
 And seemes to rue her vnderued wrong :  
 And from his Pressence, she shall neuer part ;  
 Or if shee doo, he thinkes her Absence long :  
     And oftentimes he sends for her againe,  
     Whose life without her, cannot long remaine.

And when he hath her, in his owne possession,  
He locks her in an iron-barred Chest,  
And doubting somewhat, of the like Transgression,  
He holds that iron-walled Prison best.

And least some *rusty* sicknesse should infect her,  
He often visits her, and doeth respect her.

As for the young man (subiect vnto sinne)  
No maruell though the Diuell doe distresse him ;  
To tempt mans frailtie, which doth neuer linne,  
Who many times, hath not a *Crosse* to blesse him :  
But how can hee incurre the Heauens Curse,  
That hath so many *Crosses* in his Purse ?

Hee needes not feare those wicked sprights, that waulke  
Vnder the Couerture of cole-blacke Night ;  
For why the Diuell still, a *Crosse* doeth baulke,  
Because on it, was hangd the Lorde of Light :  
But let not Mysers trust to *siluer Crosses*,  
Least in the End, their gaines be turnd to losses.

But what care they, so they may hoorde vp golde ?  
Either for God, or Diuell, or Heauen, or Hell ?  
So they may faire *Pecuniaes* face behold ;  
And euery Day, their Mounts of Money tell.

What tho to count their Coyne, they neuer blin,  
Count they their Coyne, and counts not God their sin ?

But what talke I of sinne, to Vsurers ?  
Or looke for mendment, at a Mysers hand ?  
*Pecunia*, hath so many followers,  
Bootlesse it is, her Power to with-stand.

King *Couetise*, and *Warinesse* his Wife,  
The Parents were, that first did giue her Life.

But now vnto her Praise I will proceede,  
Which is as ample, as the Worlde is wide :  
What great Contentment doth her Pressence breede  
In him, that can his wealth with Wysdome guide ?

She is the Soueraigne Queene, of all Delights :  
For her the Lawyer pleades ; the Souldier fights.

For her, the Merchant venters on the Seas :  
 For her, the Scholler studdies at his Booke :  
 For her, the Vsurer (with greater ease)  
 For sillie fishes, layes a siluer hooke :  
 For her, the Townsman leaues the Countrey Village :  
 For her, the Plowman giues himselte to Tillage.

For her, the Gentlemen doeth raise his rents :  
 For her, the Seruingman attends his maister :  
 For her, the curious head new toyes inuents :  
 For her, to Sores, the Surgeon layes his plaister.  
 In fine for her, each man in his Vocation,  
 Applies himselte, in euerie sev'rall Nation.

What can thy hart desire, but thou mayst haue it,  
 If thou hast readie money to disburse ?  
 Then thanke thy Fortune, that so freely gaue it ;  
 For of all friends, the surest is thy purse.  
 Friends may proue false, and leaue thee in thy need ;  
 But still thy Purse will bee thy friend indeed.

Admit thou come, into a place vnknowne ;  
 And no man knowes, of whence, or what thou art :  
 If once thy faire *Pecunia*, shee be showne,  
 Thou art esteem'd a man of great Desart :  
 And placed at the Tables vpper ende ;  
 Not for thine owne sake, but thy faithfull frende.

But if you want your Ladies louely grace,  
 And haue not wherewithall to pay your shot,  
 Your Hostis pressently will step in Place,  
 You are a Stranger (Sir) I know you not :  
 By trusting Diuers, I am run in Det ;  
 Therefore of mee, nor meate nor Bed you get.

O who can then, expresse the worthie praise,  
 Which faire *Pecunia* iustly doeth desarie ?  
 That can the meanest man, to Honor raise ;  
 And feed the soule, that ready is to starue.  
 Affection, which was wont to bee so pure,  
 Against a golden Siege, may not endure.

Witnesse the trade of Mercenary sinne ;  
(Or Occupation, if thou list to tearme it)  
Where faire *Pecunia* must the suite beginne ;  
(As common-tride Experience doeth confirme it)  
Not *Mercury* himselve, with siluer Tongue,  
Can so inchaunt, as can a golden Songue.

When nothing could subdue the *Phrygian Troy*,  
(That Cittie through the world so much renowned)  
*Pecunia* did her vtterly destroy :  
And left her fame, in darke Obliuion drowned.  
And many Citties since, no lesse in fame,  
For Loue of her, haue yeilded to their shame.

What Thing is then, so well belou'd as money ?  
It is a speciall Comfort to the minde ;  
More faire then Women are ; more sweet then honey :  
Easie to loose, but very harde to finde.  
In fine, to him, whose Purse beginns to faint,  
Golde is a God, and Siluer is a Saint.

The Tyme was once, when Honestie was counted  
A Demy god ; and so esteem'd of all :  
But now *Pecunia* on his Seate is mounted ;  
Since Honestie in great Disgrace did fall.  
No state, no Calling now, doeth him esteeme ;  
Nor of the other ill, doeth any deeme.

The reason is, because he is so poore :  
(And who respects the poore, and needie Creature ?)  
Still begging of his almes, from Doore to Doore :  
All ragd, and torne ; and eeke deformed in feature.  
In Countinance so changde, that none can know him ;  
So weake, and euery vice doeth ouerthrow him.

But faire *Pecunia*, (most diuinely bred)  
For sundrie shapes, doth *Proteus* selfe surpasse :  
In one Lande, she is suted all in Lead ;  
And in another, she is clad in Brasse :  
But still within the Coast of *Albion*,  
She euer puts, her best Apparell on.



Siluer and Golde, and nothing else is currant,  
In *Englands*, in faire *Englands* happy Land :  
All baser sorts of Mettalls, haue no Warrant ;  
Yet secretly they *slip*, from hand to hand.

If any such be tooke, the same is lost,  
And pressently is nayled on a Post.

Which with Quick-siluer, being flourisht ouer,  
Seemes to be perfect Siluer, to the showe :  
As Woemens paintings, their defects doe couer,  
Vnder this false attyre, so doe they goe.

If on a woollen Cloth, thou rub the same,  
Then will it straight beginne to blush, for shame.

If chafed on thy haire, till it be hot,  
If it good Siluer bee, the scent is sweete :  
If counterfeit, thy chafing hath begot  
A ranke-smelt sauour ; for a Queene vnmeete :  
*Pecunia* is a Queene, for her Desarts,  
And in the Decke, may goe for *Queene of harts*.

*The Queene of harts*, because she rules all harts ;  
And hath all harts, obedient to her Will :  
Whose Bounty, fame vnto the Worlde imparts ;  
And with her glory, all the Worlde doeth fill :  
*The Queene of Diamonds*, she cannot bee ;  
There is but one, E L I Z A, thou art shee.

And thou art shee, O sacred Soueraigne ;  
Whom God hath helpt with his Al-mighty hand :  
Blessing thy People, with thy peacefull raigne ;  
And made this little Land, a happy Land :  
May all those liue, that wish long life to thee,  
And all the rest, perish eternally.

Thy tyme was once, when faire *Pecunia*, here  
Did basely goe attyred all in Leather :  
But since her raigne, she neuer did appeere  
But richly clad ; in Golde, or Siluer either :  
Nor reason is it, that her Golden raigne  
With baser Coyne, eclipsed should remaine.

And as the Coyne, she hath repurifyde,  
From baser substance, to the purest Mettels:  
Religion so, hath shee refinde beside,  
From Papistrie, to Truth; which daily settles  
    Within her Peoples harts; though some there bee,  
    That cleaue vnto their wonted Papistrie.

No flocke of sheepe, but some are still infected:  
No peece of Lawne so pure, but hath some fret:  
All buildings are not strong, that are erected:  
All Plants proue not, that in good ground are set:  
    Some tares are sowne, amongst the choicest seed:  
    No garden can be cleansd of euery Weede.

But now to her, whose praise is her pretended,  
(Diuine *Pecunia*) fairer then the morne:  
Which cannot be sufficiently commended;  
Whose Sun-bright Beauty doeth the Worlde adorne,  
    Adorns the World, but specially the Purse;  
    Without whose pressence, nothing can be worse.

Not faire *Hæsione* (King of *Priams* sister)  
Did euer showe more Beauty, in her face,  
Then can this louely Lady, if it list her  
To showe her selfe; admir'd for comely grace:  
    Which neither Age can weare, nor Tyme conclude;  
    For why, her Beauty yeerely is renude.

New Coyne is coynd each yeare, within the Tower;  
So that her Beauty neuer can decay:  
Which to resist, no mortall man hath Power,  
When as she doeth her glorious Beames display.  
    Nor doeth *Pecunia*, onely please the eie,  
    But charms the eare, with heauenly Harmonie.

Lyke to an other *Orpheus*, can she play  
Vpon her *treble Harpe*, whose siluer sound  
Inchaunts the eare, and steales the hart away:  
Nor hardly can deceit, therein be found.  
    Although such Musique, some a Shilling cost,  
    Yet is it worth but *Nine-pence*, at the most.

Had I the sweet inchaunting Tongue of *Tully*,  
That charmd the hearers, lyke the Syrens Song ;  
Yet could I not describe the Prayses fully,  
Which to *Pecunia* iustly doe belong.

Let it suffice, her Beauty doeth excell :  
Whose praise no Pen can paint, no Tongue can tell.

Then how shall I describe, with artlesse Pen,  
The praise of her, whose praise, all praise surmounteth ?  
Breeding amazement, in the mindes of men :  
Of whom, this pressent Age to much accounteth.

Varietie of Words, would sooner want,  
Then store of plentious matter, would be scant.

Whether yee list, to looke into the Citty :  
(Where money tempts the poore Beholders eye)  
Or to the Countrey Townes, deuoyde of Pitty :  
(Where to the poore, each place doeth almes denye)  
All Things for money now, are bought and solde,  
That either hart can thinke, or eie beholde.

Nay more for money (as report doeth tell)  
Thou mayst obtaine a Pardon for thy sinnes :  
The Pope of *Rome*, for money will it sell ;  
(Whereby thy soule, no small saluation winnes)  
But how can hee, (of Pride the chiefe Beginner)  
Forgiue thy sinnes, that is himselfe a sinner ?

Then, sith the Pope is subiect vnto sinne,  
No maruell tho, diuine *Pecunia* tempt him,  
With her faire Beauty ; whose good-will to winne,  
Each one contends ; and shall we then exempt him.  
Did neuer mortall man, yet looke vpon her,  
But straightwaies he became, enamourd on her.

Yet would I wish, the Wight that loues her so,  
And hath obtain'd, the like good-will againe,  
To vse her wisely, lest she proue his foe ;  
And so, in stead of Pleasure, breed his paine.  
She may be kyst ; but shee must not be *clypt* :  
Lest such Delight in bitter gall be dypt.

The iuyce of grapes, which is a soueraigne Thing  
To cheere the hart, and to reuiue the spirits ;  
Being vsde immoderatly (in surfetting)  
Rather Dispraise, then commendation merits :  
Euen so *Pecunia*, is, as shee is vsd ;  
Good of her selfe, but bad if once abused.

With her, the Tenant payes his Landlords rent :  
On her, depends the stay of euery state :  
To her, rich Presents euery day are sent :  
In her, it rests to end all dire Debate :  
Through her, to Wealth, is raisd the Country Boore :  
From her, procedes much proffit to the poore.

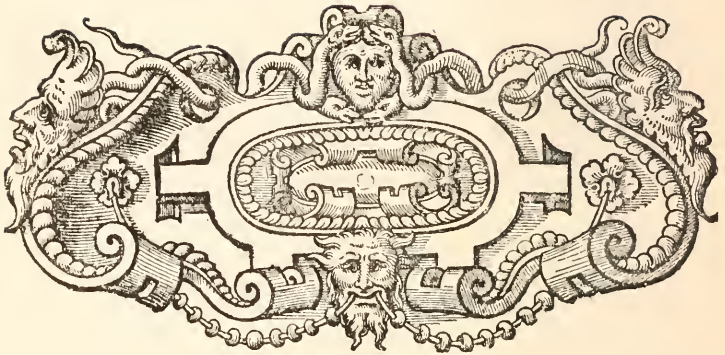
Then how can I, sufficiently commend,  
Her Beauties worth, which makes the World to wonder ?  
Or end her prayse, whose prayses haue no End ?  
Whose absence brings the stoutest stomack vnder :  
Let it suffice, *Pecunia* hath no peere ;  
No Wight, no Beauty held ; more faire, more deere.

F I N I S .



## His Prayer to Pecunia.

**G**reat Lady, sith I haue complyde thy Prayse,  
(According to my skill and not thy merit :)  
And sought thy Fame aboue the starrs to rayse ;  
(Had I sweete *Ovids* vaine, or *Virgils* spirit)  
I craue no more but this, for my good will,  
That in my Want, thou wilt supplye me still.



THE  
Complaint of Poetrie,  
for the Death of Liberalitie.

*Viuit post funera virtus.*



LONDON,  
Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are  
to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre,  
at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.







To his Worshipfull wel-willer, Maister

*Edward Leigh, of Grayes Inne.*

**L**Mage of that, whose losse is here lamented ;  
 (In whom, so many vertues are containd)  
 Daine to accept, what I haue novv presented.  
 Though Bounties death, herein be not fained,  
 In your mind, she not reuiue (with speed)  
 Then will I swear, that shee is dead indeed.





## THE COMPLAINT OF Poetrie, for the Death of Liberalitie.



Weepe Heauens now, for you haue lost your  
 light ;  
 Ye Sunne and Moone, beare witnes of my  
 mone :  
 The cleere is turnd to clouds ; the day to  
 night ;  
 And all my hope, and all my ioy is gone :  
*Bounty* is dead, the cause of my annoy ;  
*Bounty* is dead, and with her dide my ioy.

O who can comfort my afflicted soule ?  
 Or adde some ende to my increasing sorrowes ?  
 Who can deliuer me from endlesse dole ?  
 (Which from my hart eternall torment borrowes.)  
 When *Bounty* liu'd, I bore the Bell away ;  
 When *Bounty* dide, my credit did decay.

I neuer then, did write one verse in vaine ;  
 Nor euer went my Poems vnregarded :  
 Then did each Noble breast, me intertaine,  
 And for my Labours I was well rewarded :  
 But now *Good wordes*, are stept in *Bounties* place,  
 Thinking thereby, her glorie to disgrace.

But who can liue with words, in these hard tymes ?  
(Although they came from *Iupiter* himselfe ?)  
Or who can take such Paiment, for his Rymes ?  
(When nothing now, is so esteem'd as Pelfe ?)  
Tis not *Good wordes*, that can a man maintaine ;  
Wordes are but winde ; and winde is all but vaine.

Where is *Mecænas*, Learnings noble Patron ?  
(That *Maroes* Muse, with Bountie so did cherish ?)  
Or faire *Zenobia*, that worthy Matron ?  
(Whose name, for Learnings Loue, shall neuer perish)  
What tho their Bodies, lie full lowe in graue,  
Their fame the worlde ; their souls the Heauens haue.

Vile *Auaricia*, how hast thou inchaunted  
The Noble mindes, of great and mightie Men ?  
Or what infernall furie late hath haunted  
Their niggard purses ? (to the learned pen)  
Was it *Augustus* wealth, or noble minde,  
That euerlasting fame, to him assinde ?

If wealth ? Why *Cræsus* was more rich then hee ;  
(Yet *Cræsus* glorie, with his life did end)  
It was his Noble mind, that moued mee  
To write his praise, and eeke his Acts commend.  
Who ere had heard, of *Alexanders* fame,  
If *Quintus Curtius* had not pend the same ?

Then sith by mee, their deedes haue been declared,  
(Which else had perisht with their liues decay)  
Who to augment their glories, haue not spared  
To crowne their browes, with neuer-fading Bay :  
What Art deserues such Liberalitie,  
As doeth the peerlesse Art of Poetrie ?

But *Liberalitie* is dead and gone :  
And *Auarice* vsurps true *Bounties* seat.  
For her it is, I make this endlesse mone,  
(Whose praises worth no men can well repeat.  
Sweet *Liberalitie* adiew for euer,  
For *Poetrie* againe, shall see thee neuer.

Neuer againe, shall I thy presence see :  
 Neuer againe, shal I thy bountie tast :  
 Neuer againe, shal I accepted bee :  
 Neuer againe, shall I be so embrac't :  
     Neuer againe, shall I the bad recall :  
     Neuer againe, shall I be lou'd of all :

Thou wast the Nurse, whose Bountie gaue me sucke :  
 Thou wast the Sunne, whose beames did lend me light :  
 Thou wast the Tree, whose fruit I still did plucke :  
 Thou wast the Patron, to maintaine my right :  
     Through thee I liu'd ; on thee I did relie ;  
     In thee I ioy'd ; and now for thee I die.

What man, hath lately lost a faithfull frend ?  
 Or Husband, is deprived of his Wife ?  
 But doth his after-daies in dolour spend ?  
 (Leading a loathsome, discontented life ?)  
     Dearer then friend, or wife, haue I forgone ;  
     Then maruell not, although I make such mone.

Faire *Philomela*, cease thy sad complaint ;  
 And lend thine eares, vnto my dolefull Ditty :  
 (Whose soule with sorrowe, now begins to faint,  
 And yet I cannot moue mens hearts to pittie :)  
     Thy woes are light, compared vnto mine :  
     You waterie Nymphes, to mee your plaints resigne.

And thou *Melpomene*, (the Muse of Death)  
 That neuer sing'st, but in a dolefull straine ;  
 Sith cruell Destinie hath stopt her breath,  
 (Who whilst she liu'd, was Vertues Soueraigne  
     Leaue *Hellicon*, (whose bankes so pleasant bee)  
     And beare a part of sorrowe now with mee.

The Trees (for sorrowe) shead their fading Leaues,  
 And weepe out gum, in stead of other teares ;  
 Comfort nor ioy, no Creature now conceiues,  
 To chirpe and sing, each little bird forbeares.  
     The sillie Sheepe, hangs downe his drooping head,  
     And all because, that *Bounty* she is dead.

The greater that I feele my grieffe to be,  
The lesser able, am I to expresse it ;  
Such is the nature of extremitie,  
The heart it som-thing eases, to confesse it.  
Therefore Ile wake my muse, amidst her sleeping,  
And what I want in wordes, supplie with weeping.

Weepe still mine eies, a Riuer full of Teares,  
To drowne my Sorrowe in, that so molests me ;  
And rid my head of cares ; my thoughts of feares :  
Exiling sweet Content, that so detests me.  
But ah (alas) my Teares are almost dun,  
And yet my grieffe, it is but new begun.

Euen as the Sunne, when as it leaues our sight,  
Doth shine with those Antipodes, beneath vs ;  
Lending the other worlde her glorious light,  
And dismall Darknesse, onely doeth bequeath vs :  
Euen so sweet *Bountie*, seeming dead to mee,  
Liues now to none, but smooth-Tongd Flatterie.

O *Adulation*, Canker-worme of Truth ;  
The flattring Glasse of Pride, and Self-conceit :  
(Making olde wrinkled Age, appeare like youth)  
Dissimulations Maske, and follies Beate :  
Pittie it is, that thou art so rewarded,  
Whilst Truth and Honestie, goe vnregarded.

O that Nobilitie, it selfe should staine,  
In being bountifull, to such vile Creatures :  
Who, when they flatter most, then most they faine ;  
Knowing what humor best, will fit their Natures.  
What man so mad, that knowes himselfe but pore,  
And will beleeuue that he hath riches store.

Vpon a time, the craftie Foxe did flatter  
The foolish Pye (whose mouth was full of meate)  
The Pye beleeuing him, began to chatter,  
And sing for ioy, (not hauing list to eate)  
And whil'st the foolish Pye, her meate let fall,  
The craftie Foxe, did runne awaie with all.

*Terence* describeth vnder *Gnatoes* name,  
 The right conditions of a *Parasyte* :  
 (And with such *Eloquence*, sets foorth the same,  
 As doeth the learned *Reader* much delyght)  
 Shewing, that such a *Sycophant* as *Gnato*,  
 In more esteem'd, then twentie such a *Plato*.

*Bounty* looke backe, vpon thy goods mispent ;  
 And thinke how ill, thou hast bestow'd thy mony :  
 Consider not their wordes, but their intent ;  
 Their hearts are gall, although their tongues be hony :  
 They speake not as they thinke, but all is fained,  
 And onely to th'intent to be maintained.

And herein happie, I areade the poore ;  
 No flattring *Spanyels*, fawne on them for meate :  
 The reason is, because the *Coutrey Boore*  
 Hath little enough, for himselfe to eate :  
 No man will flatter him, except himselfe ;  
 And why ? because hee hath no store of wealth.

But sure it is not *Liberalitie*  
 That doeth reward these fawning smel-feasts so :  
 It is the vice of *Prodigalitie*,  
 That doeth the *Bankers* of *Bounty* over-flo :  
*Bounty* is dead : yea so it needes must bee ;  
 Or if aliue, yet is shee dead to mee.

Therefore as one, whose friend is lately dead,  
 I will bewaile the death, of my deere frend ;  
 Vppon whose *Tombe*, ten thousand *Teares* Ile shead,  
 Till drearie *Death*, of mee shall make an end :  
 Or if she want a *Toombe*, to her desart,  
 Oh then, Ile burie her within my hart.

But (*Bounty*) if thou loue a *Tombe* of stone,  
 Oh then seeke out, a hard and stonie hart :  
 For were mine so, yet would it melt with mone,  
 And all because, that I with thee must part.  
 Then, if a stonie hart must thee interr,  
 Goe finde a *Step-dame*, or a *Vsurer*.



And sith there dies no Wight, of great account,  
But hath an Epitaph compos'd by mee,  
*Bounty*, that did all other far surmount,  
Vpon her Tombe, this Epitaph shall bee :  
*Here lies the Wight, that Learning did maintaine,*  
*And at the last, by AVARICE was slaine.*

Vile *Auarice*, why hast thou kildd my Deare ?  
And robd the World, of such a worthy Treasure ?  
In whome no sparke of goodnesse doth appeare,  
So greedie is thy mind, without all measure,  
Thy death, from Death did merit to release her :  
The Murtherers deseru'd to die, not *Caesar*.

The Merchants wife ; the Tender-hearted Mother  
That leaues her loue ; whose Sonne is prest for warre ;  
(Resting, the one ; as woefull as the other ;)  
Hopes met at length, when ended is the iarre,  
To see her Husband ; see her Sonne again ;  
“ Were it not then for Hope, the hart were slaine.”

But I, whose hope is turned to despaire  
Nere looke to see my dearest Deare againe :  
Then *Pleasure* sit thou downe, in *Sorrowes* Chaire,  
And (for a while) thy wonted Mirth refraine.  
*Bounty* is dead, that whylome was my Treasure,  
*Bounty* is dead, my joy and onely pleasure.

If *Pythias* death, of *Damon* were bewailed ;  
Or *Pillades* did rue, *Orestes* ende :  
If *Hercules*, for *Hylas* losse were quailed ;  
Or *Theseus*, for *Pyrithous* Teares did spende :  
When doe I mourne for *Bounty*, being dead :  
Who liuing, was my hand, my hart, my head.

My hand, to helpe mee, in my greatest need :  
My hart, to comfort mee, in my distresse :  
My head, whom onely I obeyd, indeed :  
If she were such, how can my grieffe be lesse ?  
Perhaps my wordes, may pierce the *Parca's* eares ;  
If not with wordes, Ile moue them with my teares.



But ah (alas) my Teares are spent in vaine,  
 (For she is dead, and I am left aliue)  
 Teares cannot call, sweet *Bounty* backe againe ;  
 Then why doe I, gainst Fate and Fortune striue ?  
 And for her death, thus weepe, lament, and crie ;  
 Sith euery mortall wight, is borne to die.

But as the woefull mother doeth lament,  
 Her tender babe, with cruell Death opprest :  
 Whose life was spotlesse, pure, and innocent,  
 (And therefore sure, it[s] soule is gone to rest)  
 So *Bountie*, which her selfe did vpright keepe,  
 Yet for her losse, loue cannot chuse but weepe.

The losse of her, is losse to many a one :  
 The losse of her, is losse vnto the poore :  
 And therefore not a losse, to mee alone,  
 But vnto such, as goe from Doore to Doore.  
 Her losse, is losse vnto the fatherlesse ;  
 And vnto all, that are in great distresse.

The maimed Souldier, comming from the warre,  
 The woefull wight, whose house was lately burnd ;  
 The sillie soule ; the wofull Traueylar ;  
 And all, whom Fortune at her feet hath spurnd ;  
 Lament the losse of *Liberalitie* :  
 "Its ease, to haue in grieffe some Companie."

The Wife of *Hector* (sad *Andromache*)  
 Did not bewaile, her husbands death alone :  
 But (sith he was the *Troians* onely stay)  
 The wiues of *Troy* (for him) made æquall mone.  
 Shee, shead the teares of Loue ; and they of pittie :  
 Shee, for her deare dead Lord ; they, for their Cittie.

Nor is the Death of *Liberalitie*,  
 (Although my grieffe be greater than the rest)  
 Onely lamented, and bewaild of mee ;  
 (And yet of mee, she was beloued best)  
 But, sith she was so bountifull to all,  
 She is lamented, both of great and small.

O that my Teares could moue the powres diuine,  
That *Bountie* might be called from the dead :  
As *Pitty* pierc'd the hart of *Proserpine* ;  
Who (moued with the Teares *Admetus* shead)  
Did sende him backe againe, his louing Wife ;  
Who lost her owne, to saue her husbands life.

Impartiall *Parcæ*, will no prayers moue you ?  
Can Creatures so diuine, haue stony harts ?  
Haplesse are they, whose hap it is to proue you,  
For you respect no Creatures good Desarts.  
O *Atropos*, (the cruelst of the three)  
Why hast thou tane, my faithfull friend from mee ?

But ah, she cannot (or shee will not) heare me,  
Or if shee doo, yet may not she repent her :  
Then come (sweet Death) O why doest thou forbear me ?  
Aye mee ! thy Dart is blunt, it will not enter.  
Oh now I knowe the cause, and reason why ;  
I am immortall, and I cannot dye.

So *Cytheræa* would haue dide, but could not ;  
When faire *Adonis* by her side lay slaine :  
So I desire the Sisters, what I should not ;  
For why (alas) I wish for Death in vaine ;  
Death is their seruant, and obeys their will ;  
And if they bid him spare, he cannot kill.

Oh would I were, as other Creatures are ;  
Then would I die, and so my grieffe were ended :  
But Death (against my will) my life doeth spare ;  
(So little with the fates I am befrended)  
Sith, when I would, thou doost my sute denie,  
Vile Tyrant, when thou wilt, I will not die.

And *Bounty*, though her body thou hast slaine,  
Yet shall her memorie remaine for euer :  
For euer, shall her memorie remaine ;  
Whereof no spitefull Fortune can bereaue her.  
Then Sorrowe cease, and wipe thy weeping eye ;  
For Fame shall liue, when all the World shall dye.



THE  
Combat, betweene  
Conscience and Couetousnesse,  
in the minde of Man.

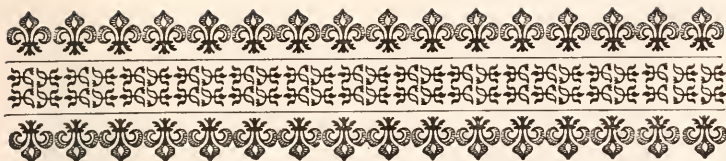
*quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames? Virgil.*



LONDON,  
Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are  
to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre,  
at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.





To his Worshipfull good friend,

Maister *Iohn Steuenton*, of *Dothill*, in the County  
of *Salop*, Esquire.



Ith Conscience (long since) is exilde the City,  
O let her in the Countrey, finde some Pitty :  
But if she be exilde, the Countrey too,  
O let her finde, some fauour yet of you.





## The Combat betweene Conscience and Couetousnesse in the mind of Man.



NOW had the cole-blacke steedes, of pitchie  
Night,  
(Breathing out Darknesse) banisht cheer-  
full Light,  
And sleepe (the shaddowe of eternall rest)  
My seuerall senses, wholly had possest.  
When loe, there was presented to my view,  
A vision strange, yet not so strange, as true.

*Conscience* (me thought) appeared vnto mee,  
Cloth'd with good Deedes, with Trueth and Honestie,  
Her countinace demure, and sober sad,  
Nor any other Ornament shee had.  
Then *Couetousnesse* did incounter her,  
Clad in a Cassock, lyke a Vsurer,  
The Cassock, it was made of poore-mens skinnes,  
Lac'd here and there, with many seuerall sinnes:  
Nor was it furd, with any common furre;  
Or if it were, himselfe hee was the *fur*.  
A Bag of money, in his hande he helde,  
The which with hungry eie, he still behelde.  
The place wherein this vision first began,  
(A spacious plaine) was cald *The Minde of Man*.  
The Carle no sooner, *Conscience* had espyde,  
But swelling lyke a Toade, (puft vp with pryde)



He straight began against her to inuey :  
 These were the wordes, which *Couetise* did sey.  
*Conscience* (quoth hee) how dar'st thou bee so bold,  
 To claime the place, that I by right doe hold ?  
 Neither by right, nor might, thou canst obtaine it :  
 By might (thou knowst full well) thou canst not gaine it  
 The greatest Princes are my followars,  
 The King in Peace, the Captaine in the Warres :  
 The Courtier, and the simple Countrey-man :  
 The Iudge, the Merchant, and the Gentleman :  
 The learned Lawyer, and the Politician :  
 The skilfull Surgeon, and the fine Physician :  
 In briefe, all sortes of men mee entertaine,  
 And hold mee, as their Soules sole Soueraigne,  
 And in my quarrell, they will fight and die,  
 Rather then I should suffer iniurie.  
 And as for title, interest, and right,  
 Ile proue its mine by that, as well as might,  
 Though *Couetousnesse*, were vsed long before,  
 Yet *Iudas* Treason, made my Fame the more ;  
 When *Christ* he caused, crucifyde to bee,  
 For thirtie pence, man solde his minde to mee :  
 And now adaies, what tenure is more free,  
 Than that which purchas'd is, with Gold and fee ?

*Conscience.*

With patience, haue I heard thy large Complaint,  
 Wherein the Diuell, would be thought a Saint :  
 But wot ye what, the Saying is of olde ?  
 One tale is good, vntill anothers tolde.  
 Truth is the right, that I must stand vpon,  
 (For other title, hath poore *Conscience* none)  
 First I will proue it, by Antiquitie,  
 That thou art but an vp-start, vnto mee ;  
 Before that thou wast euer thought vpon,  
 The minde of Man, belongd to mee alone.  
 For after that the Lord, hath Man created,  
 And him in blisse-full Paradice had seated ;  
 (Knowing his Nature was to vice inclynde)  
 God gaue me vnto man, to rule his mynde,  
 And as it were, his Gouvernour to bee,

To guide his minde, in Trueth, and Honestie.  
 And where thou sayst, that man did sell his soule ;  
 That Argument, I quicklie can controule :  
 It is a fayned fable, thou doost tell,  
 That, which is not his owne, he cannot sell ;  
 No man can sell his soule, altho he thought it :  
 Mans soule is *Christs*, for hee hath dearely bought it.  
 Therefore vsurping *Couetise*, be gone.  
 For why, the minde belongs to mee alone.

*Couetousnesse.*

Alas poore *Conscience*, how thou art deceav'd ?  
 As though of senses, thou wert quite bereaud.  
 What wilt thou say (that thinkst thou canst not erre)  
 If I can proue my selfe the ancienter ?  
 Though into *Adams* minde, God did infuse thee,  
 Before his fall, yet man did neuer vse thee.  
 What was it else, but *Aurice* in *Eue*,  
 (Thinking thereby, in greater Blisse to liue)  
 That made her taste, of the forbidden fruite ?  
 Of her Desier, was not I the roote ?  
 Did she not couet ? (tempted by the Deuill)  
 The Apple of the Tree, of good and euill ?  
 Before man vsed *Conscience*, she did couet :  
 Therefore by her Transgression, here I proue it,  
 That *Couetousnesse* possesst the minde of man,  
 Before that any *Conscience* began.

*Conscience.*

Euen as a counterfeited precious stone,  
 Seemes to bee far more rich, to looke vpon,  
 Then doeth the right : But when a man comes neere,  
 His baseness then, doeth euident appeere :  
 So *Couetise*, the Reasons thou doost tell,  
 Seeme to be strong, but being weighed well,  
 They are indeed, but onely meere Illusions,  
 And doe inforce but very weake Conclusions.  
 When as the Lord (fore-knowing his offence)  
 Had giuen man a Charge, of Abstinance,  
 And to refraine, the fruite of good and ill :  
 Man had a *Conscience*, to obey his will,

And neuer would be tempted thereunto,  
Vntill the Woeman, shee, did worke *man woe*.  
And make him breake, the Lords Commaundement,  
Which all Mankinde, did afterward repent :  
So that thou seest, thy Argument is vaine,  
And I am prov'd, the elder of the twaine.

*Couetousnesse.*

Fond Wretch, it was not *Conscience*, but feare,  
That made the first man (Adam) to forbear  
To tast the fruite, of the forbidden Tree,  
Lest, if offending hee were found to bee,  
(According as *Iehouah* saide on hye,  
For his so great Transgression, hee should dye.)  
Feare curbd his minde, it was not *Conscience* then,  
(For *Conscience* freely, rules the harts of men)  
And is a godly motion of the mynde,  
To euerie vertuous action inclynde,  
And not enforc'd, through feare of Punishment,  
But is to vertue, voluntary bent :  
Then (simple Trul) be packing presentlie,  
For in this place, there is no roome for thee.

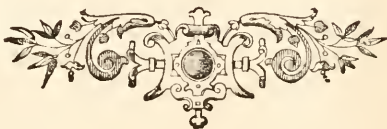
*Conscience.*

Aye mee (distressed Wight) what shall I doe ?  
Where shall I rest ? Or whither shall I goe ?  
Vnto the rich ? (woes mee) they, doe abhor me :  
Vnto the poore ? (alas) they, care not for me :  
Vnto the Olde-man ? hee ; hath mee forgot :  
Vnto the Young-man ? yet hee, knowes me not :  
Vnto the Prince ? hee ; can dispence with me :  
Vnto the Magistrate ? that, may not bee :  
Vnto the Court ? for it, I am too base :  
Vnto the Countrey ? there, I haue no place :  
Vnto the Citty ? thence ; I am exilde :  
Vnto the Village ? there ; I am reuilde :  
Vnto the Barre ? the Lawyer there, is bribed ?  
Vnto the Warre ? there, *Conscience* is derided :  
Vnto the Temple ? there, I am disguised :  
Vnto the Market ? there, I am dispised :  
Thus both the young and olde, the rich and poore,

Against mee (silly Creature) shut their doore.  
Then, sith each one seekes my rebuke and shame,  
Ile goe againe to Heauen (from whence I came.)

This saide (me thought) making exceeding mone,  
She went her way, and left the Carle alone,  
Who vaunting of his late-got victorie,  
Aduanc'd himselfe in pompe and Maiestie :  
Much like a Cocke, who hauing kild his foe,  
Brisks vp himselfe, and then begins to crow.  
So *Couetise*, when *Conscience* was departed,  
Gan to be proud in minde, and hauty harted :  
And in a stately Chayre of state he set him,  
(For *Conscience* banisht) there are none to let him.  
And being but one entrie, to this Plaine,  
(Whereof as king and Lord, he did remaine)  
*Repentance* cald, he causd that to be kept,  
Lest *Conscience* should returne, whilst as he slept :  
Wherefore he causd it, to be watcht and warded  
Both night and Day, and to be strongly guarded :  
To keepe it safe, these three he did intreat,  
*Hardnesse of hart*, with *Falshood* and *Deceat* :  
And if at any time, she chaunc'd to venter,  
*Hardnesse of hart*, denide her still to enter.  
When *Conscience* was exilde the minde of Man,  
Then *Couetise*, his gouernment began.  
This once being seene, what I had seene before,  
(Being onely seene in sleepe) was seene no more ;  
For with the sorrowe, which my Soule did take  
At sight hereof, fourthwith I did awake.

F I N I S .



# Poems:

In diuers humors.

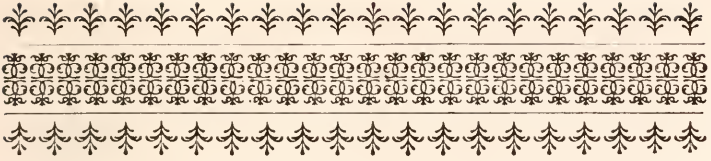
*Trahit sua quemque voluptas.* Virgil.



LONDON,  
Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are  
to be solde at his shoppe neere Temple-barre,  
at the Signe of the Hand and starre.

1598.





To the learned, and accomplisht Gentleman,  
 Maister *Nicholas Blackleech*,  
 of Grayes Inne.

**T**O you, that know the tuch of true Conceat ;  
 (Whose many gifts I neede not to repeat)  
 I vwrite these Lines ; fruits of vnriper yeares ;  
 Wherein my Muse no harder censure feares :  
 Hoping in gentle Worth, you will them take ;  
 Not for the gift, but for the giuers sake.







## SONNET. I.

To his friend Maister R. L. In praise of  
Musique and Poetrie.



**I**F Musique and sweet Poetrie agree,  
As they must needs (the Sister and the  
Brother)  
Then must the Loue be great, twixt thee  
and mee,  
Because thou lou'st the one, and I the  
other.

*Dowland* to thee is deare; whose heauenly tuch  
Vpon the Lute, doeth rauish humane sense :  
*Spenser* to mee; whose deepe Conceit is such,  
As passing all Conceit, needs no defence.

Thou lou'st to heare the sweete melodious sound,  
That *Phæbus* Lute (the Queene of Musique) makes :  
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,  
When as himselfe to singing he betakes.

One God is God of Both (as Poets faigne)  
One Knight loues Both, and Both in thee remaine.

## SONNET. II.

*Against the Disprayers of Poetrie.*



*C*haucer is dead ; and *Gower* lyes in grave ;  
The Earle of *Surrey*, long agoe is gone ;  
Sir *Philip Sidneis* soule, the Heauens haue ;  
*George Gascoigne* him beforne, was tomb'd in stone,

Yet, tho their Bodies lye full low in ground,  
(As every thing must dye, that earst was borne)  
Their liuing fame, no Fortune can confound ;  
Nor euer shall their Labours be forlorne.

And you, that discommend sweete Poetrie,  
(So that the Subiect of the same be good)  
Here may you see, your fond simplicitie ;  
Sith Kings haue fauord it, of royall Blood.

The King of *Scots* (now liuing) is a Poet,  
As his *Lepanto*, and his *Furies* shoe it.



## A Remembrance of some English Poets.



*L*ue *Spenser* euer, in thy *Fairy Queene* :

Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene  
Crownd mayst thou bee, vnto thy more renowne  
(As King of Poets) with a Lawrell Crowne.

And *Daniell*, praised for thy sweet-chast Verse :  
Whose Fame is grav'd on *Rosamonds* blacke Herse.  
Still mayst thou liue : and still be honored,  
For that rare Worke, *The White Rose and the Red.*

And *Drayton*, whose wel-written Tragedies,  
And sweete Epistles, soare thy fame to skies.  
Thy learned Name, is æquall with the rest ;  
Whose stately Numbers are so well adrest.

And *Shakespeare* thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine,  
 (Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.  
 Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece* (sweete, and chaste)  
 Thy Name in fames immortall Booke haue plac't.  
 Liue euer you, at least in Fame liue euer :  
 Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies neuer.



## An Ode.



S it fell vpon a Day,  
 In the merrie Month of May,  
 Sitting in a pleasant shade,  
 Which a groue of Myrtles made,  
 Beastes did leape, and Birds did sing,  
 Trees did grow, and Plants did spring :  
 Euerie thing did banish mone,  
 Saue the Nightingale alone.  
 Shee (poore Bird) as all forlorne,  
 Leand her Breast vp-till a Thorne,  
 And there sung the dolefulst Ditty,  
 That to heare it was great Pitty.  
*Fie, fie, fie*, now would she cry  
*Teru Teru*, by and by :  
 That to heare her so complaine,  
 Scarce I could from Teares refraine :  
 For her griefes so liuely showne,  
 Made me thinke vpon mine owne.  
 Ah (thought I) thou mournst in vaine ;  
 None takes Pitty on thy paine :  
 Senselesse Trees, they cannot heere thee ;  
 Ruthlesse Beares, they wil not cheer thee.  
 King *Pandion*, hee is dead :  
 All thy friends are lapt in Lead.  
 All thy fellow Birds doe singe,  
 Carelesse of thy sorrowing.

Whilst as fickle Fortune smilde,  
 Thou and I, were both beguilde.  
 Euerie one that flatters thee,  
 Is no friend in miserie :  
 Words are easie, like the winde ;  
 Faithfull friends are hard to finde :  
 Euerie man will bee thy friend,  
 Whilst thou hast wherewith to spend :  
 But if store of Crownes be scant,  
 No man will supply thy want.  
 If that one be prodigall,  
 Bountifull, they will him call.  
 And with such-like flattering,  
 Pitty but hee were a King.  
 If hee bee adict to vice,  
 Quickly him, they will intice.  
 If to Woemen hee be bent,  
 They haue at Commaundement.  
 But if Fortune once doe frowne,  
 Then farewell his great renoune :  
 They that fawnd on him before,  
 Vse his company no more.  
 Hee that is thy friend indeed,  
 Hee will helpe thee in thy neede :  
 If thou sorrowe, hee will weepe ;  
 If thou wake, hee cannot sleepe :  
 Thus of euerie griefe, in hart,  
 Hee, with thee, doeth beare a Part.  
 These are certaine Signes, to knowe  
 Faithfull friend, from flatt'ring foe.



Written, at the Request of a Gentleman,  
vnder a Gentlewoman's Picture.

**E**uen as *Apelles* could not paint *Campaspes* face  
aright :  
Because *Campaspes* Sun-bright eyes did dimme  
*Apelles* sight :  
Euen so, amazed at her sight, her sight, all sights  
excelling,

Like *Nyobe* the Painter stode, her sight his sight expelling,  
Thus Art and Nature did contend, who should the Victor bee,  
Till Art by Nature was supprest, as all the worlde may see.



An Epitaph vpon the Death, of Sir Philip

Sidney, Knight ; Lord-gouernour of Vlissing.

**T**hat *England* lost, that Learning lov'd, that euery  
mouth commended,  
That fame did prayse, that Prince did rayse, that  
Countrey do defended,  
Here lyes the man : lyke to the Swan, who know-  
ing shee shall die,

Doeth tune her voice vnto the Spheares, and scornes Mortalitie.  
Two worthie Earls his vnclcs were ; a Lady was his Mother ;  
A Knight his father ; and himselfe a noble Countesse Brother.  
Belov'd, bewaild ; aliue, now dead ; of all, with Teares for euer ;  
Here lyes Sir *Philip Sidneis* Corps, whom cruell Death did  
seuer,

He liv'd for her, hee dyde for her ; for whom he dyde, he liued :  
O graunt (O God) that wee of her, may neuer be depriued.

An Epitaph vpon the Death of his Aunt,  
Mistresse Elizabeth Skrymsher.



Here beholde the certaine Ende, of euerie liuing  
wight :

No Creature is secure from Death, for Death  
will haue his Right.

He spareth none : both rich and poore, both  
young and olde must die ;

So fraile is flesh, so short is Life, so sure Mortalitie.

When first the Bodye liues to Life, the soule first dies to  
sinne :

And they that loose this earthly Life, a heauenly Life shall  
winne,

If they liue well: as well she liv'd, that lyeth Vnder heere ;  
Whose Vertuous Life to all the Worlde, most plainly did  
appeere.

Good to the poore, friend to the rich, and foe to no Degree :  
A President of modest Life, and peerelesse Chastitie.

Who louing more, Who more belov'd of euerie honest mynde?  
Who more to Hospitalitie, and Clemencie inclinde

Then she? that being buried here, lyes wrapt in Earth  
below ;

From whence we came, to whom wee must, and bee as shee  
is now,

A Clodd of Clay : though her pure soule in endlesse Blisse  
doeth rest ;

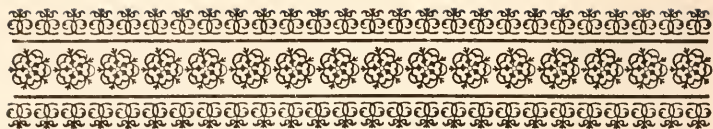
Ioying all Ioy, the Place of Peace, prepared for the blest :  
Where holy Angells sit and sing, before the King of Kings ;

Not mynding worldly Vanities, but onely heavenly Things.  
Vnto which Ioy, Vnto which Blisse, Vnto which Place of

Pleasure,

God graunt that wee may come at last, t' inioy that heauenly  
Treasure.

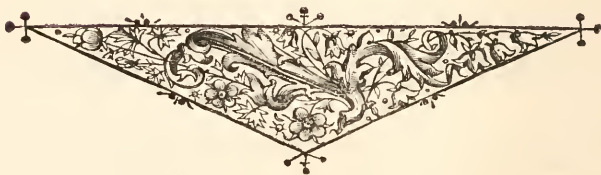
Which to obtaine, to liue as shee hath done let us endeour ;  
That wee may liue with Christ himselfe, (above) that liues  
for euer.



## A Comparison of the Life of Man.

**M**Ans life is vvell compared to a feast,  
 Furnisht with choice of all Varietie :  
 To it comes Tyme ; and as a bidden guest  
 Hee sets him downe, in Pompe and Maiestie ;  
 The three-folde Age of Man, the Waiters bee,  
 Then with an earthen voyder (made of clay)  
 Comes Death, and takes the table clean  
 away.

F I N I S.





The English Scholar's Library, etc.

No. 12.

---

*MENAPHON.*

1589.

The pure Carbon Ink supplied by us for the printing of this book is unaffected by acids or alkalies ; and will retain its *jet black* colour for a very long period of time.

*Wolverhampton*

MANDER BROTHERS.

The above-described Ink of Messrs MANDER Brothers has been solely used in the printing of this Volume.

TURNEULL & SPEARS,  
EDINBURGH.

# CONTENTS.



	PAGE
The English Works of ROBERT GREENE, GABRIEL HARVEY, and THOMAS NASH ... ..	vi-x
INTRODUCTION ... ..	xi-xvi

## MENAPHON, CAMILLAS alarum &c. I

ROBERT GREENE. Dedication to Lady HALES ... ..	3
ROBERT GREENE. To the Gentlemen Readers ... ..	4
THOMAS NASH. To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities	5
HENRY UPCHEAR. <i>In laudem Authoris</i> ... ..	19
THOMAS BRABINE. <i>In praise of the Author</i> ... ..	20

## *Arcadia. The reports of the Shepherds* 21

The Story consists practically of eight Reports of the Shepherds, of which the following are the principal characters.

1. DEMOCLES, MENAPHON, (SEPHESTIA) SAMELA, LAMEDON, CARMELA ... ..	21-40
(1) MENAPHON'S <i>Song</i> ... ..	26
(2) SEPHESTIA'S <i>Song to her child</i> ... ..	27
(3) MENAPHON'S <i>Roundelay</i> ... ..	37
2. DORON, (MAXIMIUS) MELICERTUS, PESANA ... ..	40-55
(4) DORON'S <i>Description of SAMELA</i> ... ..	41
(5) DORON'S <i>Jig</i> ... ..	43
(6) MELICERTUS'S <i>Description of his mistress</i> ... ..	52
(7) MELICERTUS'S <i>Madrigal</i> ... ..	54
3. PLEUSIDIPPUS, EURILOCHUS, ROMANIO, AGENOR, ERIPPIA ... ..	55-61
4. SAMELA, MENAPHON, PESANA... ..	61-67
(8) MENAPHON'S <i>Song in his bed</i> ... ..	64
(9) MENAPHON'S <i>Song before PESANA</i> ... ..	65
5. PLEUSIDIPPUS, OLYMPIA, AGENOR ... ..	67-70
6. DEMOCLES, PLEUSIDIPPUS, SAMELA, DORON, MENAPHON, MELICERTUS ... ..	70-85
(10) MENAPHON'S <i>Eclogue</i> ... ..	76
(11) MELICERTUS'S <i>Eclogue</i> ... ..	78
7. DORON, CARMELA ... ..	85-89
(12) DORON and CARMELA'S <i>Eclogues</i> ... ..	86
(13) ROBERT GREENE. <i>Sonnetto, What thing is Love?</i>	88
8. DEMOCLES, MELICERTUS, SAMELA, PLEUSIDIPPUS ... ..	89-92

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF ROBERT GREENE,  
GABRIEL HARVEY, AND THOMAS NASH.  
1580-1600 A.D.

Strange to say, such a Chronological List as this is still a *desideratum*. We have included in it the novels of LYLly and LODGE, so as to make it represent the principal Romance Writers of the Euphuistic School in ELIZABETH's reign.

It naturally comprises all the Works which expressed the famous Quarrel between RICHARD and GABRIEL HARVEY, and TOM NASH: in respect to which, it must always be remembered that the HARVEYS began it, in *A Theological Discourse of The Lamb of GOD &c.*, 23 Oct. 1589; and that when NASH was beguiled so as to insert an Apology, as handsome as it was honest (in the First edition of his *CHRIST's teares over Jerusalem*, 8 Sept. 1593), GABRIEL HARVEY scornfully rejected the offer, and so brought upon himself the severest invectives of one, whom both GREENE (in his *Groat's Worth*, 1592), and MERES (in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598) called the English JUVENAL.

In the following List; there comes 1st, Date of registration at Stationers' Hall, with a reference in ( ) to the page in the *Transcript of the Registers &c.* 1875-6, where the entry may be found. 2nd, The Writer, a short part of the title, and the date of title page of First Edition, which is often of the year following that of the registration. 3rd, The Printer or Publisher to whom the First Edition was licensed, as G. CAWOOD.

All the concurrent *MARTIN MARPRELATE* books are omitted from this List. For these, see *pp.* 197-200 of No. 8 of this Series.

- 1578.
- 2 Dec. (ii. 342). J. Lyly, M.A. EUPHUES. Anatomy of Wit. 1579. G. CAWOOD.
- 1579.
- 24 July (ii. 357). J. Lyly, M.A. EUPHUES and his England. 1580. G. CAWOOD.
- 1580.
- 30 June (ii. 373). E. Spenser and Dr. G. Harvey. Three proper, and wittie, familiar Letters, lately passed betweene two University men. H. BINNEMAN.
- 3 Oct. (ii. 378). R. Greene, M.A. MAMILLIA. A Mirrour or looking glasse for the Ladies of England. [*GREENE's first printed Work.*] T. WOODCOCK.
- 1581.
- 20 Mar. (ii. 391). R. Greene, M.A. A Ballad. *Youthe seinge all his wais so Troublesome &c.* E. WHITE.
- 7 June (ii. 412). J. Yates, *Servigman*. The Castell of Courtesie . . . the Holde of Humilitie, with the Chariot of Chastitie. J. WOLF.
- 1583.
- 19 Aug. (ii. 427). A. Munday. The sweete sobbes, and amorous Complaintes of Sheperdes and Nymphs in a fancye confusde. J. CHARLEWOOD.
- 6 Sept. (ii. 428). R. Greene, M.A. MAMILLIA. The Second part of the Triumph of PALLAS. 1584. W. PONSONBY.
- 11 April (ii. 431). R. Greene, M.A. GWIDONIUS. The Carde of Fancie. W. PONSONBY.
- ? *Not registered.* R. Greene, M.A. The Mirrour of Modestie. R. WARD.
- 13 Aug. (ii. 434). R. Greene, M.A. ARBASTO. The Anatomie of Fortune. H. JACKSON.
- 22 Sept. (ii. 435). W. Warner, *Attorney in the Common Pleas*. PAN his SYRINX or Pipe compact of seven reedes, including in one, seven Tragical and Comical Arguments. T. PURFOOT.
- 1585.
- ? *Not registered.* R. Greene, M.A. Planetomachia, or the first part of the general opposition of the seven Planets. T. CADMAN.
- 1586.
- 8 Aug. (ii. 452). R. Greene, M.A. MORANDO. The Tritameron of Love. E. WHITE.

1587.

[Not required to be registered.] R. Greene, M.A., adds a Second Part to the new edition of MORANDO of this year. E. WHITE.

11 June (ii. 471). R. Greene, M.A. Farewell to folly. E. AGGAS.

19 June (ii. 472). R. Greene, M.A. PENELOPE's Web. E. AGGAS.

18 Sept. (ii. 475). R. Greene, M.A. EUPHUES, his censure to PHILAUTUS. E. WHITE.

1588.

29 March (ii. 488). R. Greene, M.A. PERIMIDIES the Blacksmith. E. WHITE.

1 July (ii. 493). R. Greene, M.A. PANDOSTO. The Triumph of Time. [Re-

*gisterea* as The complaint of tyme.] T. ORWIN.

[∴ The foundation story of SHAKESPEARE's *Winter's Tale*.]

19 Sept. (ii. 499). T. Nash. The Anatomie of Absurdities. [p. xiii.] T. HACKET.

[Not however published in August 1589, see p. 18. The first and only edition in the Author's life-time is dated 1590.]

9 Dec. (ii. 510). R. Greene, M.A. ALCIDA. Greene's Metamorphosis. J. WOLF.

1589.

1 Feb. (ii. 515). R. Greene, M.A. The Spanish Masquerado. T. CADMAN.

? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. CICERONIS Amor. TULLIE's Love.

Printed by R. ROBINSON, for T. NEWMAN and J. WINNINGTON, Assigned from WINNINGTON's widow to J. BUSBY on 30 Oct. 1595 (iii. 51).

23 Aug. (ii. 529). R. Greene, M.A. MENAPHON. CAMILLA's alarum to slumbering EUPHUES, in his melancholie Cell of Silexedra. S. CLARKE.

22 Sept. (ii. 530). T. Lodge, M.D. SCILLAES Metamorphosis, enterlaced with the unfortunate Love of Glaucus. R. JONES.

23 Oct. (ii. 532). Richard Harvey. A Theological Discourse of the Lamb of GOD and his enemies. [Published after PIERCE PENNILESSE.] 1590. W. PONSONBY.

[∴ Written against the Martinists; but is also the beginning of the strife between the HARVEYS, and LYLY, GREENE and NASH.]

With this should be considered another piece written by GABRIEL HARVEY. At Trinitie Hall, this fift of November, 1589, entituled An Advertisement for PAPHATCHET and MARTIN MAR-PRELATE; which appears as pp. 69-140 of his PIERCE's Supererogation; which was not published by him till September 1593, four months after PENRY had been hanged.]

1590.

9 Feb. (ii. 539). R. Greene, M.A. ORPHARION. Wherein is discovered a musicall concorde of pleasant Histories. E. WHITE.

15 April (ii. 545). [Registered to T. NELSON.] R. Greene, M.A. The Royal Exchange. Containing sundry Aphorismes of Phylosophie, and golden principles of Morrall and Naturall Quadruplicities. I. CHARLEWOOD for W. WRIGHT.

[26 June (ii. 553)? TARTLTON's News out of Purgatory. T. GUBBINS and T. NEWMAN.]

? Not registered. [?] The Cobler of Canterbury or An Invective against TARTLTON's News out of Purgatory. R. ROBINSON.

? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. Never too Late. Or a Powder of Experience. T. ORWIN for N. L[ING] and J. BUSBY.

? Not registered. R. Greene, M.A. FRANCESCOS Fortunes. Or the Second Part of Never too Late. T. ORWIN for N. L[ING] and J. BUSBY.

6 Oct. (ii. 564). T. Lodge, M.D., edited by R. Greene, M.A. ROSALYND. EUPHUES golden legacy, found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. N. LING and J. BUSBY.

[∴ The foundation story of SHAKESPEARE's *As you like it*.]

2 Nov. (ii. 567). R. Greene, M.A. Mourning Garment: given him by Repentance, at the Funerals of Love. J. WOLF.

1591.

? Not registered. T. Lodge, M.D. The famous, true and historical life of ROBERT . . . the Diuell. [?] for N. L[ING] and J. BUSBY.

- ? *Not registered.* T. Lodge, M.D. Catharos. DIOGENES in his Singularitie.  
W. HOSKINS and J. DANTER for J. BUSBY.
- 6 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. A Maidens Dream [upon the death of Sir  
C. HATTON, Lord Chancellor]. [T. SCARLET for] T. NELSON.
- 13 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. A notable Discovery of Coosnage. [T.  
SCARLET for T. NELSON.  
[Registered as The Art of Conny catching to E. WHITE and T. NELSON.]
- 13 Dec. (ii. 600). R. Greene, M.A. The Second Part of Conny-catching  
[T. WOLF for] W. WRIGHT.
- 1592.
- 7 Feb. (ii. 603). R. Greene, M.A. The Third and last Part of Conny-catching.  
T. SCARLET [for C. BURBY].
- 17 Feb. (ii. 604). T. Lodge, M.D. EUPHUES shadow, with the Deaf man's  
Dialogue. [A. JEFFES for] N. LING and J. BUSBY.
- 21 April (ii. 609). Cuthbert Conny-catcher. The Defence of Connye Catchinge.  
[A. JEFFES for] T. GUBBINS and J. BUSBY.
- ? *Not registered.* [?] A Disputation betweene a He Conny Catcher, and a Shee  
Conny-catcher. A. J[EFFES for] T. G[UBBINS].
- 1 July (ii. 614). [Registered tentatively to J. WOLF.] R. Greene, M.A. PHILO-  
MELA. The Lady Fitzwa[il]ter's Nightingale. R. B. for E. WHITE.
- 21 July (ii. 617). R. Greene, M.A. A Quip for an Upstart Courtier. J. WOLF.
- 8 Aug. (ii. 619). T. Nash. PIERCE PENNILESS his Supplication to the Deuill.  
[The surreptitious First edition with the long Title page.] R. JONES.
- ? *Not registered.* T. Nash. PIERCE PENNILESS his Supplication to the Divell.  
[The authentic Second edition with the short Title.] A. JEFFES for J. BUSBY.
- 21 Aug. (ii. 619). R. Greene, M.A. The Blacke Bookes Messenger. Laying  
open the Life and Death of NED BROWNE. J. DANTER [for T. NELSON].
- [29 Aug., the date of C. BIRD's letter from Saffron Walden, in Dr. G. HARVEY's  
Foure Letters &c. (Licensed the following 4 Dec.). It describes GREENE, as, Now  
sicke as a Dog, and states that, in A Quip &c, he had attacked GABRIEL's  
father, old Master HARVEY of Saffron Walden.
- Robert Greene dies 4 September, 1592.
- [The details of his death are given by G. HARVEY in the Second of his Foure Letters  
&c.; which is dated, London, 5 of September, 1592].
- 20 Sept. (ii. 620). R. Greene, M.A. Groatsworth of Witte bought with a Million  
of Repentance. W. WRIGHT.
- 6 Oct. (ii. 620). [?] The Repentance of ROBERT GREENE, M.A. J. DANTER.  
[A copy is in the Malone Collection, in the Bodleian Library.]
- 4 Dec. (ii. 623). Dr. G. Harvey. Four Letters, and certaine Sonnets: espe-  
cially touching ROBERT GREENE. J. WOLF.
- 8 Dec. (ii. 623). Henry Chettle. KIND HART's Dreame. W. WRIGHT.
- ? *Not registered.* [?] GREENE's Vision. for T. NEWMAN.
- 1593.
- 12 Jan. (ii. 624). T. Nash. Strange News of the intercepting certaine Letters.  
J. DANTER.  
[Registered as The Apologie of PIERCE PENNILESS, or strange newes, &c.]
- 3 Feb. (ii. 626). B[arnaby] R[ich]. GREENE's Newes both from Heaven and  
Hell. T. ADAMS and J. OXENBRIDGE.
- [18 Apr. (ii. 630). W. Shakespeare's first publication. VENUS and ADONIS.  
R. FIELD.]

John Penry hanged, 29 May, 1593.

Christopher Marlowe dies from a stab, 16 June, 1593.

- 30 June (ii. 633). T. Nash. The Terror of the night or a Discourse of  
Apparitions. J. DANTER.
- 8 Sept. (ii. 635). T. Nash. First Edition of CHRIST's teares over Ierusalem.  
ALICE CHARLEWOOD. [but ? printed by JAMES ROBERTS for ANDREW W.]

In the Epistle *To the Reader*, G. HARVEY having made "a slauish priuat submission"; NASH makes the following "generall publike reconciliation."

*Nil nisi flere libet*, Gentles, heere is no ioyful subiect towardes, if you will weepe, so it is. I have nothing to spend on you but passion. A hundred vnfortunate farewells to fantastical Satirisme. In those vaines heere-to-fore haue I mispent my spirite, and prodigally conspir'd against good houres. Nothing is there nowe so much in my vowes, as to be at peace with all men, and make submissiue amends where I haue most displeas'd. Not basely feare-blasted, or constraintiue ouer-ruled, but purely pacificatorie suppliant, for reconciliation and pardon doe I sue, to the principallest of them, gainst whom I profest vtter enmity.

Euen of Maister Docter *Haruey*, I hartily desire the like, whose fame and reputation, (though through some precedent iniurious prouocations, and feruent incitements of young heads,) I rashly assailed: yet now better aduised, and of his perfections more confirmedly persuaded, vnfaignedly I entreate of the whole worlde, from my penne his worths may receiue no impeachment. All acknowledgements of abundant Schollership, courteous well gouerned behaviour, and ripe experienst judgement, doe I attribute vnto him. Only with his milde gentle moderation, heervnto hath he wonne me.

Take my inuectiue against him, in that abject nature that you would doe the ralying of a Sophister in the schooles, or a scolding Lawyer at the barre, which none but fooles wil wrest to defame.

As the Tytle of this Booke is *Christs Teares*, so be this Epistle the Teares of my penne. Many things haue I vainely sette forth, whereof now it repenteth me. S. *Augustine* writ a whole booke of his Retractions. Nothing so much do I retract, as that wherein soeuer I haue scandaliz'd the meanest.

No sooner was this published; and "the scalp of *Haruey's* credit, new couered with a false periwig of commendations," than *Haruey* launched after "a cunning abuscado of confiscated idle oathes," that which had been in preparation for some six months, viz.,

Dr. G. HARVEY's PIERCE's Supererogation, or A new Prayse of the Old Asse.

J. WOLF.

*In two Parts, each with a title page. The Second and larger Part was written first, and is dated 27 Aprill 1593. The first Part is short, and dated, At London: this 16 of Iuly, 1593. The last date in the Book, is in the Printer's Postscript, and is J. THORIVS's Letter from Oxford, 3 Aug. 1593. [? Two editions.]*

Respecting this work, NASH says, (*Haue with you to Saffron Walden*, F. 2. Ed. 1596) *Gabriell Haruey* . . . not content to haue the naked scalp of his credit now couered with a false periwig of commendations . . . hath since that time deeply forsworne himself in the arbitrement of peace, and after the ancient custome of Scottish amitie, vnawares proclaimed open warres a fresh in a whole *Alexandrian* Librarie of waste paper. "Piers his Supererogation, or *Nashes* Saint Fame" pretely and quirkingly he christens it; and yet not so much to quirke and crosse me thereby, as to blesse himselfe and make his booke sell, did hee giue it that title. Now . . . he takes a new lesson out of *Plutarch*, in making benefit of his enemie, and borrows my name, and the name of *Piers Pennilesse* (one of my Bookes) which he knew to be most saleable (passing at the least through the pikes of sixe Impressions) to helpe his bedred stuffe to limpe out of *Powles Churchyard*.

17 Sept. (ii. 636). [*Licensed to* J. WOLF.] T. NASH. The unfortunate Traveller, Or, the life of JACK WILTON. T. SCARLET for C. BURBY.

1 Oct. (ii. 636). Dr. G. HARVEY. A New Letter of Notable Contents. J. WOLF

7 Dec. (ii. 641). R. GREENE, M.A. A "plaie booke." The Historie of ORLANDO Furioso, one of the twelve Peeres of Fraunce. J. DANTER.

Assigned by DANTER, on 24 May, 1594 (ii. 650) to C. BURBY, reserving the right of printing of any new editions.



1594.

**T Nash.** Second edition of CHRIST'S Tears over Jerusalem. For A. WISE.

In this Edition NASH substitutes a new Epistle to the Reader, in which he thus represents the malignity of HARVEY'S pretended friendship.

The loue or pitie I shewed towards mineemie, of all my ill fortunes hath most confounded me . . .

Cleane contrarie to my expectation it hath fallen out, for treason was shrowded vnder termes of truce : whereas I thought to make my foe a bridge of golde, or faire words to flie by, he hath vsed it as a high way to invade me. *Hæc pia lingua dedit.* This it is to deale plainly. An extreme gull he is in this age and no better, that beleeueth a man for his swearing. Impious *Gabriel Haruey*, the vowedemie to all vowes and protestations, plucking on with a slavish priuat submission, a generall publike reconciliation, hath with a cunning ambuscado of confiscated idle othes, welneare betrayed me to infamie eternall (his owne proper chaire of torment in hell). I can say no more but the deuill and he be no men of their words.

1 Feb. (ii. 644). **R. B. Gent.** Greene's Furneralles. J. DANTER.

5 Mar. (ii. 645). **T. Lodge, M.D., and R. Greene, M.A.** A Looking Glasse for London and England. [A Play.] T. CREED [for W. BARLEY].

14 May (ii. 648). **R. Greene, M.A.** The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth, slaine at Flodden. [A Play.] T. CREED.

7 June (ii. 652). **T. Lodge, M.D.** A Spyder's Webbe. [? now lost.] N. LING. 1595.

3 Jan. (ii. 668). [?] PAN his Pipe conteyning Three pastorall Egloges in Englishe Hexameter, with other delightful Verses. R. JONES.

1 Apr. (ii. 295). A Comedie of GEORGE A GREENE, the Primer of Wakefield. [? Attributed to Greene.] C. BURBY.

? Not registered. **R. R.** Questions concerning Cony-hood. [? A Copy was in CORSER'S Third Sale, No. 399. 1870.]

1596.

? Not registered. **T. Nash.** I have with you to Saffron Walden, or GABRIEL HARVEY'S Hunt is up. J. DANTER.

1597.

11 Oct. (iii. 92). Dr. **G. Harvey.** The Trimming of THOMAS NASHE, Gentleman. 1599. C. BURBY.

11 Jan. (iii. 134). **T. Nash.** Lenten Stuffle. [for N. LING and] C. BURBY.

1 June (iii. 677). Archbishop WHITGIFT and BANCROFT Bishop of London, at Croyden, give Commandments to the Master and Warden of the Stationers Company to seize and burn certain books. Among these, is the following:

That all NASSHES bookes and Doctor HARVYES bookes be taken wheresoeuer they maye be found and that none of their bookes bee euer printed hereafter /

4 June (iii. 678). The Commandments are promulgated at Stationers' Hall; certain books are burnt &c.: and all the printers (a list of whose names is given) likely to be concerned in the production of such books are distinctly warned accordingly.

1600.

28 Oct. (iii. 175). **T. Nash.** A pleasant Comedie called SUMMER'S last Will and Testament. S. STAFFORD for [C. BURBY and] W. BURRE.

**T. Nash** was evidently dead some time before December 1601, when the *Return from Parnassus* was written. See p. x. of No. 6 of this Series.

CHARLES FITZ GEOFFREY has a Latin Epitaph to him in his *Cenotophia* at the end of his *Affana*, printed by B. BARNES, at Oxford, in 1601.

J. Lyly died in 1606.



## INTRODUCTION.



**Fast.** She does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the *Arcadia*.

**Car.** Or rather in *Greene's* works, whence she may steal with more security.

BEN JONSON. *Every man out of his humour*, Act ii., sc. 1. [Acted 1599]  
Printed [Ent. Stat. Hall, 8 April] 1600.]



Sampson Clarke/

ALL the arguments that have been written on the assumption that GREENE'S *MENAPHON* (including as it does NASH'S important prefatory *Epistle*), was published in 1587, are only so much waste paper. Its first edition was thus registered at Stationers' Hall.

23<sup>o</sup> die Augusti / [1589].

Entred for his Copie, *MENAPHON CAMILLUS allarum to slumberinge EPHEWES in his melancholly cell at Silexedria.*] Vnder th[e h]andes of Master doctour STALLER and bothe the Wardens. vj<sup>d</sup> /  
*Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, ii. 529. Ed. 1875.

This precise date is not of much consequence with regard to the Novel itself; for, like most of GREENE'S prose writings, it has not any date inside of it: but it is material in respect to the literary career of TOM NASH, to the supposed allusions in his Preface to SHAKESPEARE, and to its positive allusion to a tragical character called *HAMLET*, as one well known at the time.

As NASH'S Preface says, at p. 6,

I come (sweet friend) to thy *Arcadian Menaphon*,

it was evidently written subsequent to the rapid composition, probably also to the printing of the Novel.

We have seen at *p.* 81 of our *Introductory Sketch*, No. 8 of this Series, that the first Martinist publication, the *Epistle*, came abroad in November 1588. Consequently all allusions to *MARTIN* as "anie durty mouthed *Martin*" are subsequent to that date: before which month the idea conveyed in it did not exist in our Literature.

In the following attack by NASH on those "night crows" [*i.e.* J. PENRY and J. THROCKMORTON], he clearly calls PENRY an "irregular idiot." It must be remembered that the Martinist press had not as yet been seized, at the time when NASH wrote this.

A secular wit that hath liued all daies of his life by what doo you lacke, to bee more iudiciall in matters of conceit, than our quadrant crepundios, that spit *ergo* in the mouth of euerie one they meete: yet those and these are so affectionate to dogged detracting, as the most poysonous *Pasquil*, anie durtie mouthed *Martin*, or *Momus* euer composed, is gathered vp with greedinesse before it fall to the ground, and bought at the deerest though they smell of the friplers lauander halfe a yeare after: for I know not how the minde of the meanest is fedde with this follie, that they impute singularitie to him that slanders priuelie, and count it a great peece of arte in an inkhorne man, in anie tapsterlie tearmes whatsoever, to oppose his superiours to enuie. I will not denie but in scholler-like matters of controuersie, a quicker stile may passe as commendable; and that a quippe to an asse is as good as a goad to an oxe: but when an irregular idiot, that was vp to the eares in diuinitie, before euer he met with *probabile* in the Vniuersitie, shall leaue *pro et contra* before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct Common weales, that neuer heard of the name of Magistrate before he came to *Cambridge*, it is no meruaile if euerie alehouse vaunt the table of the world turned vpside down; since the childe beats his father, and the asse whippes his master. *p.* 8.

It seems therefore clear that NASH's Preface *could not* have been written before November 1588. Our belief is that he wrote it in the summer of 1589, before the appearance of *Theses Martinianæ* on 22-29 July of that year.

## II.



ASH asks, at *p.* 17, the *Gentlemen Students of both Universities* "to read," his Preface," favourably, to encourage me in the firstlings of my folly, and perswade your selues" &c. This then was his first *published* performance. But it was not his first written work. He says on the next page 18,

It may be, my *Anatomie of Absurdities* may acquaint you ere long. . . . If you chance to meete it in *Paules*, . . .

Yet the *Anatomie* had been already thus registered at Stationers' Hall, some eleven months before this Preface appeared.

19 Septembris [1588].

Master **hacket.** Entred for his copie, *The Anatomie of absurdities*: Authourised vnder Doctor STALLERS hand, and Master COLDOKES being to yt as warrant for this entrance. vj<sup>d</sup>

*Transcript, &c.* ii. 499. Ed. 1875.

But for NASH's own testimony above, we should have certainly inferred an edition of the *Anatomie* in 1588; though the British Museum copy of an edition by HACKET, is dated 1590: which is probably the first and only impression of the *Anatomie* published in the Author's lifetime.

## III.



IT is well known that the early tragedies of ELIZABETH's reign were, like *Ferrex and Porrex*, imitations of those of SENECA; and that later on, our dramatists abandoned the old Latin, for the new Italian models.

NASH thus refers to a similar change, at *p.* 9.

It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Noucrint* whereto they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuors of Art, that could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they shoulde have neede;

and then he goes on to show how these men, these famished followers of SENECA, went on "to intermeddle with Italian translations." With all these, he contrasts "those men of import, that have laboured with credit in this laudable kinde of Translation," *p.* 10. So that, all the while, he is referring *only* to Verse Translators: first, from the Classics; secondly, from Italian.

It has been thought that he herein alluded to SHAKESPEARE; but the date is too early, and our great Poet is not known to have translated anything of the kind.

It is in connection with these Imitations of the Latin tragedies in Verse, that NASH says,

yet English *Seneca* read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so foorth: and if you in-treate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speaches.  
p. 9.

Here then we have a well known dramatic character of *HAMLET* before SHAKESPEARE'S time.

Considerable discussion has arisen whether what is known as the First Quarto of SHAKESPEARE'S *HAMLET*, is a revision by him of this earlier *HAMLET*; or whether it be a first draught of his own independent tragedy.

If there be any force whatever in NASH'S allusion, it would appear that this point may be easily determined.

He is speaking entirely of one who was *writing plays in the style of SENECA*. "Such an one, if you stood him wine on a frosty morning, would speak you whole *HAMLETS!* handfull of tragical speaches." Is it not a fair inference that such a *HAMLET* (so familiar to, and so ready to the hand of an "English *SENECA*") first appeared, and became renowned in an English Play constructed on the old Latin plan, with the *long speeches*, the chorus, and the dumb show?

Is the First Quarto framed on the model of *SENECA*'S tragedies? If so, in all likelihood, it is the *HAMLET* here referred to by NASH; if not, it is SHAKESPEARE'S own production, in its first draught?

We leave the working out of this point to Shakespearean specialists: merely noticing that Mr. J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, in his *Memoranda on the Tragedy of HAMLET*, p. 21, Ed. 1879, thus summarises all the extant allusions to this earlier play.

"The preceding notices may fairly authorise us to infer that the ancient play of *HAMLET*

1. Was written by either an attorney or an attorney's clerk, who had not received a University education.
2. Was full of tragical high sounding speeches.
3. Contained the passage, *There are things called whips in store*, spoken by *HAMLET*.
4. Included a very telling brief speech by the *Ghost* in the two words, *HAMLET! Revenge!*
5. Was acted at the Theatre in Shoreditch, and at the Playhouse at Newington Butts.
6. Had for its principal character, a hero exhibiting more general violence than can be attributed to SHAKESPEARE'S creation of *HAMLET*."

## I V .



ASH's Preface is also very interesting as a piece of Contemporary Criticism on the Learned side of Poetry, more thought of then than now; as PUTTENHAM's *Arte of English Poesie*, of the same year, is of our Vernacular Verse.

## V .



NO BETTER or so copious specimens of Elizabethan Prose, in its virility, and its grace as well, exist than may be found in the Prose Works of GREENE, HARVEY, and NASH.

A collected Edition of them, as specified at *pp.* 6-10 is much wanted. NASH, who was GREENE's intimate, thus describes him in *Strange News*, 1592.

Hee inherited more vertues than vices, a iolly long red peake [*i.e.*, beard] like the spire of a steeple he cherisht continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a Iewell, it was so sharp and pendant.

VWhy should art answer for the infirmities of manners? He had his faultes, and thou [*i.e.*, G. HARVEY] thy follyes. Debt and deadly sinne, who is not subiect to? With any notorious crime I neuer knew him tainted. . . . A good fellow hee was. . . . In a night and a day would he haue yarkte vp a Pamphlet [*i.e.*, a Romance like the present Text] as well as in seauen yeare, and glad was that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit.

Hee made no account of winning credite by his workes, as thou [G. HARVEY] dost, that dost no good workes, but thinkest to bee famosed by a strong faith of thy owne worthines. His only care was to haue a spel in his purse to coniure vp a good cuppe of wine with at all times. E. 4.

So GREENE, with his Love Pamphlets, and DRYDEN, with his Comedies, are both signal examples of men of genius doing work in which they neither had any pride nor sought any reputation. A strange and fatuous squandering of their mental wealth!







To the right **Worshipfull** and **vertuous** *Ladie, the Ladie Hales, wife to the late deceased Sir Iames Hales; Robert Greene wisbeth increase of Worship and vertue.*



**W**hen *Alexander* (right worshipfull) was troubled with hottest feuers, *Phillip* the phisition broght him the coldest potions; extreames haue ther Antidotes, and the driest melancholy hath a moistest sanguin; wise *Hortenzia*, midst hir greatest dumpes, either playd vvith hir Children, or read some pleasant verses: such as sorrow hath pinched, mirth must cure. This considered; hearing (madam) of the passions your Ladiship hath vttered a late for the losse of your husband, a Knight in life worshipfull, vertuous, and full of honourable thoughts; discovering by such passionate sorowes the patterne of a louing and vertuous wife, whose ioyes liued in hir husbands weale, and ended with his life, I thought it my dutie to write this pastorall historie, conteyning the manifolde iniuries of fortune, that both your Ladiship might see her inconstant follies, and beare hir frownes with more patience, and when your dumpes were most deepe, then to looke on this little treatise for recreation: wherein there be as well humors to delight, as discourses to aduise. Which if your Ladiship shall vouch to accept, couering my presumption and faultes with your wonted courtesie; I haue the wished end of my labors. In which hope resting, I commit your Ladiship to the Almightye.

Yours in all humble seruice,

*Robert Greene.*





To the Gentlemen Readers,  
*health.*



*I* fareth with mee, Gentlemen, as with Batillus, the  
ouer bold poet of Rome, that at euerie winke of Cæsar  
would deliuer vp an hundred verses, though neuer a one  
plausible, thinking the Emperours smile a priuiledge  
for his ignorance: so I hauing your fauor in letting passe my  
Pamphlets, feare not to trouble your patience with many works,  
and such as if Batillus had liued, hee might well haue subscribed  
his name to. But resting vpon your fauors I haue thus farre  
aduentured to let you see Camillas alarum to Euphues, who  
thought it necessarie not to let Euphues censure to Philautus,  
passe without requitall. If Gentlemen you finde my stile either  
magis humile in some place, or more sublime in another, if you  
finde darke Ænigmaes or strange conceipts as if Sphinx on the one  
side, and Roscius on the other were playing the waggés; thinke  
the metaphors are well ment, and that I did it for your pleasures,  
whereunto I euer aymed my thoughts: and desire you to take a  
little paines to prie into my imagination. Wherein if you shall  
rest mine, I shall euer as I haue done rest yours; and so I bid  
you farewell.





## To the Gentlemen Students of both Vniuersities.



Vrteous and wise, whose iudgements (not entangled with enuie) enlarge the deserts of the Learned by your liberall censures; vouchsafe to welcome your scholler-like Shepheard with such Vniuersitie entertainment, as either the nature of your bountie, or the custome of your common ciuilitie may affoord. To you he appeales that knew him *ab extrema pueritia*, whose *placet* he accounts the *plaudite* of his paines; thinking his daie labour was not altogether lauisht *sine linea*, if there be anie thing of all in it, that doth *olere atticum* in your estimate.

I am not ignorant how eloquent our gowned age is grown of late; so that euerie mœchanciall mate abhorres the english he was borne too, and plucks with a solemne periphrasis, his *vt vales* from the inkhorne; which I impute not so much to the perfection of arts, as to the seruile imitation of vainglorious tragœdians, who contend not so seriouslie to excell in action, as to embowell the clowdes in a speach of comparison; thinking themselues more than initiated in poets immortalitie, if they but once get *Boreas* by the beard, and the heauenlie bull by the deaw-lap.

But herein I cannot so fully bequeath them to follie, as their idiote art-masters, that intrude themselues to our eares

as the alcumists of eloquence ; who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbraue better pens with the swelling bumbast of a bragging blanke verse. Indeed it may be the ingrafted ouerflow of some kilcow conceipt, that ouer-clojeth their imagination with a more than drunken resolution, beeing not extemporall in the inuention of anie other meanes to vent their manhood, commits the digestion of their cholerick incumbrances, to the spacious volubilitie of a drumming decasillabon. Mongst this kinde of men that repose eternitie in the mouth of a player, I can but ingrosse some deepe read Grammarians, who hauing no more learning in their scull, than will serue to take vp a commoditie ; nor Arte in their brain, than was nourished in a seruing mans idlenesse, will take vpon them to be the ironicall censors of all ; when God and Poetrie doth know, they are the simplest of all.

To leaue these to the mercie of their mother tongue, that feed on nought but the crummes that fal from the translators trencher, I come (sweet friend) to thy *Arcadian Menaphon* ; whose attire though not so statelie, yet comelie, dooth entitle thee aboue all other, to that *temperatum dicendi genus*, which *Tullie* in his *Orator* tearmeth true eloquence. Let other men (as they please) praise the mountaine that in seauen yeares brings foorth a mouse, or the Italionate pen, that of a packet of pilfries, affoordeth the presse a pamphlet or two in an age, and then in disguised arraie, vaunts *Ouids* and *Plutarchs* plumes as their owne ; but giue me the man, whose extemporall vaine in anie humor, will excell our greatest Art-masters deliberate thoughts ; whose inuention quicker than his eye, will challenge the proudest Rethoritian, to the contention of like perfection, with like expedition. What is he amongst Students so simple, that cannot bring forth (*tandem aliquando*) some or other thing singular, sleeping betwixt euerie sentence ? . Was it not *Maros* xij. years toyle, that so famed

his xij. *Æneidos*? Or *Peter Ramus* xvj. yeares paines, that so praised his pettie Logique? Howe is it then, our drowping wits should so wonder at an exquisite line, that was his masters day labour? Indeede I must needes say, the descending yeares from the Philosophers *Athens*, haue not been supplied with such present Orators, as were able in anie English vaine to be eloquent of their owne, but either they must borrow inuention of *Ariosto*, and his Countrey men, take vp choyce of words by exchange in *Tullies Tusculane*, and the Latine Historiographers store-houses; similitudes, nay whole sheetes and tractacts *verbatim*, from the plentie of *Plutarch* and *Plinie*, and to conclude, their whole methode of writing, from the libertie of Comical fictions, that haue succeeded to our Rethoritians, by a second imitation: so that, well may the Adage, *Nil dictum quod non dictum prius*, bee the most iudiciall estimate, of our latter Writers.

But the hunger of our vnsatiatē humorists, beeing such as it is readie to swallowe all draffe without indifferēce, that insinuates it selfe to their senses vnder the name of delight, imployes oft times manie thred bare witts, to emptie their inuention of their Apish deuices, and talke most superficialle of Pollicie, as those that neuer ware gowne in the Vniuersitie; wherein they reuiue the olde saide Adage, *Sus Mineruam*, and cause the wiser to quippe them with *Asinus ad Lyram*. Would Gentlemen and riper iudgements admit my motion of moderation in a matter of follie, I wold perswade them to phisicke their faculties of seeing and hearing, as the *Sabæans* doo their dulled senses with smelling; who (as *Strabo* reporteth) ouer-cloyed with such odoriferous sauours, as the naturall encrease of their Countrey (Balsamum, Amomum, with Myrrhe and Frankencense) sends foorth, refresh their nostrills with the vnsauorie sent of the pitchie slime, that *Euphrates* casts vp, and the contagious fumes of Goates beardes burnt; so woulde I haue



them, being surfetted vnawares with the sweete societie of eloquence, which the lauish of our copious Language maie procure, to vse the remedie of contraries; and recreate their rebated witts, not as they did, with the senting of slyme or Goates beardes burnt, but with the ouer-seeing of that *sublime dicendi genus*, which walkes abroad for wast paper in each seruing mans pocket, and the otherwhile perusing of our Gothamists barbarisme; so shoulde the opposite comparison of *Puritie*, expell the infection of absurditie; and their ouer-rackte Rhethorique, bee the Ironicall recreation of the Reader.

But so farre discrepant is the idle vsage of our vnexperienst punies from this prescription, that a tale of Ihon a Brainfords will, and the vnluckie furmentie, wilbe as soon interteined into their libraries, as the best poeme that euer *Tasso* eternisht: which being the effect of an vndescerning iudgement, makes drosse as valuable as gold, and losse as welcome as gain, the Glowworme mentioned in *Æsops* fables, namelie the apes follie, to be mistaken for fire, when as God wot poore soules, they haue nought but their toyle for their heate, their paines for their sweate, and (to bring it to our english prouerbe) their labour for their trauaile. Wherin I can but resemble them to the Panther, who is so greedie of mens excrements; that if they be hangd vp in a vessell higher than his reach, he sooner killeth himselfe with the ouer-stretching of his windlesse bodie, than he wil cease from his intended enterprise.

Oft haue I obserued what I now set downe; a secular wit that hath liued all daies of his life by what doo you lacke, to bee more iudiciall in matters of conceit, than our quadrant crepundios, that spit *ergo* in the mouth of euerie onethey meete: yet those and these are so affectionate to dogged detracting, as the most poysonous *Pasquil*, anie durtie mouthed *Martin*, or *Momus* euer composed, is gathered vp with greedinesse before it fall to the ground, and bought at the deerest though they smell of the friplers lauander halfe a yeere after: for I

know not how the minde of the meanest is fedde with this follie, that they impute singularitie to him that slanders priuelie, and count it a great peece of arte in an inkhorne man, in anie tapsterlie tearmes whatsoeuer, to oppose his superiours to enuie. I will not denie but in scholler-like matters of controuersie, a quicker stile may passe as commendable; and that a quippe to an asse is as good as a goad to an oxe: but when an irregular idiot, that was vp to the eares in diuinitie, before euer he met with *probabile* in the Vniuersitie, shall leaue *pro et contra* before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct Common weales, that neuer heard of the name of Magistrate before he came to *Cambridge*, it is no meruaile if euary alehouse vaunt the table of the world turned vpside down; since the childe beats his father, and the asse whippes his master.

But least I might seeme with these night crowes, *Nimis curiosus in aliena republica*, I'le turne backe to my first text, of studies of delight; and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators. It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euary arte and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Nouerint* whereto they were borne, and busie themselves with the indeuors of Art, that could scarcely latinize their necke-verse if they should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speaches. But ô grieffe! *tempus edax rerum*, what's that will last alwaies? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and *Seneca* let bloud line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage: which makes his famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in *Æsop*, who enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new



occupation; and these men renouncing all possibilities of credit or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian translations: wherein how poorelie they haue plodded, (as those that are neither prouenzall men, nor are able to distinguish of Articles,) let all indifferent Gentlemen that haue trauailed in that tongue, discern by their twopenie pamphlets: and no meruaile though their home-born mediocritie be such in this matter; for what can be hoped of those, that thrust *Elisium* into hell, and haue not learned so long as they haue liued in the spheares, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter. Sufficeth them to bodge vp a blanke verse with ifs and ands, and other while for recreation after their candle stuffe, hauing starched their beardes most curiouslie, to make a peripateticall path into the inner parts of the Citie, and spend two or three howers in turning ouer French *Doudie*, where they attract more infection in one minute, than they can do eloquence all dayes of their life, by conuersing with anie Authors of like argument.

But least in this declamatorie vaine, I should condemne all and commend none, I will propound to your learned imitation, those men of import, that haue laboured with credit in this laudable kinde of Translation; In the forefront of whom, I cannot but place that aged Father *Erasmus*, that inuested most of our Greeke Writers, in the roabes of the auncient *Romaines*; in whose traces, *Philip Melancthon*, *Sadolet*, *Plantine*, and manie other reuerent *Germaines* insisting, haue reedified the ruines of our decayed Libraries, and merueilouslie inriched the Latine tongue with the expence of their toyle.

Not long after, their emulation beeing transported into *England*, euerie priuate Scholler, *William Turner*, and who not, beganne to vaunt their smattering of Latine, in English Impressions. But amongst others in that Age, Sir *Thomas Eliots* elegance did seuer it selfe from all equalls, although

Sir *Thomas Moore* with his Comickall wit, at that instant was not altogether idle: yet was not Knowledge fullie confirmed in hir Monarchie amongst vs, till that most famous and fortunate Nurse of all learning, *Saint Iohns* in *Cambridge*, that at that time was as an Vniuersitie within it selfe; shining so farre aboue all other Houses, Halls, and Hospitalls whatsoeuer, that no Colledge in the Towne, was able to compare with the tythe of her Students; hauing (as I haue hearde graue men of credite report) more candles light in it, euerie Winter Morning before fowre of the clocke, than the fowre of clocke bell gaue stroakes; till Shee (I saie) as a pittying Mother, put too her helping hande, and sent from her fruitfull wombe, sufficient Schollers, both to support her owne weale, as also to supplie all other inferiour foundations defects, and namelie that royall erection of *Trinitie Colledge*, which the Vniuersitie Orator, in an Epistle to the Duke of *Somerset*, aptlie tearmed *Colona diducta*, from the Suburbes of *Saint Iohns*. In which extraordinarie conception, *vno partu in rempublicam prodire*, the Exchequer of eloquence Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, a man of men, supernaturally traded in al tongues, Sir *Iohn Mason*, Doctor *Watson*, *Redman*, *Aschame*, *Grindall*, *Leuer*, *Pilkington*: all which, haue either by their priuate readings, or publique workes, repurged the errors of Arts, expelde from their puritie, and set before our eyes, a more perfect Methode of Studie.

But howe ill their preceptes haue prospered with our idle Age, that leaue the fountaines of sciences, to follow the riuers of Knowledge, their ouer-fraught Studies, with trifling Compendiaries maie testifie: for I knowe not howe it comes to passe, by the doating practise of our Diuinitie dunces, that striue to make their Pupills pulpet men, before they are reconciled to *Priscian*: but those yeares, which shoulde bee employed in *Aristotle*, are expired in Epitomes; and well too, they maye haue so much Catechisme vacation, to

rake vp a little refuse Philosophie. And heere could I enter into a large fielde of inuectiue, against our abiect abbreviations of Artes, were it not growen to a newe fashion amongst our Nation, to vaunt the pride of contraction in euerie manuarie action: in so much, that the *Pater noster*, which was woont to fill a sheete of paper, is written in the compasse of a pennie: whereupon one merelie affirmed, that prouerb to be deriued, *No pennie, no pater noster*; which their nice curtailing, puts me in mind of the custome of the *Scythians*, who if they be at any time distressed with famin, take in their girdles shorter, and swaddlethemselues streighter, to the intent no *vacuum* beeing left in their intrayles, hunger should not so much tirannize ouer their stomacks; euen so these men opprest with greater penurie of Art, do pound their capacitie in barren Compendiums, and bound their base humors, in the beggerly straites of a hungry Analysis, least longing after that *infinitum* which the pouertie of their conceit cannot compasse, they sooner yeeld vp their youth to destinie, than their heart to vnderstanding. How is it then, such bungling practitioners in principles, should euer profite the Common wealth by their negligent paines, who haue no more cunning in Logique or Dialogue Latine, than appertains to the literall construction of either; neuerthesse it is daily apparant to our domesticall eyes, that there is none so forward to publish their imperfections, either in the trade of glose or translations, as those that are more vnlearned than ignorance, and lesse conceiuing than infants.

Yet dare I not impute absurditie to all of that societie, though some of them haue set their names to their simplicitie. Who euer my priuate opinion condemne as faultie, Master *Gascoigne* is not to bee abridged of his deserued esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best Poets haue aspired too since his departure [*Gascoigne died in 1577*]; whereto he did ascend by com-

paring the Italian with the English, as *Tullie* did *Græca cum Latinis*. Neither was Master *Turberuile* the worst of his time, although in translating he attributed too much to the necessitie of rime. And in this page of praise, I cannot omit aged *Arthur Golding*, for his industrious toile in Englishing *Ouids Metamorphosis*, besides manie other exquisite editions of *Diuinitie*, turned by him out of the French tongue into our own. Master *Phaer* likewise is not to be forgot in regard of his famous *Virgil*, whose heauenly verse had it not bin blemisht by his hautie thoghts *England* might haue long insulted in his wit, and *corrigit qui potest* haue been subscribed to his workes. But fortune the Mistres of change with a pitying compassion, respecting Master *Stanihursts* praise, would that *Phaer* shoulde fall that hee might rise, whose heroicall Poetrie infired, I should say inspired, with an hexameter furie, recalled to life, whateuer hissed barbarisme, hath bin buried this hundred yeare; and reuiued by his ragged quill, such carterlie varietie, as no hodge plowman in a countrie, but would haue held as the extremitie of clownerie; a patterne whereof, I will propoude to your iudgements, as neere as I can, being parte of one of his descriptions of a tempest, which is thus

*Then did he make, heauens vault to rebounde, with rounce robble hobble  
Of ruffe raffe roaring, with thwick thwack thurlery bouncing*

Which strange language of the firmament neuer subiect before to our common phrase, makes vs that are not vsed to terminate heauens moueings, in the accents of any voice, esteeme of their triobulare interpreter, as of some Thrasonical huffe snuffe, for so terrible was his stile, to all milde eares, as would haue affrighted our peaceable Poets, from intermedling hereafter, with that quarrelling kinde of verse; had not sweete Master *France* by his excellent translation of Master *Thomas Watsons* sugred *Amintas*, animated their dulled spirits, to such high witted endeours.

But I knowe not how their ouertimerous cowardise hath stode in awe of enuie, that no man since him, durst imitate any of the worste of those Romane wonders in english, which makes me thinke that either the louers of medocritie are verie many, or that the number of good Poets, are very small: and in trueth, (Master *Watson* except, whom I mentioned before) I knowe not almost any of late dayes that hath shewed himselfe singular in any speciall Latin Poëm, whose *A mintas*, and translated *Antigone* may march in equipage of honour, with any of our ancient Poets. I will not say but wee had a *Haddon* [*died* 1572] whose penwould haue challenged the Lawrell from *Homer*, together with *Carre* [*died* 1568], that came as nere him, as *Virgil* to *Theocritus*. But *Tho. Newton* with his *Leyland* and *Gabriell Haruey*, with two or three other, is almost all the store, that is left vs at this hower. Epitaphers, and position Poets haue wee more than a good many, that swarme like Crowes to a dead carcas, but flie like Swallows in the VVinter, from any continuat subiect of witte. The efficient whereof, I imagine to issue, from the vpstart discipline of our reformatorie Churchmen, who account wit vanitie, and poetrie impietie; whose error although the necessitie of Philosophie might confute, which lies couched most closely vnder darke fables profunditie, yet I had rather referre it, as a disputatiue plea to diuines, than set it downe as a determinate position, in my vnexperienst opinion. But how euer their dissentious iudgements, should decree in their afternoone sessions of *an sit*, the priuat trueth of my discovered Creede in this controuersie is this, that as that beast, was thought scarce worthie to bee sacrificed to the Ægyptian *Epaphus*, who had not some or other blacke spotte on his skinne: so I deeme him farre vnworthie of the name of scholler, and so consequentlie, to sacrifice his endeouers to art, that is not a Poet, either in whole or in a parte.

And here, peradventure, some desperate quipper will canuaze

my proposed comparison *plus ultra*, reconciling the allusion of the blacke spot, to the blacke pot; which makes our Poets vndermeale Muses so mutinous, as euerie stanza they pen after dinner, is full poynted with a stabbe. Which their dagger drunkenesse, although it might be excused with *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, yet will I couer it as well as I may, with that prouerbial *fecundi calices*, that might wel haue been doore keeper to the kanne of *Silenus*, when nodding on his Asse trapt with iuie, hee made his moist nosecloth, the pausing intermedium, twixt euerie nappe. Let frugale scholares, and fine fingerd nouices, take their drinke by the ownc, and their wine by the halpe-[penny] worthes, but it is for a Poet, to examine the pottle pottes, and gage the bottome of whole gallons; *qui bene vult ποιέειν, debet ante πίπειν*. A pot of blew burning ale, with a fierie flaming tost, is as good as *Pallas* with the nine Muses on *Pernassus* top: without the which, in vaine may they crie; ô thou my muse inspire mee with some pen, when they want certaine liquid sacrifice, to rouze her foorth her denne.

Pardon me Gentlemen, though somewhat merely I glaunce at their imoderate follie, who affirme that no man can write with conceit, except he takes counsell of the cup: nor would I haue you thinke that *Theonino dente*, I arme my stile against all, since I doo knowe the moderation of many Gentlemen of that studie, to be so farre from infamie, as their verse from equalitie: whose sufficiencie, were it as well seene into, by those of higher place, as it wanders abroad vnrewarded, in the mouthes of vngratefull monsters, no doubt but the remembrance of *Mæcenas* liberalitie extended to *Maro*, and men of like qualitie, would haue lefte no memorie to that prouerb of pouertie. *Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras*. Tut, saies our English Italians, the finest witts our Climate sends foorth, are but drie braind doltes, in comparison of other countries: whome if you interrupt with *redde rationem*, they will tell you of *Petrache*, *Tasso*, *Celiano*,



with an infinite number of others; to whome if I should oppose *Chaucer*, *Lidgate*, *Gower*, with such like, that liued vnder the tirranie of ignorance, I do think their best louers would bee much discontented, with the collation of contraries, if I should write ouer al their heads, Haile fellow well met. One thing I am sure of, that each of these three haue vaunted their meeters, with a much admiration in English as euer the proudest *Ariosto* did his verse in Italian. What should I come to our court, where the otherwhile vacations of our grauer Nobilitie, are prodigall of more pompous wit, and choyce of words, than euer tragick *Tasso* could attain too: but as for pastorall Poëmes, I will not make the comparison, least our countrimens credit should bee discountenanst by the contention, who although they cannot fare, with such inferior facilitie, yet I knowe would carrie the bucklers full easilie, from all forreine brauers, if their *subiectum circa quod* should sauor of any thing haughtie: and should the challenge of deepe conceit, be intruded by an forreiner, to bring our english wits, to the tutchstone of Arte, I would preferre diuine Master *Spencer*, the miracle of wit to bandie line for line for my life, in the honor of *England*, gainst *Spaine*, *France*, *Italye*, and all the worlde. Neither is he, the only swallow of our summer, (although *Apollo*, if his *Tripes* were vp again would pronounce him his *Socrates*) but he being forborne, there are extant about *London*, many most able men, to reuiue Poetrie, though it were executed ten thousand times, as in *Platos* so in Puritanes common wealth; as for example *Matthew Roydon*, *Thomas Atchelow*, and *George Peele*, the first of whome, as hee hath shewed himselfe singular, in the immortall Epitaph of his beloued *Astrophel*, besides many other most absolute comicke inuentions (made more publike by euerie mans praise, than they can bee by my speache) so the second, hath more than once or twice manifested, his deepe witted scholler-



ship in places of credit ; and for the last, though not the least of them all, I dare commend him to all that know him, as the chiefe supporter of pleasance nowe liuing, the *Atlas* of Poetrie, and *primus verborum Artifex* : whose first encrease, the Arraignement of *Paris*, might plead to your opinions, his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention ; wherein (*me iudice*) hee goeth a step beyond all that write. Sundrie other sweete Gentlemen I know, that haue vaunted their pens in priuate deuices, and trickt vp a companie of taffata fooles with their feathers, whose beautie if our Poets had not peecte [*pecked*] with the supply of their periwigs, they might haue antickt it vntill this time vp and downe the countrey with the King of *Fairies*, and äinde [*dined*] euerie daie at the pease porredge ordinarie with *Delphri-gus*. But *Tolossa* hath forgot that it was sometime sackt, and beggers that euer they caried their fardles on footback : and in truth no meruaile, when as the deserued reputation of one *Roscius*, is of force to inrich a rabble of counterfets ; yet let subiects for all their insolence, dedicate a *De profundis* euerie morning to the preservation of their *Cæsar*, least their encreasing indignities returne them ere long to their iuggling to mediocrity, and they bewaile in weeping blankes the wane of their Monarchie.

As Poetrie hath beene honoured in those her forenamed professours, so it hath not beene any whit disparaged by *William Warners* absolute *Albions*. And heere Authoritie hath made a full point : in whose reuerence insisting I cease to expose to your sport the picture of those Pamphleters and Poets, that make a patrimonie of *In speech*, and more than a younger brothers inheritance of their *Abcie*.

Reade fauourably, to incourage me in the firstlings of my folly, and perswade your selues, I will persecute those idiots and their heires vnto the third generation, that haue made Art bankerout of her ornaments, and sent Poetry a begging


vp and downe the Countrey. It may be, my *Anatomie* of *Absurdities* may acquaint you ere long with my skill in surgery, wherein the diseases of Art more merrily discouered may make our maimed Poets put together their blankes vnto the building of an Hospitall.

If you chance to meete it in *Paules*, shaped in a new suite of similitudes, as if, like the eloquent apprentice of *Plutarch* it were propped at seuen yeares end in double apparell, thinke his master hath fulfilled couenants, and onely cancelled the Indentures of dutie. If I please, I will  
 thinke my ignorance indebted vnto you that  
 applaud it: if not, what rests, but  
 that I be excluded from your  
 curtesie, like *Apocrypha*  
 from your Bibles?

*How euer, yours euer.*

*Thomas Nash.*



 In laudem Authoris,  
*Distichon amoris.*



*Elicious words, the life of wanton wit,  
That doo enspire our soules with sweete content ;  
Why haue your father Hermes thought it fit  
My eyes should surfet by my hearts consent ?*

*Full twentie Summers haue I fading scene,  
And twentie Floras in their golden guise :  
Yet neuer viewd I such a pleasant Greene  
As this, whose garnisht gleades, compare denies.*

*Of all the flowers a Lillie one I lou'd,  
Whose labouring beautie brancht it selfe abroade ;  
But now old age his glorie hath remoud,  
And Greener obiects are my eyes aboade.*

*No countrey to the downes of Arcadie,  
Where Aganippes euer springing wells  
Doo moyst the meades with bubling melodie ;  
And makes me muse, what more in Delos dwelles ;*

*There feeds our Menaphons celestially Muse,  
There makes his pipe his pastorall reporte ;  
Which strained now a note aboue his vse,  
Foretels, he'le nere more chaunt of Choas sporte.*

*Reade all that list, and reade till you mislike ;  
Condemne who can, so enuie be no iudge :  
No reede can swell more higher, lesse it shrike.  
Robin thou hast done well, care not who grudge.*



# Thomas Brabine Gent.

*in praise of the Author.*



*One foorth you witts that vaunt the pompe of speach,  
And strine to thunder from a Stage-mans throate :  
View Menaphon a note beyond your reach ; [doate :  
Whose sight will make your drumming descant  
Players auant, you know not to delight ;  
Welcome sweete Shepheard ; worth a Schollers sight.*

*Smirna is drie, and Helicon exhal'd  
Caballian founts haue left their springing sourse,  
Parnassus with his Lawrell stands appal'd ;  
And yet His Muse keepes on her wonted course :  
Wonted said Ʒ ? I wrong his paines too much,  
Since that his pen before brought foorth none such.*

*One writes of loue, and wanders in the aire ;  
Another stands on tearmes of trees and stones :  
When heauens compare yeeldes but the praise of faire,  
And christall can describe but flesh and bones :  
Yet cuntry swaynes, whose thoughts are faith and troth,  
Will shape sweete words of wooll and russet cloth.*

*Mongst whom if I my Tityrus should chuse,  
Whose warbling tunes might wanton out my woes ;  
To none more oftner would my solace use ;  
Than to his Pastoralls their mortall foes.  
Sweete verse, sweete prose, how haue you please me vaine ?  
Be thou still Greene, whiles others glorie waine.*

*Finis.*



## *Arcadia.*

# The reports of the Shepherds.



After that the wrath of mightie *Ioue* had wrapt *Arcadia* with noysome pestilence, in so much that the ayre yeelding preiudiciall sauors, seemd to be peremptory in some fatall resolution. *Democles* soueraigne and King of that famous Continent pitying the sinister accidents of his people, being a man as iust in his censures as royall in his possessions, as carefull for the weale of his country, as the continuance of his diadem, thinking that vnpeopled Cities were Corasiues to Princes conscience, that the strength of his subiects was the sinnewes of his dominions, and that euery crowne must conteyne a care, not onely to winne honour by forrayne conquests, but in mainteining dignitie with ciuill and domestical insights: *Democles* grounding his arguments vpon these premisses, coueting to be counted *Pater Patriæ*, calling a Parliament together, whether all his Nobilitie incited by summons made their repaire, elected two of his chiefe Lordes to passe vnto *Delphos*, at *Apollos* Oracle

to heare the fatall sentence, either of their future miserie or present remedie.

They hauing their charge, posting from *Arcadia* to the *Tripes* where *Pithia* sate, the sacred Nymph that deliuered out *Apollo's Dylonimas*, offering as their manner is their orizons and presents, as wel to intreate by deuotion, as to perswade by bountie, they had returned from *Apollo* this doome.

*When Neptune riding on the Southerne seas  
shall from the bosome of his Lemman yeeld  
Th'arcadian wonder, men and Gods to please :  
Plentie in pride shall march amidst the field,  
Dead men shall warre, and vnborne babes shall frowne,  
And with their fawchens hew their foemen downe.  
When Lambes haue Lions for their surest guide,  
and Planets rest vpon th'arcadian hills :  
When swelling seas haue neither ebbe nor tide,  
When equall bankes the Ocean margine fills.  
Then looke Arcadians for a happie time,  
And sweete content within your troubled Clyme.*

No sooner had *Pithia* deliuered this scroll to the Lordes of *Arcadie*, but they departed and brought it to *Democles*, who causing the oracle to be read amongst his distressed commons, found the Delphian censure more full of doubts to amaze, than fraught with hope to comfort ; thinking rather that the angrie God sent a peremptorie presage of ruine, than a probable ambiguitie to applaud any hope of remedie : yet loath to haue his carefull subjects fall into the balefull laborinth of despaire, *Democles* began to discourse vnto them, that the interpreters of *Apollo's* secretes, were not the conceits of humane reason, but the successe of long expected euent; that Comets did protend at the first blaze, but tooke effect in the dated bosome of the destinies ; that oracles were foretold at the *Delphian* Caue, but were shapte out and finished in the Counsell house.

With such perswasieue arguments *Democles* appeased the distressed thoughtes of his doubtful countrimen, and com-



manded by proclamation that no man should prie into the quiddities of *Apollo's* answers, least sundrie censures of his diuine secrecie, should trouble *Arcadia* with some sodaine mutinie. The King thus smoothing the heate of his cares, rested a melancholy man in his Courts; hiding vnder his head the double faced figure of *Ianus*, as well to cleare the skies of other mens conceiptes with smiles, as to furnish out his owne dumps with thoughts. But as other beasts leuell their lookes at the countenance of the Lion, and birdes make wing as the Eagle flies: so *Regis ad arbitrium totus componitur orbis*: the people were measured by the minde of the souereigne, and what stormes soeuer they smoothed in priuate conceipt, yet they made haye, and cried holiday in outward appearance: insomuch that euerie man repaired to his owne home, and fell either vnto pleasures or labours, as their liuing or content allowed them.

Whiles thus *Arcadia* rested in a silent quiet, *Menaphon* the Kings Shepheard, a man of high account among the Swaines of *Arcadie*, loued of the Nymphes, as the paragon of all their countrey youngsters, walking solitarie downe to the shore, to see if any of his ewes and lambes were straggled downe to the strond to brouse on sea iuie, wherfore they take speciall delight to feede; he found his flockes grazing vpon the Promontorie Mountaines hardlie: whereon resting himselfe on a hill that ouer-peered the great *Mediterraneum*, noting how *Phæbus* fetched his *Lauantos* on the purple Plaines of *Neptunus*, as if he had meant to haue courted *Thetis* in the royaltie of his roabes: the Dolphines (the sweete conceipters of Musicke) fetcht their carréers on the calmed waues, as if *Arion* had touched the stringes of his siluer sounding instrument: the Mermaides thrusting their heades from the bosome of *Amphitrite*, sate on the mounting bankes of *Neptune*, drying their waterie tresses in the Sunne beames: *Æolus* forbare to throwe abroad his gustes on the slumbering browes of the Sea God, as giuing *Triton* leaue to pleasure his Queene with desired melodie, and *Proteus* libertie to followe his flockes without disquiet.

*Menaphon* looking ouer the champion of *Arcadie* to see if the Continent were as full of smiles, as the seas were of faouours, sawe the shrubbes as in a dreame with delightfull harmonie, and the birdes that chaunted on their braunches



not disturbed with the least breath of a fauourable *Zephirus*. Seeing thus the accord of the Land and Sea, casting a fresh gaze on the water Nimphs, he began to consider how *Venus* was feigned by the Poets to spring of the froathe of the Seas ; which draue him straight into a deepe coniecture of the inconstancie of Loue : that as if *Luna* were his load-starre, had euerie minute ebbes and tides, sometime ouerflowing the banks of Fortune with a gracious look lightened from the eyes of a fauorable louer, otherwhiles ebbing to the dangerous shelve of despaire, with the piercing frowne of a froward Mistresse. *Menaphon* in this browne studie, calling to minde certaine Aphorismes that *Auarreon* had pend downe as principles of loues follies, being as deepe an enemy to fancie as *Narcissus* was to affection, began thus to scoffe at *Venus* Deitie.

*Menaphon* thy mindes fauours, are greater than thy wealths fortunes, thy thoughtes higher than thy birth, and thy priuate conceipt better than thy publique esteeme. Thou art a shepheard *Menaphon*, who in feeding of thy flockes, findest out natures secrecie, and in preuenting thy lambes preiudice conceiptest the Astronomically motions of the heauens : holding thy sheep-walkes to yeeld as great Philosophie, as the Ancients discourse in their learned Academies. Thou countest labour as the *Indians* doo their *Chrisocolla* wherwith they trie euerie mettall, and thou examine euerie action. Content sitteth in thy minde as *Neptune* in his Sea-throne, who with his trident mace appeaseth euerie storme. When thou seest the heauens frowne thou thinkest on thy faults, and a cleere skie putteth thee in minde of grace ; the summers glorie tels thee of youths vanitie, the winters parched leaues of ages declining weaknes. Thus in a myrrour thou measurest thy deedes with equall and considerate motions, and by being a shepheard findest that which Kings want in their royalties. Enuie ouerlooketh thee, renting with the windes the Pine trees of *Ida*, when the *Affrick* shrubs waue not a leafe with the tempestes. Thine eyes are vaylde with content that thou canst not gaze so high as ambition : and for loue. And with that, in naming of loue, the shepheard fell into a great laughter. Loue *Menaphon*, why of all follies that euer Poets fained, or men euer faulted with, this foolish imagination of loue is the greatest : *Venus* forsooth for her wanton escapes must be a Goddess, and her bastard a Deitie : *Cupide* must

be yong and euer a boy to prooue that loue is fond and witlesse, wings to make him inconstant, and arrowes whereby to shew him feareful: blinde (or all were not worth a pinne) to prooue that *Cupid*es leuell is both without aime and reason: thus is the God, and such are his Votaries. As soone as our shepherds of *Arcadie* fettle themselues to fancie, and weare the characters of *Venus* stampte in their foreheads, straight their attire must bee quaint, their lookes full of amours, as their Gods quiuers is full of arrowes; their eyes holding smiles and teares, to leape out at their Mistres faoures or her frownes; sighes must flie as figures of their thoughts, and euerie wrinckle must be tempred with a passion; thus suted in outward proportion, and made excellent in inward constitution, they straight repaire to take viewe of their Mistres beautie. She as one obseruant vnto *Venus* principles, first tieth loue in her tresses, and wraps affection in the tramelles of her haire; snaring our swains in her locks as *Mars* in the net, holding in her forehead Fortunes Calender, either to assigne dismal influence, or some fauourable aspect. If a wrinckle appeare in her brow, then our shepherd must put on his working day face, and frame nought but dolefull Madrigalls of sorrowe; if a dimple grace her cheeke, the heauens cannot prooue fatal to our kinde hearted louers; if she seeme coy, then poemes of death mounted vpon deepe drawne sighes, flie from their master to sue for some fauour, alledging how death at the least may date his miserie: to be briefe, as vpon the shoares of *Lapanthe* the winds continue neuer one day in one quarter, so the thoughtes of a louer neuer continue scarce a minute in one passion; but as Fortunes globe, so is fancies seate variable and inconstant. If louers sorrowes then be like *Sisiphus* turmoyles, and their fauours like honnie bought with gall; let poore *Menaphon* then liue at labour, and make esteeme of *Venus* as of *Mars* his concubine; and as the *Cimbrians* hold their idols in account but in euerie tempest, so make *Cupide* a God, but when thou art ouer-pained with passions, and that *Menaphon* wil neuer loue, for as long as thou temperest thy handes with labours, thou canst not fetter thy thoughts with loues.

And in this Satyricall humor smiling at his owne conceipts, hee tooke his pipe in his hand, and betweene euerie report of his instrument sung a *stanzo* to this effect.

## M E N A P H O N S S O N G .



*S*ome say Loue  
 Foolish Loue  
 Doth rule and gouerne all the Gods,  
 I say Loue,  
 Inconstant Loue,  
 Sets mens senses farre at ods.  
 Some sweare Loue  
 Smooth'd face Loue  
 Is sweetest sweete that men can haue :  
 I say Loue,  
 Sower Loue  
 Makes vertue yeeld as beauties slaue.  
 A bitter sweete, a follie worst of all  
 That forceth wisdomes to be follies thrall.

Loue is sweete.  
 Whercin sweete ?  
 In fading pleasures that doo paine.  
 Beautie sweete.  
 Is that sweete  
 That yeeldeth sorrow for a gaine ?  
 If Loues sweete  
 Heerein sweete  
 That minutes ioyes are monthlie woes.  
 Tis not sweete,  
 That is sweete  
 Nowhere, but where repentance growes.  
 Then loue who list if beautie be so sower :  
 Labour for me, Loue rest in Princes bower.

*Menaphon* hauing ended his roundelay, rising vp, thinking to passe from the mountaine downe to the valley, casting his eye to the sea side, espied certain fragments of a broken ship floating vpon the waues, and sundrie persons driuen vpon

the shore with a calme, walking all wet and weary vpon the sands. Wondring at this strange sight he stood amazed; yet desirous to see the euent of this accident, he shrowded himself to rest vnespied til he might perceiue what would happen: at last he might descrie it was a woman holding a childe in her armes, and an olde man directing her as it were her guide.

These three (as distressed wrackes) preserued by some further forepoynting fate, coueted to clime the mountaine, the better to vse the fauor of the Sunne to drie their drenched appaile; at last crawled vp where poore *Menaphon* lay close, and resting them vnder a bush, the old man did nothing but sende out sighes, and the woman ceased not from streaming foorth riuolets of teares, that hung on her cheekes like the droppes of pearled deaw vppon the riches of *Flora*. The poore babe was the touch-stone of his mothers passions; for when he smiled and lay laughing in hir lappe, were her heart neuer so deeply ouercharged with her present sorrowes; yet kissing the pretie infant, shee lightened out smiles from those cheekes that were furrowed with contizual sources of teares; but if he cried, then sighes as smokes, and sobbes as thundercracks, foreranne those showers, that with redoubled distresse distilled from her eyes: thus with pretie inconstant passions trimming vp her babie, and at last to lull him a sleepe, she warbled out of her wofull breast this dittie.

S E P H E S T I A S S O N G T O H E R C H I L D E .



*W*eepe not my wanton! smile vpon my knee!

*When thou art olde, ther's grief inough for thee!*

*Mothers wagge, pretie boy.*

*Fathers sorrow, fathers ioy.*

*When thy father first did see*

*Such a boy by him and mee,*

*He was glad, I was woe.*

*Fortune changde made him so,*

*When he left his pretie boy,*

*Last his sorowe, first his ioy.*

*Weepe not my wanton ! smile vpon my knee !  
 When thou art olde, ther's grieffe inough for thee !  
 Streaming teares that neuer stint,  
 Like pearle drops from a flint,  
 Fell by course from his eyes,  
 That one anothers place supplies :  
 Thus he grieved in euerie part,  
 Teares of bloud fell from his hart,  
 When he left his pretie boy,  
 Fathers sorrow, fathers ioy.*

*Weepe not my wanton ! smile vpon my knee !  
 When thou art olde, ther's grieffe inough for thee !  
 The wanton smilde, father wept ;  
 Mother cride, babie left :  
 More he crowde, more we cride ;  
 Nature could not sorowe hide.  
 He must goe, he must kisse  
 Childe and mother, babie blisse :  
 For he left his pretie boy,  
 Fathers sorowe, fathers ioy.*

*Weepe not my wanton ! smile vpon my knee !  
 When thou art olde, ther's grief inough for thee !*

With this lullaby the babie fell a sleepe, and *Sephestia* laying it vpon the greene grasse couered it with a mantle, and then leaning her head on her hand, and her elbow on her lap she fell a fresh to poure forth abundaunce of plaintes, which *Lamedon* the old man espying, although in his face appeared the mappe of discontent, and in euerie wrinkle was a catalogue of woes, yet to cheere vp *Sephestia*, shrowding his inward sorrow with an outward smile, he began to comfort her in his manner.

*Sephestia*, thou seest no Phisick preuailles against the gaze of the Basilisckes, no charme against the sting of the *Tarantula*, no preuention to diuert the decree of the Fates, nor no meanes to recall backe the balefull hurt of Fortune : Incurable

sores are without *Auicens* Aphorismes, and therefore no salue for them but patience. Then my *Sephestia* sith thy fal his high, and fortune low; thy sorrowes great, and thy hope little: seeing me partaker of thy miseries, set all thy rest vpon this, *Solamen miseri, socios habuisse doloris*. Chaunce is like *Ianus* double faced, as well full of smiles to comfort, as of frownes to dismay: the Ocean at his deadeſt ebbe returns to a full tide; when the Eagle meanes to soare highest, hee raiseth his flight in the lowest dales: so fareth it with fortune who in her highest extreames is most vnconstant: when the tempest of her wrath is most fearfull, then looke for a calme; when she beates thee with nettle, then thinke she will strew thee with roses; when shee is most familiar with furies, her intent is to be most prodigall *Sephestia*. Thus are the arrowes of Fortune feathered with the plumes of the bird *Halcione*, that changeth colours with the Moone, which howsoeuer she shootes them pierce not so deepe but they may bee cured. But *Sephestia* thou art daughter to a King, exiled by him from the hope of a crowne, banisht from the pleasures of the Court to the painfull fortunes of the countrey, parted for loue from him thou canst not but loue, from *Maximus*, *Sephestia*, who for thee hath suffered so many disfauors, as either discontent or death can affoord. What of all this, is not hope the daughter of time? Haue not starres their fauourable aspects, as they haue froward opposition? Is there not a *Iupiter* as there is a *Saturne*? Cannot the influence of smiling *Venus* stretch as farre as the frowning constitution of *Mars*? I tell thee, *Sephestia*, *Iuno* foldeth in her brows the volumes of the Destinies; whom melancholie *Saturne* deposes from a Crowne, she mildlie aduanceth to a Diadem: then feare not, for if the mother liue in miserie, yet hath she a scepter for the sonne: let the vnkindnesse of thy father be buried in the cinders of obedience, and the want of *Maximus* be supplied with the presence of his pretie babe, who beeing too young for Fortune, lies smiling on thy knee and laughs at Fortune: learne by him *Sephestia* to vse patience, which is like the balme in the Vale of *Iehosaphat*, that findeth no wound so deepe, but it cureth: thou seest alreadie Fortune begins to change her hiew, for after the great storme that rent our shippe, we found a calme that brought vs safe to shore; the mercie of *Neptune* was



more than the enuie of *Æolus*, and the discourtesie of thy father is proportioned with the fauour of the Gods. Thus *Sephestia* being copartner of thy miserie, yet do I seeke to allay thy martyrdome: beeing sicke to my selfe, yet do I play the Phisition to thee, wishing thou maist beare thy sorrowes with as much content, as I brooke my misfortunes with patience.

As hee was readie to goe forwarde with his perswasieue argument, *Sephestia* fetching a deepe sigh, filling her tender eyes with teares, made this replie.

Sweete *Lamedon*, once partner of my royalties, now partaker of my wants, as constant in his extreame distresse, as faithfull in higher fortunes: the Turtle pearketh not on barren trees, Doues delight not in foule cottages, the Lyon frequents not putrified haunts, friends followe not after pouertie, nor hath sinister chance anie drugges from the Phisitians, *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*: and yet *Lamedon* the misfortune of *Sephestia* abridgeth not our olde contracted amitie, thou temperest her exyle with thy banishment, and she sayling to *Styx*, thou ferriest ouer to *Phlegeton*: then *Lamedon*, saying as *Andromache* sayd to *Hector*, *Tu Dominus, tu vir, tu mihi frater crīs*. Thy aged yeres shalbe the calender of my fortunes, and thy gray haire the Paralells of mine actions. If *Lamedon* perswade *Sephestia* to content, *Portia* shall not exceede *Sephestia* in patience; if he will her to keepe a low sayle, she will vayle al her sheete; if to forget her loues, shee will quench them with labours; if to accuse *Venus* as a foe, I will hate *Cupide* as anemie: and seeing the Destinies haue driuen thee from a crowne, I will rest satisfied with the Countrey, placing all my delights in honouring thee, and nursing vp my pretie wanton. I will imagine a small cotage to [be] a spacious pallaice, and thinke as great quiet in a russet coate, as in royall habilliments: *Sephestia*, *Lamedon*, will not scorne with *Iuno* to turne hir self into the shape of *Semeles* nurse, but, vnknowne, rest carelesse of my fortunes: the hope of times returne shal be the ende of my thoughts, the smiles of my sonne shall bee the nourishment of my hart, and the course of his youth shall be the comfort of my yeres; euerie laughter that leapes from his lookes, shall be the holiday of my conceiptes; and euerie teare shall furnish out my greeues, and his fathers funerals. I haue heard them



say, *Lamedon*, that the lowest shrubbes feele the least tempests, that in the valleis of *Affrica* is heard no thunder, that in countrey roomes is greatest rest, and in little wealth the the least disquiet: dignitie treadeth vpon glasse, and honour is like to the hearbe *Synara*, that when it bloometh most gorgeously, then it blasteth: *Aulica vita splendida miseria*. Courts haue golden dreames, but cotages sweet slumbres: then, *Lamedon*, will I disguise my self, with my cloathes I will change my thoughts; for being poorelie attired I will be meanelie minded, and measure my actions by my present estate, not by former fortunes. In saying this the babe awakte and cride, and she fell to teares mixed with a lullabie.

All this while *Menaphon* sate amongst the shrubs fixing his eyes on the glorious obiect of her face, hee noted her tresses, which hee compared to the coloured *Hiacinth* of *Arcadia*, her browes to the mountaine snowes that lie on the hils, her eyes to the gray glister of *Titans* gorgeous mantle, her alabaster necke to the whitenesse of his flockes, her teates to pearle, her face to borders of Lillies interseamed with Roses: to be briefe our shepheard *Menaphon*, that heeretofore was an Atheist to loue, and as the *Thessalian* of *Bacchus*, so hee a contemner of *Venus*, was nowe by the wylie shaft of *Cupid* so intangled in the perfection and beauteous excellence of *Sephestia*; as now he swore no benigne Planet but *Venus*, no God but *Cupide*, nor exquisite deitie but Loue. Being thus fettered with the pliant perswasions of fancie, impatient in his newe affections, as the horse that neuer before felt the spurre, he could not bridle his new conceaued amors, but watching when they shoulde depart, perceiuing by the gestures of the olde man, and the teares of the Gentlewoman that they were distrest, thought to offer anie helpe that laie within the compasse of his abilitie.

As thus he mused in his new passions, *Lamedon* and *Sephestia* rose vp, and resolued to take their course which way the winde blew; passing so downe the mountaine to goe seeke out some towne, at last they pacing softlie on, *Lamedon*, espied *Menaphon*: desirous therefore to know the course of the countrey, hee saluted him thus.

Shepheard, for so farre thy attire warrants me; courteous, for so much thy countenance imports: if distressed persons whom Fortune hath wronged, and the seas haue fauored, (if

we may count it fauour to liue and want) may without offence craue so farre ayde as to know some place where to rest our wearie and weather-beaten bones, your charges shall be paid, and you haue for recompence such thankes as Fortunes outlawes may yeeld to their fauourers.

*Menaphon* hearing him speak so grauelie, but not fitting his eare to his eye, stood staring still on *Sephestias* face, which shee perceiuing, flashed out such a blush from her alabaster cheeks that they lookt like the ruddie gates of the Morning: this sweete bashfulness amazing *Menaphon*, at last hee began thus to answeare.

Strangers, your degree I know not, therefore pardon if I giue lesse title than your estates merit: Fortunes frownes are Princes fortunes, and Kings are subiect to chance and destinie. Mishap is to be salued with pitie, not scorne: and we that are Fortunes darlings, are bounde to relieue them that are distrest: therefore follow me, and you shal haue such succour, as a shepheard may afford.

*Lamedon* and *Sephestia* were passing glad, and *Menaphon* led the way, not content onelie to feed his sight with the beautie of his new Mistres, but thought also to inferre some occasion of parley, to heare whether her voyce were as melodious, as her face beautiful, hee therefore prosecuted his prattle thus.

Gentlewoman, when first I saw you sitting vpon the *Arcadian* Promontorie with your babie on your lappe, and this old father by; I thought I had seene *Venus* with *Cupide* on her knee courted by *Anchises* of *Troy*: the excellence of your looks could discouer no less than *Mars* his paramour, and the beautie of the childe as much as the dignitie of her wanton: at last perceiuing by your teares and your childs shrikes, that ye were passengers distrest, I lent you sighes to partake your sorrowes, and luke warme drops to signifie how I pitie ouercharged persons, in lieu whereof let mee craue your name, countrey, and parentage.

*Sephestia* seeing by the shepherds passionate lookes, that the swain was halfe in loue, replyed thus; Curteous shepheard, if my blubbered cheekes did look like *Venus* at a blush, it was when the woful Goddess wept for her faire *Adonis*, my boye is no *Cupide* but the sonne of care, Fortunes fondling in his youth, to bee I hope her darling in his age:

in that your lookes saw our grieffe, and your thoughts pitied our woes, our tongues shal giue thanks (the bountie of sorrowes tenants) and our hearts praye that the Gods may be as friendly to your flockes, as you fauourable to vs. My name is *Samela*, my countrey *Cipres*, my parentage meane, the wife of a poore Gentleman nowe deceased: how we arriued heere by shipwrack, gentle shepherd inquire not, least it be tedious for thee to heare it, and a double grieffe for mee to rehearse it.

The shepherd not daring to displease his Mistres, as hauing loues threatens hanging on her lippes, he conueighed them home to his house: as soone as they were arriued there, he began at the dore to entertain them thus.

Faire Mistres the flower of all our Nymphes that liue heere in *Arcadia*, this is my cotage wherein I liue content, and your lodging, where (please it you) ye may rest quiet. I haue not rich cloathes of *Ægypt* to couer the walls, nor store of plate to discouer anie wealth; for shepherds vse neither to be proud nor couetous: you shall find heere cheese and milke for dainties, and wooll for cloathing; in euerie corner of the house Content sitting smiling, and tempering euerie homelie thing with a welcome: this if ye can brooke and accept of, (as Gods allow the meanest hospitalitie) ye shall haue such welcome and fare as *Philemon* and *Baucis* gaue to *Iupiter*.

*Sephestia* thankt him heartelie, and going into his house found what he promist: after that they had sate a little by the fire and were well warmed, they went to supper, where *Sephestia* fedde well, as one whom the sea had made hungrie, and *Lamedon* so plide his teeth, that all supper he spake not one word: after they had taken their repast, *Menaphon*, seeing they were wearie, and that sleepe chimed on to rest, he let them see their lodging, and so gaue them the good night.

*Lamedon* on his flocke bedde, and *Sephestia* on her countrey couch were so wearie, that they slept well: but *Menaphon*, poore *Menaphon* neither asked his swaynes for his sheepe, nor tooke his mole-spade on his necke to see his pastures; but as a man pained with a thousand passions, drenched in distresse, and ouerwhelmed with a multitude of vncouth cares, he sate like the pictures that *Perseus* tourned with his *Gorgons* head into stones. His sister *Carmela* kept his house,

(for so was the Countrey wench called) and shee seeing her brother sit so malcontented, stept to her cupboorde and fetcht a little beaten spice in an olde bladder, she sparde no euening milke, but went amongst the cream bowles, and made him a posset. But alas, Loue had so lockt vp the shepherds stomacke, that none would down with *Menaphon*: *Carmela* seeing her brother refuse his spicte drinke, thought all was not well, and therefore sate downe and wept; to be short, she blubbered and he sightht, and his men that came in and sawe their master with a kercher on his head mournde; so that amongst these swaines there was such melodie, that *Menaphon* tooke his bow and arrowes and went to bedde: where casting himselfe, he thought to haue beguiled his passions with some sweete slumbers. But Loue that smiled at his newe interteined champion, sitting on his beddes head, prickt him forward with new desires; charging *Morpheus*, *Phobetor*, and *Icolon*, the Gods of sleepe, to present vnto his closed eies the singular beautie and rare perfections of *Samela*: (for so will we now call her) in that the *Idea* of her excellence, forst him to breath out scalding sighes smothered within the fornace of his thoughts, which grew into this or the like passion.

I had thought, *Menaphon*, that he which weareth the bay leafe had been free from lightening, and the Eagles penne a preseruatiue against thunder; that labour had beenemie to loue, and the eschewing of idlenesse an *Antidote* against fancie: but I see by prooffe there is no adamant so harde, but the blood of a Goate will make soft; no fort so wel defenced, but strong batterie will enter; nor anie hart so pliant to restlesse labours, but inchantment of loue will ouercome. Unfortunate *Menaphon*, that a late thoughtst *Venus* a strumpet and her sonne a bastard, now must thou offer incense at her shrine, and swear *Cupide* no lesse than a God: thou hast reason *Menaphon*; for hee that liues without loue, liues without life; presuming as *Narcissus* to hate all, and being like him at length despised of ali. Can there bee a sweeter blisse than beautie, a greater heauen than her heauenly perfections that is mistres of thy thoughts? If the sparkle of her eyes appeare in the night, the starres blush at her brightness: if her haire glister in the daye, *Phæbus* puts off his wreath of diamonds, as ouercome with the shine of her tresses;

if she walke in the fields, *Flora* seeing her face, bids al her glorious flowers close themselues, as being by her beautie disgraced; if her alabaster necke appeere, then *Hiems* couereth his snowe, as surpassed in whitenesse. To be shorte, *Menaphon*, if *Samela* had appeared in *Ida*, *Iuno* for maiestie, *Pallas* for wisdom, and *Venus* for beautie had let my *Samela* haue the supremacie: why shouldest thou not then loue, and thinke there is no life to loue, seeing the end of loue is the possession of such a heauenly Paragon? But what of this, *Menaphon*, hast thou anie hope to enioy her person, she is a widdow, true, but too high for thy fortunes; she is in distresse, ah, *Menaphon*, if thou hast anie sparke of comfort, this must set thy hope on fire. Want is the load stone of affection, distresse forceth deeper than Fortunes frownes, and such as are poore will rather loue than want reliefe, fortunes frownes are whetstones to fancie: and as the horse starteth at the spur, so loue is prickt forward with distresse. *Samela* is shipwrackt, *Menaphon* relieues her; she wants, he supplies with wealth; he sues for loue, either must she grant, or buy deniall with perpetuall repentance.

In this hope rested the poore shepheard, and with that *Menaphon* laide his head downe on the pillow and toke a sound nape, sleeping out fancie, with a good slumber.

As soone as the sunne appeared the shepheard got him vp and fed fat with this hope, went merely with his men to the foldes, and there letting forth his sheepe, after that hee had appointed where they should graze, returned home, and looking when his guests should rise, hauing supt il the last night went roundly to his breakfast; by that time he had ended his *desiune* [*i.e.* *dejeuné*], *Lamedon* was gotten vp, and so was *Samela*. Against their rising, *Carmela* had shoven her cookerie, and *Menaphon* tired in his russet iacket, his redde sleeues of chamlet, his blew bonnet, and his round slop of cuntry cloth, bestirred him, as euerie ioynt had been set to a sundrie office. *Samela* no sooner came out of her chamber, but *Menaphon* as one that claimed pitie for his passions, bad her good morrow with a firme louers looke: *Samela* knowing the fowle by the feather, was able to cast his disease without his water, perceiued that *Cupide* had caught the poore shepheard in his net, and vnles he sought quickly to break out of the snare would make him a tame foole: faire lookes she gaue



him, and with a smiling sorow discouered how she grieved at his misfortune, and yet fauoured him. Well, to breakfast they went. *Lamedon* and *Samela* fed hard, but *Menaphon* like the *Argiue* in the Date gardens of *Arabia*, liued with the contemplation of his Mistres beautie: the Salamander liueth not without the fire, the Herring from the water, the Mole from the earth, nor the Cameleon from the aire, nor coulde *Menaphon* liue from the sight of his *Samela*; whose breath was perfumed aire, whose eyes were fire wherein he delighted to dallie, whose heart the earthlie Paradise wherein hee desired to ingraffe the essence of his loue and affection: thus did the poore shepherd bathe in a kinde of blisse, whiles his eyes feeding on his mistres face, did surfet with the excellencie of her perfection.

So long he gazde, that at length breakfast was ended, and he desirous to doo her anie seruice, first put her childe to nurse, and then led her forth to see his folds; thinking with the sight of his flockes to inueigle her, whose minde had rather haue chosen anie misfortune, than haue deigned her eyes on the face and feature of so lowe a peasant. Well, abroad they went, *Menaphon* with his sheephooke fringed with cruell, to signifie he was chiefe of the swaynes, *Lamedon* and *Samela* after: plodding thus ouer the greene fields, at last they came to the mountains where *Menaphons* flockes grazed, and there he discoursed to *Samela* thus;

I tell thee, faire Nymph, these Plaines that thou seest stretching Southward, are pastures belonging to *Menaphon*: there growes the cintfoyle, and the hyacinth, the cowsloppe, the primrose, and the violet, which my flockes shall spare for flowers to make thee garlands, the milke of my ewes shall be meate for thy pretie wanton, the wool of the fat weathers that seemes as fine as the fleece that *Iason* fet from *Colchos*, shall serue to make *Samela* webbes withall; the mountaine tops shall be thy mornings walke, and the shadie valleies thy euenings arbour: as much as *Menaphon* owes [owns] shall be at *Samelas* command, if she like to liue with *Menaphon*.

This was spoken with such deepe effects, that *Samela* could scarce keepe her from smiling, yet she couered her conceipt with a sorrowful countenance, which *Menaphon* espying, to make her merrie, and rather for his own aduantage, seeing *Lamedon* was a sleepe, tooke her by the hand and sate downe,

and pulling foorth his pipe, began, after some melodie, to carroll out this roundelay.

M E N A P H O N S   R O U N D E L A Y .



*Hen tender ewes brought home with euening Sunne  
Wend to their foldes,  
And to their holdes  
The shepheards trudge when light of day is done.  
Upon a tree  
The Eagle, Ioues faire bird, did pearch,  
There resteth hee.  
A little flie his harbor then did search,  
And did presume (though others laught thereat)  
To pearch whereas the princelie Eagle sat.*

*The Eagle frownd, and shooke her royall wings,  
And chargde the Flie  
From thence to hie :  
Afraid in hast the little creature flings,  
Yet seekes againe,  
Fearfull, to pearke him by the Eagles side.  
With moodie vaine  
The speedie post of Ganimede replide ;  
Vassaile auant or with my wings you die,  
Ist fit an Eagle seate him with a Flie ?*

*The Flie craude pitie, still the Eagle frownde,  
The sillie Flie  
Readie to die  
Disgracte, displacte, fell groueling to the ground.  
The Eagle sawe  
And with a royall minde, said to the Flic,  
Be not in awe,  
I scorne by me the meanest creature die ;*



*Then sate thee heere : the ioyfull Flie vp flings,  
And sate safe shadowed with the Eagles wings.*

As soone as *Menaphon* had ended this roundelay, turning to *Samela*, after a countrey blush, he began to court her in this homely fashion ; What thinke you, *Samela*, of the Eagle for his royall deede ? That he falsified the old Prouerbe *Aquila non capit muscas* ? But I meane, *Samela*, are you not in opinion, that the Eagle giues instances of a princelie resolution, in preferring the safetie of a Flie before the credit of her royall Maiestie ?

I thinke, *Menaphon*, that high minds are the shelters of pouertie, and Kings seates are couerts for distressed persons ; that the Eagle in shrowding the Flie did well, but a little forgot her honour.

But how thinke you, *Samela*, is not this proportion to be obserued in loue ?

I gesse no, for the Flie did it not for loue, but for succour.  
Hath loue then respect of circumstance ?

Els it is not loue, but lust ; for where the parties haue no sympathie of Estates, there can no firme loue be fixed ; discord is reputed the mother of diuision, and in nature this is an vnrefuted principle, that it falteth which faileth in vniformitie. He that grafteth Iillyflowers vpon the Nettle marreth the smell ; who coueteth to tie the Lambe and the Lion in one tedder maketh a brawle ; equall fortunes are loues fauourites, and therefore shoulde fancie bee alwayes limited by Geometricall proportion ; least if young matching with olde, fire and frost fall at a combate : and if rich with poore there happe manie daungerous and brauing obiections.

*Menaphon* halfe nipte in the pate with this replie, yet like a tall souldier stode to his tackling, and made this aunswere ; Suppose, gentle *Samela*, that a man of meane estate, whome disdainefull Fortune had abased, intending to make hir power prodigall in his misfortunes, being feathered with *Cupides* bolt, were snared in the beautie of a Queene, should he rather die than discouer his amors ?

If Queens (quoth she) were of my mind, I had rather die, than perish in baser fortunes.

*Venus* loued *Vulcan*, replied *Menaphon* :

Truth, quoth *Samela*, but though he was polt-footed, yet he was a God.

*Phaon* enjoyed *Sapho*, he a Ferriman that liued by his hands thrift, she a Princesse that sate inuested with a diadem.

The more fortunate, quoth *Samela*, was he in his honours, and she the lesse famous in her honestie.

To leaue these instances, replied *Menaphon*, (for loue had made him hardie) I, sweete *Samela*, inferre these presupposed premisses, to discover the basenesse of my mean birth, and yet the deepnesse of my affection, who euer since I saw the brightnesse of your perfection shining vpon the mountains of *Arcadie*, like the glister of the Sunne vpon the toplesse Promontorie of *Sicilia*, was so snared with your beautie, and so inueigled with the excellence of that perfection that exceedeth all excellencie, that loue entring my desire, hath mainteined himselfe by force; that vnlesse sweete *Samela* grant me fauour of her loue, and play the princelie Eagle, I shall with the poore Flie perish in my Fortunes. He concluded this period with a deepe sigh, and *Samela* grieuing at this follie of the Shepherde, gaue him mildelie this aunswere.

*Menaphon*, my distressed haps are the resolutions of the Destinies, and the wrongs of my youth, are the forerunners of my woes in age; my natiue home is my worst nurserie, and my friends denie that which strangers preiudiciallie grant: I arriued in *Arcady* shipwrackt, and *Menaphon* fauouring my sorrowes hath afforded me succours, for which *Samela* rests bound, and will prooue thankfull: as for loue, knowe that *Venus* standeth on the Tortoys, as shewing that Loue creepeth on by degrees; that affection is like the Snayle, which stealeth to the top of the lance by minutes; the grasse hath his increase, yet neuer anie sees it augment, the Sonne shadowes, but the motion is not seene; loue like those should enter into the eye, and by long gradations passe into the heart; *Cupid* hath wings to flie, not that loue should be swift, but that he may soare high to auoyd base thoughts. The Topace being throwne into the fire burneth straight, but no sooner out of the flame but it freezeth; strawe is soone kindled, but it is but a blaze; and loue that is caught in a moment, is lost in a minute; giue me leaue

then *Menaphon* first to sorrow for my fortunes, then to call to minde my husbands late funeralls, then if the Fates haue assigned I shall fancie, I will account of thee before anie shepheard in *Arcadie*.

This conclusion of *Samela* draue *Menaphon* into such an extasie for ioy, that he stood as a man metamorphozed; at last calling his senses together, hee tolde her he rested satisfied with her answere, and therupon lent her a kisse, such as blushing *Thetis* receaues from her choycest lemman.

At this, *Lamedon* awakte, otherwise *Menaphon* no doubt had replied, but breaking off their talk they went to view their pastures, and so passing downe to the place where the sheepe grazed, they searched the shepherds bagges, and so emptied their bottles as *Samela* meruailed at such an vncouth banquet: at last they returned home, *Menaphon* glorying in the hope of his successe, interteining *Samela* still with such courtesie, that shee finding such content in the cotage, began to despise the honors of the Court.

Resting thus in house with the shepheard, to auoide tedious conceits she framed her selfe so to countrey labours, that she oft times would lead the flocks to the fieldes her selfe, and being drest in homelie attire, she seemd like *Oenone* that was amorous of *Paris*.

As she thus often traced alongst the Plaines, she was noted, amongst the shepherdes, of one *Doron*, next neighbour to *Menaphon*, who entered into the consideration of her beautie, and made report of it to all his fellow swaines, so that they chatted nought in the fields but of the new shepherdesse.

One daye amongst the rest, it chaunced that *Doron* sitting in parley with another countrey companion of his, amidst other tattle, they prattled of the beautie of *Samela*.

Hast thou seene her, quoth *Melicertus* (for so was his friend called).

I, quoth *Doron*, and sigtht to see her, nor that I was in loue, but that I greeued shee shuld be in loue with such a one as *Menaphon*.

What manner of woman is shee, quoth *Melicertus*?

As well as I can, answered *Doron*, I will make description of her.



vp his friend, he demanded what the cause was of this sodaine conceipt.

*Melicertus* no niggarde in discouerie of his fortunes, began thus. I tell thee, *Doron*, before I kept sheepe in *Arcadie*, I was a Shepheard else where, so famous for my flockes, as *Mena-phon* for his foldes; beloued of the Nymphes, as hee likte of the Countrey Damzells; coueting in my loues to vse *Cupids* wings, to soare high in my desires, though my selfe were borne to base fortunes. The Hobbie catcheth no pray, vnlesse she mount beyonde her marke, the Palme tree beareth most bowes where it groweth highest, and Loue is most fortunate where his courage is resolute, and thought beyond his compasse. Grounding therefore on these principles, I fixe mine eyes on a Nymph, whose parentage was great, but her beautie farre more excellent, her birth was by manie degrees greater than mine, and my woorth by manie discents lesse than hers: yet knowing *Venus* loued *Adonis*, and *Luna*, *Endymion*; that *Cupide* had beltes feathered with the plumes of a Crowe, as well as with the pennes of an Eagle, I attempted and courted her, I found her lookes lightening disdain, and her forehead to containe fauours for others, and frownes for me: when I alledged faith, she crost me with *Aeneas*; when loyaltie, she told me of *Iason*; when I swore constancie, shee questioned me of *Demophoon*; when I craued a finall resolution to my fatall passions, shee filde her browes full of wrinckles, and her eyes full of furie, turned her backe, and shooke me off with a *Non placet*. Thus in loues I lost loues, and for her loue had lost all, had not when I neere despaired the clemencie of some curteous starre, or rather the verie excellence of my Mistres fauours salued my halfe despairing maladie: for shee seeing that I helde a superstitious opinion of loue, in honouring him for a Deitie, not in counting him a vaine conceipt of Poetrie; that I thought it sacriledge to wrong my desires, and the basest fortune to inhance my fortune by falsing my loues to a woman, she left from being so rammage, and gentlie came to the first, and granted me those fauours shee might affoord, or my thoughts desire. With this, he ceast, and fell againe to his sighes.

Which *Doron* noting, answered thus. If (my good *Melicertus*) thou didst enioy thy loues, what is the occasion thou beginnest with sighes, and endest with passions.

Ah, *Doron*, there endes my ioyes, for no sooner had I triumpht in my fauours, but the trophees of my fortunes fell like the hearbes in *Syria*, that flourish in the morne, and fade before night; or like vnto the flie *Tyryma*, that taketh life and leaueth it all in one day. So, my *Doron*, did it fare with me, for I had no sooner enioyed my loue, but the heauens eniuous a shepheard should haue the fruition of such a heauenly Paragon, sent vnreucable Fates to depriuie me of her life, and shee is dead; dead, *Doron*, to her, to my selfe, to all, but not to my memorie, for so deepe were the characters stamped in my inwarde senses, that obliuion can neuer race out the forme of her excellence.

And with that, he start vp, seeking to fall out of those dumpes with Musique, (for he plaid on his pipe certaine sonets he had contriued in praise of the countrey wenches) but plaine *Doron*, as plaine as a packstaffe, desired him to sound a roundelay, and he would sing a song, which he carolled to this effect.

D O R O N S I G G E.



*Through the shrubbes as I can cracke,*

*For my Lambes little ones,*

*Mongst many pretie ones,*

*Nimphes I meane, whose haire was blacke*

*As the crow :*

*Like the snow*

*Her face and browes shinde I weene :*

*I saw a little one,*

*A bonny pretie one,*

*As bright, buxsome and as sheene*

*As was shee.*

*On hir knee*

*That lulld the God, whose arrowes warmes*

*Such merry little ones,*

*Such faire fac'd pretie ones,*

*As dally in Loues chiefest harmes,*

*Such was mine :*

*Whose gray eyne*



*Made me loue. I gan to woo*  
*This sweete little one,*  
*This bonny prettie one.*  
*I wooed hard a day or two,*  
*Till she bad ;*
*Be not sad,*
  
*Wooe no more I am thine owne,*  
*Thy dearest little one,*
*Thy truest pretie one :*
  
*Thus was faith and firme loue showne,*  
*As behoues*
*Shepheards loues.*

How like you this Dittie of mine owne deuising, quoth *Doron* ?

As well as my musique, replied *Melicertus* ; for if *Pan* and I striue, *Midas* being Iudge, and should happe to giue me the garland, I doubt not but his Asses eares should be doubled : but *Doron* so long we dispute of loue, and forget our labours, that both our flockes shall be vnfolded, and to morrow our merrie meeting hindered.

Thats true, quoth *Doron*, for there will be all the shepheards Daughters and countrey Damzels, and amongst them feare not but *Menaphon* will bring his faire Shepheardesse, there *Melicertus* shalt thou see her that will amate all our moodes, and amaze thee, and therefore good *Melicertus* let vs be going.

With this prattle away they went to their foldes, where we leaue them, and returne to *Menaphon*, who triumphing in the hope of his new loues, caused *Samela* to tricke her vp in her countrey attire, and make her selfe braue against the meeting : she that thought, to be coye were to discouer her thoughts, drest her selfe vp in *Carmelas* russet cassocke, and that so quaintly, as if *Venus* in a countrey peticoate had thought to wanton it with her louely *Adonis*.

The morow came, and away they went, but *Lamedon* was left behinde to keep the house.

At the houre appointed, *Menaphon*, *Carmela* and *Samela* came, when all the rest were readie making merie. As soone



as word was brought, that *Menaphon* came with his newe Mistres, all the companie began to murmur, and euery man to prepare his eye for so miraculous an obiect: but *Pesana* a heardsmans daughter of the same parish, that long had loued *Menaphon*, and he had filled her browes with frownes, her eyes with furie, and her heart with grieffe; yet coueting in so open an assemblie, as well as shee coulde, to hide a pad in the straw, she expected as others did the arriuell of her newe corriuell: who at that instant came with *Menaphon* into the house.

No sooner was she entred the Parlour, but her eyes gaue such a shine, and her face such a brightnesse, that they stood gazing on this Goddess; and shee vnacquainted, seeing her selfe among so manie vnknown swaines, died her cheekes with such a vermillion blush, that the countrey maides themselues fel in loue with this faire Nymph, and could not blame *Menaphon* for being ouer the shooes with such a beautifull creature. *Doron* iogde *Melicertus* on the elbowe, and so awakte him out of a dreame, for he was deeply drownd in the contemplation of her excellencie; sending out vollies of sighs in remembrance of his old loue, as thus hee sate meditating of her fauour, how much she resembled her that death had depriued him off.

Well her welcome was great of all the companie, and for that she was a stranger, they graced her to make her the mistres of the Feast. *Menaphon* seeing *Samela* thus honoured, conceiued no smal content in the aduancing of his Mistres, being passing ioconde and pleasant with the rest of the companie, insomuch that euerie one perceiued howe the poore swayne fodde vpon the dignities of his Mistres graces. *Pesana* noting this began to lowre, and *Carmela* winking vpon her fellowes, answered her frownes with a smile, which doubled her grieffe; for womens paines are more pinching if they be girded with a frumpe, than if they be galled with a mischiefe.

Whiles thus there was banding of such lookes, as euerie one imported as much as an *impreso*, *Samela*, willing to see the fashion of these countrey yong frowes, cast her eyes abroad, and in viewing euerie face, at last her eyes glaunced on the lookes of *Melicertus*; whose countenance resembled so vnto her dead Lord, that as a woman astonied she stood

staring on his face, but ashamed to gaze vpon a stranger, she made restraint of her looks, and so taking her eye from one particular obiect, she sent it abroad to make generali suruey of their countrey demeanours.

But amidst all this gazing, he that had seene poore *Menaphon*, how, infected with a iealous furie, he stared each man in the face, fearing their eyes should feede or surfet on his Mistres beautie: if they glaunst, he thought straight they would be riualls in his loues: if they flatlie lookt, then they were deeply snared in affection; if they once smiled on her, they had receyued some glance from *Samela* that made them so malepart; if she laught, she likte; and at that he began to frowne: thus sate poore *Menaphon*, all dinner while, pained with a thousande iealous passions, keeping his teeth garders of his stomacke, and his eyes watchmen of his loues, but *Melicertus* halfe impatient of his new conceiued thoughts, determined to trie how the Damzell was brought vp, and whether she was as wise as beautifull, hee therefore began to breake silence thus.

The Orgies which the *Bacchanals* kept in *Thessaly*, the Feasts which the melancholy *Saturnists* founded in *Danuby*, were neuer so quatted with silence, but on their festiual daies they did frolicke amongst themselues with manie pleasaunt parlies: were it not a shame then that we of *Arcadie*, famous for the beautie of our Nymphes, and the amorous roundelaies of our shepherds, shoulde disgrace *Pans* holiday with such melancholy dumpes: curteous country Swaines shake off this sobrietie, and seeing we haue in our companie Damzels both beautifull and wise, let vs interteine them with prattle, to trie our wittes, and tire our time.

To this they all agreed with a *plaudite*.

Then, quoth *Melicertus*; by your leaue since I was first in motion, I will be first in question, and therefore new come shepherdesse first to you. At this *Samela* blusht, and he began thus.

Faire Damzel, when *Nareus* chatted with *Iuno*, he had pardon, in that his prattle came more to pleasure the Goddesses than to ratifie his owne presumption: if I Mistres be ouerbold, forgiue me; I question not to offend, but to set time free from tediousnesse. Then gentle shepherdesse tell me, if you should be transformed through the anger of the

Gods, into some shape; what creature would you reason to be in forme?

*Samela* blushing that she was the first that was boarded, yet gathered vp her crums, and desirous to shew her pregnant wit (as the wisest women be euer tickled with self loue) made him thus answere.

Gentle shepheard, it fits not strangers to be nice, nor maidens too coy; least the one feele the weight of a scoffe, the other the fall of a frumpe: pithie questions are mindes whetstones, and by discoursing in iest, manie doubts are deciphered in earnest: therefore you haue forestalled me in crauing pardon, when you haue no neede to feele anie grant of pardon. Therefore thus to your question; *Daphne* I remember was turned to a bay tree, *Niobe* to a flint, *Lampetia* and her sisters to flowers, and sundrie Virgins to sundrie shapes according to their merites; but if my wish might serue for a Metamophosis, I would be turned into a sheepe.

A sheepe, and why so Mistres?

I reason thus, quoth *Samela*, my supposition should be simple, my life quiet, my food the pleasant Plaines of *Arcadie* and the wealthie riches of *Flora*, my drinke the coole streames that flowe from the concaue Promontorie of this Continent, my aire should be cleare, my walkes spacious, my thoughts at ease, and can there, shepheard, be any better premisses to conclude my reple than these?

But haue you no other allegations to confirme your resolution?

Yes sir, quoth she, and farre greater.

Then the law of our first motion, quoth hee, commands you to repeate them.

Farre be it, answered *Samela*, that I should not doo of free will anie thing that this pleasant companie commands: therefore thus; Were I a sheepe, I should bee garded from the foldes with iollie Swaines, such as was *Lunas* Loue on the hills of *Latmos*; their pipes sounding like the melodie of *Mercurie*, when he lulld asleepe *Argus*: but more, when the Damzells tracing along the Plaines, should with their eyes like Sunne bright beames, drawe on lookes to gaze on such sparkling Planets: then wearie with foode, shoulde I lye and looke on their beauties, as on the spotted wealthe of the

richest Firmament; I should listen to their sweete layes, more sweete than the Sea-borne *Syrens*: thus feeding on the delicacie of their features, I should like the *Tyrian* heyfer fall in loue with *Agenors* darling.

I but, quoth *Melicertus*, those faire facde Damzells oft draw foorth the kindest sheepe to the shambles.

And what of that, sir, aunswered *Samela*, would not a sheepe so long fed with beautie, die for loue.

If he die (quoth *Pesana*) it is more kindnes in beasts, than constancie in men: for they die for loue, when larkes die with leekes.

If they be so wise, quoth *Menaphon*, they shew but their mother witts; for what sparkes they haue of inconstancie, they drawe from their female fosterers, as the Sea dooth ebbes and tides from the Moone.

So be it sir, answered *Pesana*, then no doubt your mother was made of a Weathercocke, that brought foorth such a wauering companion: for you, master *Menaphon*, measure your looks by minutes and your loues are like lightning, which no sooner flash on the eie, but they vanish.

It is then, quoth *Menaphon*, because mine eye is a foolish Iudge, and chooseth too baselie: which when my heart censures of, it cast away as refuse.

'Twere best then, said *Pesana*, to discharge such vniust Iudges of their seates, and to set your eares hearers of your loue pleas.

If they fault, quoth *Melicertus*, euerie market towne hath a remedie, or els there is neuer a Baker neere by seauen miles.

Stay curteous Shepherds, quoth *Samela*, these iestes are too broade before, they are cynicall like *Diogenes* quippes, that had large feathers and sharpe heads, it little fits in this companie to bandie taunts of loue, seeing you are vnwedded and these all maidens addicted to chastitie.

You speake well as a Patronesse of our credite, quoth *Pesana*, for in deede we be virgins, and addicted to virginie.

Now, quoth *Menaphon*, that you haue got a virgin in your mouth you wil neuer leaue chaunting that word, till you prooue your selfe either a Vestall or a Sybill.

Suppose she were a Vestall, quoth *Melicertus*, I had almost said a virgine (but God forbidde I had made such a doubtfull supposition) shee might carrie water with *Amulia* in a siue:

for amongst all the rest of the virgins we read of none but her that wrought such a miracle.

*Pesana* hearing how pleasantly *Melicertus* plaid with her nose, thought to giue him as great a bone to gnawvpon, which she cast in his teeth thus briefelie. I remember, sir, that *Epicurus* measured euerie mans diet by his owne principles; *Abradas* the great *Macedonian* Pirate, thought euerie one had a letter of *Marte*, that bare sayles in the Ocean; none came to knocke at *Diogenes* tub but was supposed a *Cinick*; and fancie a late hath so tied you to his vanities, that you will thinke *Vesta* a flat figured conceipt of Poetrie.

*Samela* perceiuing these blowes woulde growe to deepe wounds, broke off their talke with this prety digression. Gentlemen, to ende this strife, I praye you let vs heare the opinion of *Doron*, for all this while neither he nor *Carmela* haue vttered one word, but sate as *Censers* of our pleas; twere necessarie he tolde vs how his heart came thus on his halfepenie.

*Doron* hearing *Samela* thus pleasaunt, made presentlie this blunt reple; I was, faire *Mistres*, in a solempne doubt with my selfe, whether in beeing a sheepe, you would be a *Ram* or an *Ewe*?

An *Ewe* no doubt, quoth *Samela*, for hornes are the heauiest burden that the head can beare.

As *Doron* was readie to reple, came in sodainly to this parley foure or fiue olde shepherds, who broke off their prattle, that from chat they fel to drinking: and so after some parley of their flocks, euerie one departed to their own home where they talked of the exquisite perfection of *Samela*, especially *Melicertus*, who gotten to his owne cotage, and lyen downe in his couch by himselfe, began to ruminare on *Samelas* shape.

Ah *Melicertus*, what an obiect of fortune this day brought to thy eyes, presenting a strange *Idæa* to thy sight, as appeared to *Achilles* of his dead friend *Patroclus*, tresses of gold like the tramels of *Sephestias* lockes, a face fairer than *Venus*, such was *Sephestia*; her eye paints her out *Sephestia*, her voyce sounds her out *Sephestia*, she seemeth none but *Sephestia*: but seing she is dead, and there liueth not such another *Sephestia*, sue to her and loue her, for that it is either a selfe same or another *Sephestia*. In this hope *Melicertus* fel to his



slumber, but *Samela* was not so content. For shee began thus to muse with her selfe ;

May this *Melicertus* be a shepherd? or can a cuntrye cotage afford such perfection? doth this coast bring forth such excellence? then happie are the virgins shall haue such suters, and the wiues such pleasing husbands; but his face is not inchacte [*enchased*] with anie rusticke proportion, his browes containe the characters of nobilitie, and his lookes in shepherds weeds are Lordlie, his voyce pleasing, his wit full of gentrye: weigh all these equallie, and consider, *Samela*, is it not thy *Maximus*? Fond foole, away with these suppositions; could the dreaming of *Andromache* call *Hector* from his graue? or can the vision of my husband raise him from the seas? Tush, stoop not to such vanities: hee is dead, and therefore grieue not thy memorie with the imagination of his new reuiue, for there hath been but one *Hippolitus* found to be *Virbius*, twise a man, to salue *Samela* than this suppose; if they court thee with hyacinth, interteine them with roses; if he send thee a lambe, present him an eawe; if he wooe, be wooed; and for no other reason, but hee is like *Maximus*.

Thus she rested, and thus she slept, all parties being equally content and satisfied with hope, except *Pesana*, who, fettred with the feature of her best beloued *Menaphon*, sate cursing *Cupide* as a parciall Deitie, that would make more daye light in the Firmament than one Sunne, more rainebowes in the heauen than one *Iris*, and more loues in one heart than one settled passion: manie praiers she made to *Venus* for reuenge, manie vowes to *Cupide*, manie orizons to *Hymæneus*, if she might possesse the type of her desires. Well, poore soule, howsoeuer she was paid, she smothered all with patience, and thought to braue loue with seeming not to loue; and thus she daily droue out the time with labour, and looking to her heard, hearing euerie day by *Doron* who was her kinsman, what successe *Menaphon* had in his loues.

Thus Fates and Fortune dallying a dolefull Catastrophe, to make a more pleasing Epitazis, it fell out amongst them thus. *Melicertus* going to the fields, as he was wont to doo with his flockes, droue to graze as neere the swaines of *Menaphon* as he might, to haue a view of his new entertained Mistres; who, according to his expectation, came thether euerie day. *Melicertus* esteeming her to bee some Farmers daughter at the

most, could not tell how to court her; yet at length calling to remembrance her rare wit discovered in her last discourses, finding opportunitie to giue her both bal and racket, seeing the coast was cleere, and that none but *Samela* and he were in the field, he left his flocke in the valley, and stept vnto her, and saluted her thus.

Mistres of al eyes that glance but at the excellence of your perfection, soueraigne of all such as *Venus* hath allowed for louers, *Oenones* ouermatch, *Arcadies* comet, beauties second comfort; all haile: seeing you sit like *Iuno* when shee first watchte her white heyfer on the *Lincen* downes, as bright as siluer *Phæbe* mounted on the high top of the ruddie element, I was by a strange attractiue force drawne, as the adamant draweth the yron, or the ieat the straw, to visite your sweete selfe in the shade, and affoord you such companie as a poore swaine may yeeld without offence; which if you shall vouch to deigne of, I shall be as glad of such accepted seruice, as *Paris* first was of his best beloued Paramour.

*Samela* looking on the shepherdes face, and seeing his vtterance full of broken sighes, thought to bee pleasant with her shepherd thus. *Arcadies* *Apollo*, whose brightnesse draws euerie eye to turne as the *Heliotropion* doth after her load; fairest of the shepherds, the *Nimphes* sweetest obiect, womens wrong, in wronging manie with ones due; welcome, and so welcome, as we vouchsafe of your seruice, admitte of your companie, as of him that is the grace of al companies, and if we durst vpon any light pardon, woulde venter to request you shew vs a cast of your cunning.

*Samela* made this replie, because she heard him so superfine, as if *Ephæbus* had learnd him to refine his mother tongue, wherefore thought he had done it of an inkhorne desire to be eloquent; and *Melicertus* thinking that *Samela* had learnd with *Lucilla* in *Athens* to anatomize wit, and speake none but *Similes*, imagined she smoothed her talke to be thought like *Sapho*, *Phaos* Paramour.

Thus deceiued either in others suppositions, *Samela* followed her sute thus; I know that *Priamus* wanton could not be without flockes of *Nimphes* to follow him in the Vale of *Ida*, beautie hath legions to attende her excellence if the shepherd be true; if like *Narcissus* you wrap not your face in the cloude of disdaine, you cannot but haue some



rare Paragon to your Mistres, whome I woulde haue you, in some sonnet, describe; *Ioues* last loue, if *Ioue* could get from *Iuno*.

My pipe shal presume and I aduenture with my voice to set out my Mistres fauour for your excellence to censure of, and therefore thus.

Yet *Melicertus*, for that hee had a farther reach, would not make anie clownish description, chanted it thus cunningly,

M E L I C E R T U S   D E S C R I P T I O N  
O F   H I S   M I S T R E S .



*Une on my pipe the praises of my Loue,  
And midst thy oaten harmonie recount  
How faire she is that makes thy musicke mount,  
And euerie string of thy hearts harpe to moue.*

*Shall I compare her forme vnto the spheare  
Whence Sun-bright Venus vaunts her siluer shine?  
Ah more than that by iust compare is thine,  
Whose Christall lookes the cloudie heauens doo cleare.*

*How oft haue I descending Titan seene  
His burning lockes couch in the Sea-queenes lap,  
And beauteous Thetis his red bodie wrap  
In watrie roabes, as he her Lord had been.*

*When as my Nimph impatient of the night  
Bad bright Atræus with his traine giue place,  
Whiles she led forth the day with her faire face,  
And lent each starre a more than Delian light.*

*Not Ioue or Nature should they both agree  
To make a woman of the Firmament,  
Of his mixt puritie could not inuent  
A Skie borne forme so beautifull as she.*

When *Melicertus* had ended this roundelay in praise of his Mistres, *Samela*, perceiued by his description, that either some

better Poet than himselfe had made it, or else that his former phrase was dissembled: wherefore to trie him thoroughly, and to see what snake lay hidden vnder the grasse, she followed the chase in this manner.

*Melicertus*, might not a stranger craue your Mistres name.

At this, the shepheard blusht, and made no reply.

How now, quoth *Samela*, what, is she meane that you shame, or so high as you feare to bewray the souereign of your thoughts? Stand not in doubt man, for be she base, I reade that mightie *Tamberlaine* after his wife *Zenocrate* (the worlds faire eye) past out of the Theater of this mortall life, he chose stigmaticall trulls to please his humorous fancie. Be she a princesse, honour hangs in high desires, and it is the token of a high minde to venter for a Queene: then gentle shepheard tell me thy Mistres name.

*Melicertus* hearing his goddess speake so fauourably, breathed out this sodaine replie: Too high, *Samela*, and therefore I feare with the *Syrian* Wolues to barke against the Moone, or with them of *Scyrum* to shoot against the starres; in the height of my thoughts soaring too high, to fall with wofull repenting *Icarus*: no sooner did mine eye glance vpon her beautie, but as if loue and fate had sate to forge my fatall disquiet, they trapte mee within her lookes, and haling her *Idæa* through the passage of my sight, placde it so deeply in the center of my heart, as maugre al my studious indeauour it still and euer will keepe restlesse possession: noting her vertues, her beauties, her perfections, her excellence, and feare of her too high born parentage, although painfully fettered, yet haue I still feared to dare so haute an attempt to so braue a personage; lest she offensiue at my presumption, I perish in the height of my thoughts.

This conclusion broken with an abrupt passion, could not so satisfie *Samela* but she would bee further inquisitiue.

At last after manie questions, he answered thus: Seeing *Samela* I consume my selfe, and displease you; to hazarde for the salue that maye cure my malady, and satisfie your question, know it is the beauteous *Samela*.

Be there more of that name in *Arcady* beside my selfe, quoth she.

I know not, quoth *Melicertus*, but were there a million, onely you are *Melicertus Samela*.

But of a million, quoth she, I cannot be *Melicertus Samela*,

for loue hath but one arrowe of desire in his quiuer, but one string to his bow, and in choyce but one aime of affection.

Haue ye alreadie, quoth *Melicertus*, set your rest vpon some higher personage ?

No, quoth *Samela*, I meane by your selfe, for I haue hearde that your fancie is linked alreadie to a beautiful shepherdesse of *Arcadie*.

At this, the pore swaine tainted his cheeks with a vermillion die, yet thinking to carrie out the matter with a iest, he stood to his tackling thus ; Whosoeuer *Samela* descanted of that loue, tolde you a *Canterbury* tale ; some propheticall full mouth that as he were a Coblers eldest sonne, would by the laste tell where anothers shooe wrings, but his sowterly aime was iust leuell, in thinking euerie looke was loue, or euerie faire worde a pawne of loyaltie.

Then, quoth *Samela*, taking him at a rebound, neither may I thinke your glaunces to be fancies, nor your greatest protestion any assurance of deepe affection : therefore ceasing off to court any further at this time, thinke you haue prooued your selfe a tall souldier to continue so long at batterie, and that I am a fauourable foe that haue continued so long a parley ; but I charge you by the loue you owe your deerest Mistres, not to say any more as touching loue for this time.

If *Samela*, quoth hee, thou hadst enioyned me as *Iuno* did to *Hercules*, most daungerous labours, I would haue discovered my loue by obedience, and my affection by death : yet let me craue this, that as I begunne with a Sonnet, so I may ende with a Madrigale.

Content *Melicertus*, quoth she, for none more than I loue Musique.

Upon this replie, the shepheard proud folowed this Dittie.

### MELICERTUS MADRIGALE.



*What are my sheepe without their wonted food ?*

*What is my life except I gaine my Loue ?*

*My sheepe consume and faint for want of blood.*

*My life is lost vnlesse I grace approue.*

*No flower that saplesse thriues :*

*No Turtle without pheare*

*The day without the Sunne dooth lowre for woe,  
Then woe mine eyes vnlesse they beautie see :  
My Sunne Samelas eyes, by whom I know  
Wherein delight consists, where pleasures be.  
Nought more the heart reuiues  
Than to imbrace his deare.*

*The starres from earthly humors gaine their light.  
Our humors by their light possesse their power :  
Samelaes eyes fedde by my weeping sight,  
Fnsues my paine or ioyes, by smile or lower.  
So wends the source of loue.  
It feeds, it failes, it ends.*

*Kinde lookes cleare to your ioy behold her eyes,  
Admire her heart, desire to taste her kisses ;  
In them the heauen of ioy and solace lies,  
Without them eu'ry hope his succour misses.  
Oh how I loue to prooue  
Wheretoo this solace tends.*

Scarce had the shepheard ended this Madrigale, but *Samela* began to frowne, saying he had broken promise.

*Melicertus* alledged if he had vttered any passion, twas sung, not said.

Thus these Louers in a humorous descant of their prattle espied a farre off olde *Lamedon* and *Menaphon* coming towards them ; whereupon kissing in conceit, and parting with interchaunged glaunces, *Melicertus* stole to his sheepe, and *Samela* sate her downe making of nets to catche birds.

At last *Lamedon* and her Loue came, and after manie gracious lookes, and much good parley, helpte her home with her sheepe, and put them in the folds.

But leauing these amorous shepherdes busie in their loues, let vs retourne at length to the pretie babie, *Samelas* childe, whom *Menaphon* had put to nurse in the countrey.

This infant being by Nature beautifull, and by birth noble, even in his cradle exprest to the eyes of the gazers such glorious presages of his approaching fortunes, as if another *Alcides* (the arme-strong darling of the doubled night) by wrastling with snakes in his swadling cloutes, should propheticie to the world the approaching wonders of his prowess; so did his fierie looks reflect terror to the weake beholders of his ingrafted nobilitie, as if some God twice born like vnto the *Thracian Bacchus*, forsaking his heauen borne Deitie, shoulde delude our eyes with the alternate forme of his infancie. Fiue yeres had full runne their monthly reuolution, when as this beauteous boy began to shew himselfe among the shepherds children, with whom he had no sooner contracted familiar acquaintance, but straight he was chosen Lord of the May game, king of their sports, and ringleader of their reuils; insomuch that his tender mother beholding him by chance mounted in his kingly maiestie, and imitating honorable iustice in his gamesom exercise of discipline, with teares of ioy took vp these propheticall termes;

Well doo I see, where God and Fate hath vowed felicitie, no aduerse fortune may expel prosperitie. *Pleusidippus*, thou art young, thy lookes high, and thy thoughtes hautie; soueraintie is seated in thy eyes, and honour in thy heart; I feare this fire will haue his flame, and then am I vndone in thee my sonne; my countrey life (sweete countrey life) in thy proud soaring hopes, despoyled and disroabed of the disguised aray of his rest, must returne russet weedes to the foldes where I lefte my feares, and hast to the court my hell, there to inuest me in my wonted cares.

How now *Samela*, wilt thou be a *Sybil* of mishap to thy self? the angrie heauens that haue eternisht thy exile, haue establisht thy content in *Arcadie*.

My content in *Arcadie*, that may not be no longer than my *Pleusidippus* staies in *Arcadie*, which I haue cause to feare, for the whelps of the Lion are no longer harmlesse than when they are whelpes, and babes no longer to be awed, than while they are babes. I but nature. And therewith she pawsed, being interrupted by a tumult of boies, that by yong *Pleusidippus* command fell vpon one of their fellowes, and beate him most cruelly for playing false playe at nine holes: which she espying though her lattise window, could

not chose but smile aboue measure. But when she saw him in his childish termes condemne one to death for despising the authoritie bequeathed him by the rest of the boyes, then she bethought her of the Persian *Cyrus* that deposed his Grandfather *Astyages*, whose vse it was at like age to imitate maiestie in like manner.

In this distraction of thoughts she had not long time staid, but *Lamedon* and *Menaphon* calde her awaye to accompany them to the foldes, whiles *Pleusidippus* hasting to the execution of iustice, dismissed his boyish session till their next meeting: where how imperiouslie he behaued himselfe in punishing misorders amongst his equals, in vsing more than iesting iustice towards his vntamed copesmates, I referre it to the Annals of the *Arcadians* that dilate not a little of this ingenious argument.

In this sort did *Pleusidippus* draw foorth his infancie, till on a time walking to the shore, where hee with his mother were wrackt, to gather cockles and pebble stones, as children are wont: there arriued on the strond a *Thessalian* Pirate named *Eurilochus*, who after he had forraged in the *Arcadian* confines, driuing before him a large bootie of beasts to his ships, espied this pretie infant; when gazing on his face, as wanton *Ioue* gazed on *Phrygian Ganimede* in the fields of *Ida*, hee exhaled into his eyes such deepe impression of his perfection, as that his thought neuer thirsted so much after any pray, as this pretie *Pleusidippus* possession: but determining first to assay him by curtesie before hee assayled him with rigour, he began to trie his wit after this manner.

My little childe, whence art thou, where wert thou borne, whats thy name, and wherefore wandrest thou thus all alone on the shoare.

I pray ye, what are you, sir, quoth *Pleusidippus*, that deale thus with me by interrogatories, as if I were some runne away.

Wilt thou not tell me then, who was thy father?

Said he, Good sir, if ye will needes knowe, goe aske that of my mother.

Hath said well, my Lord, quoth *Romanio* who was one of his especiall associates, for wise are the children in these dayes that know their owne fathers, especially if they be begotten in Dogge daies, when their mothers are franticke with



loue, and yong men furious for lust. Besides, who knows not, that these *Arcadians* are giuen to take the benefit of euerie Hodge, when they will sacrifice their virginitie to *Venus*, though they haue but a bush of nettles for their bedde; and sure this boy is but some shepheards bastard at the most, howsoeuer his wanton face importeth more than appeerance.

*Pleusidippus* eyes at this speach resolued into fire, and his face into purple, with a more than common courage in children of his yeares and stature, gaue him the lie roundly in this replie; Pesant, the bastard in thy face, for I am a Gentleman; wert thou a man in courage, as thou art a cove in proportion, thou wouldst neuer haue so much empayred thy honestie, as to derogate from my honor. Look not in my face but leuel at my heart by this that thou seest. And therewith let driue at him with such pebble stones as hee had in his hat, insomuch that *Romanio* was driuen to his heeles, to shun this sodaine haile shot, and *Eurilochus* resolued into a laughter, and in tearmes of admiration most highly extolled so exceeding magnanimitie in so little a bodie; which how auailable it prooued to the confirmation of his fancie, that was before inflamed with his features, let them imagine, that haue noted the imbecilitie of that age, and the vnresisted furie of men at armes.

Sufficeth at this instant to vnfolde (all other circumstance of praise laid apart) that *Eurilochus* being farre in loue with his extraordinarie lineaments, awaited no farther parley, but willed his men perforce to hoise him a shipboard, intending as soone as euer he arriued in *Thessaly*, by sending him to the Courte as a present, to makes his peace with his Lord and Master *Agenor*, who not long before had proclaimed him as a notorious Pirate throughout all his dominions.

Neither swarued hee one whit from his purpose, for no sooner had he cast anker in the Port of *Hadrionopolis*, but he arraied him in choyce silkes and *Tyrian* purple, and so sent him as a prize to the King of that Country, who walking as then in his summer garden with his Queen, the beauteous *Eriphila*, fell to discourse (as one well seene in Philosophie) of hearbes and flowers, as the sauour or colour did occasion: and hauing spent some time in disputing their medicinable properties, his Ladie reaching him a Marigold, he began to moralize of it thus merely.



I meruaile the Poets that were so prodigall in painting the amorous affection of the Sunne to his Hyacinth, did neuer obserue the relation of loue twixt him and the Marigold: it shoulde either seeme they were loath to incurre the displeasure of women, by propounding it in the way of comparison any seruile imitation for head strong wiues, that loue no precepts lesse than those pertaining vnto duty; or that that flower not so vsual in their gardens as ours, in her vnacquainted name did obscure the honour of her amors to *Apollo*; to whose motions reducing the methode of her springing, she waketh and sleepeth, openeth and shutteth her golden leaues, as he riseth and setteth.

Well did you forestall my exception, quoth *Eriphila*, in terming it a seruile imitation; for were the condition of a wife so slauish as your similitude would inferre, I had as leaue be your page as your spouse, your dogge as your darling.

Not so, sweete wife, answered *Agenor*, but the comparison holdeth in this, that as the Marigold resembleth the Sunne both in colour and forme, so each mans wife ought euerie way to be the image of her husband, framing her countenance to smile, when she sees him disposed to mirth; and contrariwise her eyes to teares, he being surcharged with melancholy: and as the Marigold displaieth the orient ornaments of her beautie to the resplendant viewe of none but her loue *Hyperion*, so ought not a woman of modestie lay open the allurements of her face to anie but her espoused pheere; in whose absence like the Marigold in the absence of the Sunne, she ought to shut vp her dores, and solemnize continuall night, till her husband, her sunne, making a happie return, vnsealeth her silence with the ioy of his sight.

Beleeue me, but if all flowers (quoth *Eriphila*) affoord such influence of eloquence to our aduerse orators, Ile exempt them all from my smell, for feare they be all planted to poyson.

Ofte haue I heard (replied *Agenor*) our cunning Phisitions conclude, that one poyson is harmlesse to another; which if it be so, there is no cause why a thistle should feare to be stung of a nettle.

I can tell you, sir, you best were beware, least in wading too farre in comparisons of thistles and nettles, you exchange not your rose for a nett'le.

If I do, quoth *Agenor*, it is no more, but my gardeners shall plucke it vp by the rootes, and throw it ouer the wal as a weed.

To end this iest that els would issue to a iarre, What purple flower is this in forme like a hyacinth (quoth *Eriphila*) so cunningly dropped with bloud, as if Nature had intermedled with the Heralds arte, to emblazon a bleeding heart.

It is the flower into the which Poets doo faigne *Venus* dying *Adonis* to be turned, a faire boy but passing infortunate.

Was it possible, quoth *Eriphila*, that euer Nature should bee so bounteous to a boy, to giue him a face in despite of women so faire: faine would I see such an obiect, and then would I defie beautie, for imparting our excellencie to any inferiour obiect.

In saying these words (as if Fortune meant to present her fancie with his desired felicitie) *Romanio* conducted by one of the Lords came with yong *Pleusidippus* in his hand into the priuie garden: where discoursing vnto the king the intent of *Eurilochus* in presenting him with such an inestimable Iewell, the manner of his taking in the Strond of *Arcadie*, with other circumstance of vowed alleageance; all which being gratefully accepted of *Agenor*, he sealed their seuerall pardons, and so gaue them leaue to depart.

But when he had throughly obserued euerie perfection of yong *Pleusidippus*, he burst into these tearmes of passion; Had sea-borne *Pontia* then an appliable eare in our idlenesse, that to testifie hir eternall deitie, she should send vs a second *Adonis* to delude our senses? What euer may deserue the name of faire haue I seen before, beautie haue I beheld in his brightest orb, but neuer set eye on immortalitie before this houre.

*Eriphila* likewise in no lesse extasie, seeing her eyes to dazle with the reflexe of his beautie, and hir cheekes tainted with a blush of disgrace by too too much gazing on his face, said; that eyther the Sunne had lefte his bower to beguile their eyes with a borrowed shape (which could not keepe in his brightness) or *Cupide* dismounted from his mothers lappe, left his bow and quiuer at random, to outbraue the *Thessalian* dames in their beautie.

In this contrarietie of thoughts, being all plunged welnigh

in a speechlesse astonishment, the faire childe *Pleusidippus* not vsed to such hyperbolical spectators, broke off the silence by calling for his victualls, as one whose emptie stomach since his comming from sea, was not ouercloyed with delicates, whereat *Agenor* reuiued from his trance, wherein the present wonder had inwrapt him, demanded such questions of his name and parentage as the Pirates ignorance could not vnfold; but he being able to tel no more than this, that his mother was a shepherdesse, and his owne name *Pleusidippus*, cut off all their further interrogatories by calling, after his childish manner, againe for his dinner.

Whereupon *Agenor* commanding him to be had in, and, vsed in euerie respect as the childe of a Prince, began in his solitarie walke by his countenance to calculate his Natiuitie, and measure his birth by his beautie, contracting him in thought heyre to his kingdome of *Thessaly*, and husbände to his daughter, before he knewe whence the childe descended, or who was his father.

But leauing yong *Pleusidippus* thus spending his youth in the *Thessalian* Court, protected with tender affection of such a courteous Foster-father as *Agenor*; returne wee where we lefte, backe vnto *Arcadie*, and meete his Mother, the faire *Samela*, returning from the foldes: who hauing discoursed by the way, as she came home, to *Lamedon* and *Menaphon*, what shee late sawe and obserued in her sonne, they both conioyned their iudgements to this conclusion, that hee was doubtles borne to some greater fortunes than the sheepcoates could containe, and therefore it behooued her to further his Destinies with some good and liberall education, and not to detaine him any longer in that trade of life, which his fortune withstood: but by the way to rebuke him for tyrannising so Lordlie ouer his boies, least the neighbor shepherds might happely intrude the name of iniurie on them being strangers, for his insulting ouer their children.

With this determination came she home, and calling for *Pleusidippus* according to their former counsaile, he would in no wise be found. Thereupon enquirie was made amongst all the shepherds, diligent seach in euerie village, but stil the most carefulllest post returned with *Non est inuentus*.

Which *Samela* hearing, thinking she had vtterly lost him whome Fortune had saued, began in this manner to act her vnrest.

Dissembling heauens, where is your happinesse? vnconstant times, what are your triumphes? haue you therefore hethertoo fed me with honiè, that you might at last poyson me with gall? Haue you fatted me so long with *Sardenian* smiles, that like the wracke of the *Syrens*, I might perish in your wiles? Curst that I was to affie in your curtesie, curst that I am to taste of your crueltie. O, *Pleusidippus*, liuest thou, or art thou dead? No thou art dead, dead to the world, dead to thy kinsfolkes, dead to *Cipres*, dead to *Arcadie*, dead to thy mother *Samela*; and with thee dies the worlds wonder, thy kinsfolkes comfort, *Cipres* soule, *Arcadies* hopes, thy mothers honours. Was this the prophecie of thy souereigntie, to yeeld vp thy life to death so vntimely? wretched was I of al women to bring thee foorth to this infancie. O cruel *Themis* that didst reuolue such vneuitable fate; hard harted death to prosecute me with such hate. Haue wee therefore escapte the furie of the seas, to perish on the land? was it not inough that we were exiled from higher prosperitie, but we must all of vs thus sodainly be ouerwhelmed with the ouerflowe of a second aduersitie? my husband and thy father to be swallowed in the furie of the surge, and now thou to bee. And therewith her eyes distilled such abundance of teares, as stopt the passage of her plaints; and made her seeme a more than second *Niobe*, bewailing her seauen fold sorrow vnder the forme of a weeping Flint.

*Menaphon* who had ouer heard her all this while, as one that sought opportunitie to plead his vnrest, perceiuing her in that extremitie of agonie for hir sons supposed losse, stept to hir presently, and cheerde hir vp in these tearmes; Faire shepheardesse, might the teares of contrition raise the dead from destruction, then were it wisdome to bewaile what weeping might recall; but since such anguish is fruitelesse, and these plainings bootlesse; comfort your self with the hope of the liuing, and omit the teares for the dead.

Why, quoth *Samela*, how is it possible a woman should loose him without grieffe, whom she hath conceiued with sorrow: he was, sweete *Menaphon*, the diuided halfe of my

essence, soule to my ioyes, and life to my delights; as beauteous in his birth, as in our bright bow-bearing God, that played the shepherd awhile for loue, amidst our pleasant *Arcadian Downes*.

What ere he was in beautie, quoth *Menaphon*, proceeded from your bountie; who may by marriage make his like when you please: therefore there is no cause you should so much grieue to see your first worke defacde, that of a newe molde can forme a farre better than euer he was.

Ah, *Menaphon*, nere more may his like proceede from my loynes; I tell thee he made the chamber bright with his beautie when he was born, and chacte [*chased*] the night with the golden rayes that gleamed from his lookes: nere more may I bee the mother of such a sonne.

Yes, *Samela*, (quoth the frolicke shepherde) thinke not but if thou wilt list to my loues, I will enrich thee with as faire increase as euer he was.

Alas, pore swaine, said she, thou hopest in vaine, since another must reape what thou hast sowne, and gather into his barnes what thou hast scattered in the furrowe.

Another reape what I haue sowed. Therewith he scracht his head where it icht not, and setting his cap he could not tell which way, in a hot fustian fume, he vtterd these words of furie; Strumpet of *Greece*, repaiest thou my loue with this lauish ingratitude? haue I therefore with my plentie supplied thy wants, that thou with thy pride shouldst procure my wo? did I relieue thee in distresse, to wound me in thy welfare with disdain? deceitful woman (and therewith hee swore a holiday oath, by Pan the God of the shepherds) either returne loue for loue, or I will turne thee forth of doores to scrape vp thy crummes where thou canst; and make thee pitied for thy pouertie, that earst while wert honoured in euery mans eye through the supportance of thy beautie.

Belike then, quoth *Samela*, when you intertained me into your house, you did it not in regarde of the lawes of hospitalitie, but only with this policie to quench the flames of your fancie; then sir, haue I mistooke your honestie, and am lesse indebted to your courtesie.

Nay I thought no lesse. saide *Menaphon*, when your straggling eye at our last meeting would bee gadding throughout euerie corner of our companie, that you would proue such a kinde



kistrell; but if you will needes be starting, Ile serue yee thereafter, I warrant you: then see which of our beardlesse yongsters will take ye in, when I haue cast you forth.

Those, quoth she, that outcountenance *Menaphon* and his pelfe, and are better able than your selfe: but howsoever I finde their fauour, I henceforth defie you and your fellowship.

And therewith, in great rage, she flung away into the next chamber, where her uncle *Lamedon* laye a sleepe; to whome complaining of *Menaphons* discourtesies, he straight inuented this remedie:

There was a shepheard called *Moron* (brother to *Doron*) that not long before died of a surfet, whose house and flocke beeing set to sale after his decease, he bought them both fourthwith for *Sanela*, with certaine remainder of money he had, and therein enfeaft [*enfeoffed*] her, maugre the furie of *Menaphon*; who when hee saw she was able to support her state without his purse, became sicke for anger, and spent whole Eclogues in anguish.

Sometime lying comfortlesse on his bedde, he would complaine him to the windes of his woes, in these or such like words: Forlorne and forsooke, since Phisicke doth loathe thee; despayre be thy death, Loue is a God and despiseth thee a man; Fortune blinde, and can not beholde thy desertes; die, die, fonde *Menaphon*, that vngratefully hast abandoned thy Mistresse. And therewith stretching himselfe vpon his bed, as thinking to haue slept, hee was restrained by cares that exiled all rest from his eyes: whereuppon taking his pipe in his hande, twixte playing and singing hee playned him thus.

## MENAPHONS SONG IN HIS BEDDE.



*Ou restlesse cares, companions of the night,  
That wrap my ioyes in folds of endlesse woes:  
Tyre on my heart, and wound it with your spight,  
Since Loue and Fortune proues my equall foes.*

*Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies:  
Welcome sweet grieffe, the subiect of my laies.*

*Mourne heavens, mourne earth, your shepheard is forlorne ;  
Mourne times, and houres, since bale inuades my howre :  
Curse euerie tongue, the place where I was borne,  
Curse euerie thought, the life which makes me lowre.  
Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies,  
Welcome sweet grieffe, the subiect of my laies.*

*Was I not free ? was I not fancies aime ?  
Framde not desire my face to front disdaine ?  
¶ was ; she did : but now one silly maime  
Makes me to droope as he whom loue hath slaine.  
Farewell my hopes, farewell my happy daies,  
Welcome sweet grieffe, the subject of my layes.*

*Yet drooping, and yet liuing to this death,  
¶ sigh, I sue for pitie at her shrine,  
Whose fierie eyes exhale my vitall breath,  
And make my flockes with parching heate to pine.  
Farewell my hopes, farewell my happie daies,  
Welcome sweet grieffe, the subiect of my layes.*

*Fade they, die I, long may she liue to blisse,  
That feedes a wanton fire with fuell of her forme,  
And makes perpetuall summer where shee is ;  
Whiles I doo crie oretooke with enuies storme,  
Farewell my hopes, farewell my happie daies :  
Welcome sweete grieffe, the subiect of my laies.*

No sooner had *Menaphon* ended this dittie, but *Pesana* hearing that he was lately false sicke, and that *Samela* and hee were at mortall iarres ; thinking to make hay while the Sunne shined, and take opportunitie by his forelockes, comming into his chamber, vnder pretence to visit him, fell into these termes ; Why how now, *Menaphon*, hath your newe change driuen you to a night cap ? Beleue me, this is the strangest effect of loue that euer I saw, to freeze so quicklie the heart it set on fire so lately.

Why maye it not bee a burning feuer as well, quoth *Menaphon* blushing ?



Nay that can not be, said *Pesana*, since you shake for colde, not sweat for heat.

Why if it be so, it is long of cold interteinment.

Why, quoth *Pesana*, hath your hot intertainment cooled your courage ?

No, but her vnderuered hate quite hindered my conquest.

You knowe, said *Pesana*, where you might haue been let in, long ere this, without either assault or anie such battery.

With this the Shepheard was mute, and *Pesana* ashamed: but at length regathering his spirits, to bewray his martyrdom, and make his olde Mistris some new musicke, he strained forth this dittie.



*Aire fields, proud Floras vaunt, why is't you smile  
when as I languish ?*

*You golden meads, why striue you to beguile  
my weeping anguish ?*

*I liue to sorrow, you to pleasure spring :  
why doo you spring thus ?*

*What will not Boreas, tempests wrathfull king,  
take some pitie on vs ?*

*And send forth Winter in hir rustie weede,  
to waite my bemonings ;*

*Whiles I distrest doo tune my countrey reede  
vnto my gronings.*

*But heauen, and earth, time, place, and euery power,  
haue with her conspired*

*To turne my blissefull sweetes to balefull sower,  
since foud I desired*

*The heauen whereto my thoughts may not aspire :  
ay me unhappie.*

*It was my fault t'imbrace my bane the fire,  
that forceth me to die.*

*Mine be the paine, but hers the cruell cause  
of this strange torment :*

*Wherefore no time my banning prayers shall pause,  
till proud she repent.*

Well I perceiue, quoth *Pesana*, for all she hath let you flie like a Hawke that hath lost hir tyre; yet you meane to follow sute and seruice, though you get but a handfull of smoake to the bargaine.

Not so, said *Menaphon*, but perhaps I seek to returne an ill bargaine as deare as I bought it.

If you doo so, you are wiser than this kercher dooth shew you, quoth *Pesana*.

Much idle prattle to this purpose had *Menaphon* with *Pesana* in his sicknesse; and long it was not, but that with good diet and warme broths, (and especially by her carefull attendance) hee began to gather vp his crummes, and listen by litle and litle to the loue he late scorned.

Leaue we them to their equall desires, as surfetting either of others societie; and let vs looke back to *Thessaly*, where *Samelaes* stripling (now growne vp to the age of sixteene yeres) flourisht in honour, and feates of armes aboue all the Knights of the Court, insomuch that the echo of his Fame, was the onely news talkt on throughout euerie towne in *Greece*: but *Olympia* the Mistresse of his prowess (for so was the Kings daughter named) was she that most of all exalted in the farre renowned reports of his martiall perfections, to whose praise hee did consecrate al his indeauours, to whose exquisite forme hee did dedicate al his aduentures. But hellborne Fame, the eldest daughter of *Erinnis*, enuying the felicitie of these two famous Louers, dismounted eftsoones from hir brasse sounding buildings, and vnburdened hir selfe of hir secrets in the presence of yong *Pleusidippus*, among whose catalogue she had not forgot to discouer the incomparable beauty of the *Arcadian* shepherdesse: whereof the young Prince no sooner had receiued an inckling, but he stood vpon thornes til he had satisfied his desire with her sight.

Therefore on a time sitting with his Mistresse at supper, when for table talke it was debated amongst them, what Country bredde the most accomplit Dames for all things? After straungers and others had deliuered vp their opinions without parcialitie, one amongst them all, who had been in *Arcadie*, gaue vp his verdict thus freely;

Gentle women (quoth hee) bee it no disgrace for the Moone to stoope to the Sunne, for the starres to giue place when *Titan* appeares; then I hope neither the *Thessalians* will be moued, nor the *Grecians* agrieued, if I make *Apollo's Arcadie* beauties Meridian. Neither wil I proceede heerein as our Philosophicall Poets are wont, that muster euey moouer in the Zodiacke, euerie fixed starre in the firmament, euerie elementall worde of arte in an Almanacke, to prooue that Countrey for beautie most Canonically where their Mistresse abideth; when as, God wot, had they but learned of *Apelles*, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, they would not haue aspired aboue their birth, or talkt beyond their sowterly bringing vp. Our *Arcadian* Nimphs are faire and beautifull, though not begotten of the Suns bright rayes, whose eyes va[u]nt loues armorie to the viewe, whose angelical faces are to the obscure earth in steed of a Firmament: viewe but this counterfeite (and therewithall hee shewed the picture of *Samela*) and see if it be not of force to draw the Sunne from his spheare, or the Moone from hir circle to gaze as the one did on the beautie of *Daphne*, or al night contemplate as the other on the forme of *Endymion*.

*Pleusidippus* who al this while heard his tale with attentive patience, no sooner beheld the radiant glory of this resplendant face, but as a man already installed in eternitie, he exclaimed thus abruptly. O *Arcadie*, *Arcadie*, storehouse of Nimphs, and nurserie of beautie.

At which words *Olympia* starting vp suddenly, as if she, a second *Iuno*, had taken hir *Ioue* in bed with *Alcmena*: and ouercasting the chamber with a frown that was able to mantle the world with an eternall night, she made passage to her choller in these termes of contempt; Beardlesse vpstart of I know not whence, haue the fauors of my bounty (not thy desert) entred thee so deeply in ouerweening presumption, that thou shouldst be the formost in derogation of our dignitie, and blaspheming of my beautie? I tell thee, recreant, I scorne thy clownish *Arcady* with his inferior comparisons, as one that prizeth her perfection aboue anie created constitution.

*Pleusidippus*, vpon this speech stood plunged in a great perplexitie, whether he should excuse himselfe mildly, or take her vp roundly; but the latter being more leuel to his humor than the former, he began thus to rowze vp his furie. Dis-

dainful dame, that vpbraidest me with my birth as it were base, and my youth as it were boyish, know that although my parents and progenie are enuied by obscuritie, yet the sparkes of renowm that make my Eagle minded thoughts to mount, the heauenly fire imprisoned in the pannicles of my crest, inciting me to more deeds of honor, than stout *Perseus* effected with his fauchon in the fields of *Hesperia*, ascertaineth my soule I was the sonne of no coward, but a Gentleman: but since my inequality of parentage is such an eye sore to thy enuy, holde, take thy fauors, (and therewith he threw her her gloue) and immortalize whom thou wilt with thy toyes; for I will to *Arcadie* in despite of thee and thy affinitie, there either to seeke out mischance, or a new Mistres.

With this, in a great rage, he rose from the boord, and would haue mounted himselfe to depart in that mood, had not the Lords and gentlemen there present dissuaded him from such an vnaduised enterprise. Neither was this vnkindnesse kept so secret, but it came to the Kings eare as he was new risen from dinner; who for the loue he bare to *Pleusidippus* whome hee had honoured with Knighthood not long before, and for the toward hopes he saw in him, took paines to goe to the chamber where they were; and finding his daughter in strange manner perplexed with the thoughts of *Pleusidippus* departure, her eyes red, and her cheekes all to be blubbered with her iealous teares, he took her vp in this manner.

Daughter, I thought I had chose such a one to be the obiect of your eie, as you might haue euerie way loued and honoured as the Lord of your life, and not haue controlled as the slaue of your luste. Did I therefore grace him with my countenance, that you should distaine him with your taunts; peeuish girle; I aduise thee on my displeasure, either reconcile thy selfe betimes, and reforme thy vnreuerent tearmes, or I will disclaime the loue of a Father, and deale by thee no more as a daughter.

*Olympia*, who already had sufficiently bitten on the bridle, took these words more vnkindly than all her former bitterness, which she digested but sowerly; neuertheless making necessitie the present times best pollicie, shee humbled her selfe as shee might with modestie, and desired the best interpretation of what was past: *Pleusidippus* whose courteous

inclination could not withstand this submission, in sign of reconciliation, gaue her a *stoccado des labies* : yet was he not so reconciled, but he kept on his purpose of going to *Arcadie*, whereat *Olympia* (although she grudged inwardly, yet being loath to offend) helde her peace, and determined to bestowe vppon him a remembrance, whereby he might bee brought to thinke vppon her in his absence; which was the deuise of a bleeding heart floting in the sea waves, curioslie stamp't in golde, with this *Motto* about it, *Portum aut mortem*; alluding as it seemed, to the deuise in his shield, wherein (because he was taken vp by *Eurilochus* on the shore) was cunningly drawne in a field argent, the sea waues with *Venus* sitting on the top, in token that his affection was alreadye fettred.

Here holde this, said she, my sweet *Pleusidippus*, and hang it about thy neck, that when thou art in *Arcadie*, it may be euer in thine eye; so shall these droppes of ruth that paint out a painfull trueth, withdraw thy fancie from attracting strange beautie. Which said, the teares gusht from her eyes, and *Agenors* likewise, who gaue him nothing so much in charge, as to make hast of his returne.

*Pleusidippus*, although he could haue bin content to haue done the like for companie, yet he had such a minde on his iourney, that he broke off such ceremonies, and hasted a shipboard; and in a Barke bounde for *Arcadie*, hauing the winde fauourable, made a short cut, so as in a daye and nights sayling, he arriued on the shore adioyning to the Promontorie wher he, his mother, and his uncle *Lamedon* were first wrackt.

Leaue we him wandring with some few of his traine that came with him alongst the sea side, to seeke out some town or village where to refresh themselues; and let vs awhile to the Court of *Democles*, where our Historie began: who hauing committed his daughter with her tender babe, her husbande *Maximus*, and *Lamedon*, his vncl, without oare or mariner to the furie of the merciles waues, determined to leaue the succession of his kingdome to vncertaine chance; for his Queene with *Sephestiaes* losse (whom she deemed to be dead) tooke such thought, that within short time after she died. *Democles*, as carelesse of all weathers, spent his time Epicure-like in all kinde of pleasures that either art or expence might affoord,



so that for his dissolute life he seemed another *Heliogabalus*, deriuing his securitie from that grounded tranquillitie, which made it prouerbiall to the world, *No heauen but Arcadie*.

Hauing spent manie yeares in this varietie of vanitie, Fame determining to applye her selfe to his fancie, sounded in his eares the singular beauty of his daughter *Samela*; he, although he were an olde colt, yet had not cast all his wanton teeth, which made him vnder the brute of beeing sicke of a grieuous appoplexie, steale from his Court secretly in the disguise of a shepherd, to come and seek out *Samela*; who not a little proud of hir new flocke, liude more contented then if she had been Queene of *Arcadie*, and *Melicertus* ioying not a little that shee was parted from *Menaphon*, vsed euerie day to visite her without dread, and courte her in such shepherds termes as he had; which howe they pleased her I leaue to you to imagine, when as not long after shee vowed marriage to him solemnly in presence of all the shepherds, but not to be solemnized til the Prophecie was fulfilled, mentioned in the beginning of this Historie. Although this penance exceeded the limits of his patience; yet hoping that the Oracle was not vttered in vaine, and might as well (albeit he knew not which way) bee accomplished in him as in any other, was contented to mak a vertue of necessitie, and await the vtmost of his destinie.

But *Pleusidippus*, who by this time had perfected his pollicies, exchaunging his garments with one of the heardgroomes of *Menaphon*, tracing ouer the Plaines in the habit of a Shepherd, chanced to meete with *Democles* as he was new come into those quarters; whom mistaking for an olde shepherd, he began many impertinent questions belonging to the Sheepe-coates, at last he askt him if he knew *Samelaes* sheepfold; who answering doubtfully vnto all alike, made him halfe angrie; and had not *Samela* passed by at that instant to fill her bottle at a spring neere the foote of the Promontorie, he should like inough haue had first handsell of our new Shepherds sheepehooke. But the wonder of her beautie so wrought with his wounded fancie, that he thought report a partiall spreader of her praises, and fame too base to talke of such formes. *Samela* espying this faire shepherd so farre ouer-gone in his gazing, stept to him, and askt him if he knew her that hee so ouerlookt her.

Pardon me, faire shepherdesse, (quoth *Pleusidippus*) if it be a fault, for I cannot chuse, being Eagle sighted, but gaze on the Sunne the first time I see it.

And truely I cannot chuse but compare you to one of *Æsops* Apes, that finding a Glowworme in the night, tooke it for a fire; and you seeing a face full of deformities, mistake it for the Sunne.

Indeede it maye be, mine eyes made opposite to such an object may faile in their office, hauing their lights rebated by such brightnesse.

Nay not vnlike, quoth *Samela*, for els out of doubt you would see your way better.

Why, quoth *Pleusidippus*, I cannot go out of the way, when I meete such glistering Goddesses in my way.

How now, sir *Paris*, are you out of your Arithmeticke, I thinke you haue lost your witts with your eyes, that mistake *Arcadie* for *Ida*, and a Shepherdesse for a Goddes.

How euer it please you (quoth *Pleusidippus*) to derogate from my prowesse by the title of *Paris*, know that I am not so farre out of my Arithmetick, but that by Multiplication I can make two of one, in an houres warning, or bee as good as a cypher to fill vp a place at the worst hand; for my wit sufficeth be it neuer so simple to proue both *re* and *voce*, that there can be no *vacuum in rerum natura*; and mine eyes, (or else they deceiue me) will enter so farre in arte, as *niger est contrarius albo*, and teach mée how to discerne twixt blacke and white.

Much other circumstance of prattle passed betweene them, which the *Arcadian* Records doo not shew, nor I remember; sufficeth he pleaded loue, and was repulst: which droue him into such a choler, that meeting his supposed shepherd (who lying vnder a bush, had all this while ouer heard them) he entred into such termes of indignation, as *Ioue* shaking his earthquaking haire, when he sat in consultation of *Licaon*.

Wherefore *Democles* perceiuing *Pleusidippus* repulst, who was euery way gracie with the ornaments of Nature, began to cast ouer his bad peniworths, in whose face age had furrowed her wrinckles; except hee should lay his crowne downe at her feete, and tell her he was king of *Arcadia*: which in Common wealths respectes, seeming not commodious, he thought to turne a new leafe, and make this yong shepherd



the meanes to perfect his purpose. Hee had not farre from that place a strong Castle, which was inhabited as then by none but tilsmen and heardgroomes: thither did he perswade *Pleusidippus* to carrie her perforce, and effect that by constraint, that he could not atchieue by intreatie; who listning not a little to this counsaile, that was neuer plotted for his aduantage, presently put in practise what he of late gaue in precepts, and waiting till the eueing that *Samela* should fold hir sheepe, hauing giuen his men the watch word, maugre al the shepherds adjoining, he mounted her behind him; and being by *Democles* directed to the Castle, he made such hauocke among the stubborne heardsmen, that will they, nill they, he was Lord of the Castle.

Yet might not this preuaile with *Samela*, who constant to her olde shepherde, would not interteine anie new loue; which made *Pleusidippus* thinke all this haruest lost in the reaping, and blemisht all his delights with a mournful drooping.

But *Democles* that lookt for a mountaine of gold in a Mole hill, finding her all alone, began to discourse his loue in more ample manner than euer *Pleusidippus*, telling her how he was a King, what his reuenewes were, what power he had to aduance her, with many other proude vaunts of his wealth, and prodigal terms of his treasure.

*Samela* hearing the name of a King, and perceiuing him to be hir Father, stode amazed like *Medusaes* Metamorphosis, and blushing oft with intermingled sighes, began to thinke how iniurious fortune was to her shouen in such an incestuous father. But he, hot spurred in his purpose, gaue hir no time to deliberate, but required either a quicke consent, or a present deniall. She tolde him, that the Shepherd *Melicertus* was alreadie intitled in the interest of hir beautie, wherefore it was in vain what hee or anie other could plead in the way of perswasion.

He thereupon entring into a large field of the basenesse of Shepherds, and royalties of Kings, with many other assembled arguments of delight, that would haue fetcht *Venus* from her sphere to disport: but *Samela*, whose mouth could digest no other meate saue only hir sweet *Melicertus*, ashamed so long to hold parley with her father about such a matter, flung away to her withdrawing chamber in a dissembled rage, and there, after her wonted manner, bewailed her misfortunes.

*Democles* plunged thus in a Laborinth of restles passions, seeing *Melicertus* figure was so deeply printed in the center of her thoughts, as neither the resolution of his fancie, his Metamorphosis from a King to a traueler, Crownes, Kingdomes, preferments, (batteries that soone ouerthrowe the forresse of womens fantasies) when *Democles*, I say, saw that none of these could remooue *Samela*; hearing that the *Arcadian* shepherds were in an vprore for the losse of their beautifull shepherdesse, his hot loue changing to a bird of coy disdaine; he intended by some reuenge, eyther to obtaine his loue, or satisfie his hate: wherevppon throughly resolued, he stole away secretly in his shepherds apparaile, and got him down to the Plaines, where he found all the swaines in a mutinie about the recouerie of their beautifull Paragon.

*Democles* stepping amongst the route, demaunded the cause of their controuersie.

Marie, sir, quoth *Doron* bluntly, the flower of all our garland is gone.

How meane you that, sir, quoth he?

Wee had, answered *Doron*, an Eaw amongst our Rams, whose fleece was as white as the haire that grow on father *Boreas* chinne, or as the dangling deawlap of the siluer Bull, her front curled like to the *Erimanthian* Boare, and spangled like to the woosted stockings of *Saturne*, her face like *Mars* treading vpon the milke white cloudes; belieue me Shepherd, her eyes were like the fierie torches tilting against the Moone. This Paragon, this none such, this Eaw, this Mistres of our flockes, was by a wily Foxe stolne from our foldes; for which these shepherds assemble themselues, to recouer so wealthie a prize.

What is he, quoth *Menaphon*, that *Doron* is in such debate with? Fellow, canst thou tell vs anie newes of the faire shepherdesse, that the Knight of *Thessaly* hath carried away from her fellow Nymphes?

*Democles* thinking to take opportunitie by the forehead: and seeing Time had feathred his bolte, willing to assaye, as hee might, to hit the marke, began thus.

Shepherdes, you see my profession is your trade; and although my wandring fortunes be not like your home borne favours, yet were I in the groues of *Thessalian Tempe* as I am in the plaines of *Arcadie*, the swaines would giue mee as

manie due honors, as they present you here with submisserieuereuence. Beautie that drew *Apollo* from heauen to playe the shepheard, that fetcht *Ioue* from heauen to beare the shape of a Bull for *Agenors* daughter, the excellence of such a Metaphysicall vertue, I meane (shepherds) the fame of your faire *Samela*, houering in the eares of euerie man as a miracle of nature, brought me from *Thessaly* to feede mine eyes with *Arcadies* wonder: stepping alongst the shoare to come to some sheepecoate where my wearie limmes might haue rest, Loue that for my labors thought to lead me to fancies pauillion, was my conduct to a castle, where a *Thessalian* knight lyes in holde, the Portcullis was let downe, the bridge drawn, the Courte of garde kept, thether I went; and for by my tongue I was known to be a *Thessalian*, I was entertained and lodged: the Knight whose yeeres are yong, and valure matchlesse, holding in his armes a Lady more beautifull than Loues Queene, all blubbered with teares, asked me manie questions, which, as I might, I replide vnto: but while he talkt, mine eye surfetting with such excellence, was detained vpon the glorious shew of such a wonderfull obiect; I demanded what she was, of the standers by, and they said she was the faire shepherdesse whom the Knight had taken from the swaines of *Arcadie*, and woulde carrie with the first wind that serued into *Thessaly*: This, shepherds, I know, and grieue that thus your loues should be ouermatcht with Fortune, and your affections pulde back by contrarietie of Destinie.

*Melicertus* hearing this, the fire sparkling out of his eyes, began thus, I tell thee shepherde, if Fates with their fore-pointing pencels did pen down, or Fortune with her deepest varietie resolute, or Loue with his greatest power determine to depriue *Arcadie* of the beautifull *Samela*, we would with our blood signe downe such spels on the Plaines, that either our Gods should summon her to *Elizium*, or shee rest with vs quiet and fortunate; thou seest the shepherdes are vp in armes to reuenge, onely it rests who shall haue the honour and principallitie of the field.

What needs that question, quoth *Menaphon*, am not I the Kings shepheard, and chiefe of all the bordering swaines of *Arcadia*?

I grant, quoth *Melicertus*, but am not I a Gentleman,

though tirde in a shepherdes skincote; superiour to thee in birth, though equall now in profession.

Well from words, they had falne to blowes, had not the shepherds parted them; and for the auoyding of further troubles, it was agreed that they should in two Eglog[ue]s make description of their loue; and *Democles*, for he was a stranger, to sit Censor, and who best could decipher his Mistres perfection, should be made Generall of the rest.

*Menaphon* and *Melicertus* condescended to this motion, and *Democles* sitting as a Iudge, the rest of the shepherds standing as witnesses of this combat, *Menaphon* began thus.

### MENAPHONS EGLOGUE.



*Too weake the wit, too slender is the braine  
That meanes to marke the power and worth of loue;  
Not one that liues (except he hap to proue)  
Can tell the sweete, or tell the secret paine.*

*Yet J that haue been prentice to the grieffe,  
Like to the cunning sea-man, from a farre,  
By gesse will talke the beautie of that starre,  
Whose influence must yeeld me chiefe relieffe.*

*You Censors of the glorie of my deare,  
With reuerence and lowlie bent of knee;  
Attend and marke what her perfections be:  
For in my words my fancies shall appeare.*

*Hir lockes are pleighted like the fleece of wooll!  
That Iason with his Gretian mates atchiude,  
As pure as golde, yet not from golde deriude;  
As full of sweetes, as sweete of sweetes is full.*

*Her browes are pretie tables of conceate,  
Where Loue his records of delight doth quoaat,  
On them her dallying lockes doo daily floate  
As Loue full oft doth feede vpon the baite.*

*Her eyes, faire eyes, like to the purest lights  
That animate the Sunne, or cheere the day,  
In whom the shining Sun-beames brightly play  
Whiles fancie dooth on them diuine delights.*

*Hir cheekes like ripened lillies steept in wine,  
Or faire pomegranade kernels washt in milke,  
Or snow white threds in nets of crimson silke,  
Or gorgeours cloudes vpon the Sunnes decline.*

*Her lips like roses ouerwasht with dew,  
Or like the purple of Narcissus flower :  
No frost their faire, no wind doth wast their power,  
But by her breath her beauties doo renew.*

*Hir christall chin like to the purest molde,  
Enchac'de with daintie daisies soft and white,  
Where fancies faire pavilion once is pight,  
Whereas imbrac'de his beauties he doth holde.*

*Hir necke like to an yuorie shining tower  
Where through with azure veynes sweete Nectar runnes,  
Or like the downe of Swannes where Senesse wonnes,  
Or like delight that doth it selfe deuoure.*

*Hir pappes are like faire apples in the prime,  
As round as orient pearles, as soft as downe :  
They neuer vaile their faire through winters frowne,  
But from their sweetes Loue suckt his summer time.*

*Hir bodie beauties best esteemed bowre,  
Delicious, comely, daintie, without staine :  
The thought whereof (not touch) hath wrought my paine,  
Whese faire, all faire and beauties doth deuoure.*

*Hir maiden mount, the dwelling house of pleasure ;  
Not like, for why no like surpasseth wonder :  
O blest is he may bring such beauties vnder,  
Or search by sute the secrets of that treasure.*

*Deuour'd in thought, how wanders my deuice ?  
What rests behind I must diuine vpon.  
Who talks the best, can say but fairer none :  
Few words well coucht doo most content the wise.*

*All you that heare ; let not my sillie stile,  
Condemne my zeale : for what my tongue should say  
Serues to inforce my thoughts to seeke the way  
Whereby my woes and cares I doo beguile.*

*Selde speaketh Loue, but sighs his secret paines ;  
Teares are his truce-men, words doo make him tremble.  
How sweete is loue to them that can dissemble  
In thoughts and lookes, till they haue reapt the gaines.*

*Alonely I am plaine, and what I say  
I thinke, yet what I thinke, tongue cannot tell :  
Sweete Censors take my silly worst for well :  
My faith is firme, though homely be my laye.*

After the haples *Menaphon* had in this homely discourse shadowed his heauenly delight ; the shepheard *Melicertus*, after some pause, began in this sort.

### M E L I C E R T U S E C L O Q U E .



*What neede compare where sweete exceedes compare ?  
Who drawes his thoughts of loue from senselesse things  
Their pompe and greatest glories doth impaire,  
And mounts Loues heauen with ouer leaden wings.*



*Stones, hearbes and flowers, the foolish spoyles of earth,  
Flouds, mettalls, colours, dalliance of the eye :  
These shew conceipt is staind with too much dcarth :  
Such abstract fond compares making cunning die.*

*But he that hath the feeling taste of Loue  
Deriues his essence from no earthlie toy ;  
A weake conceipt his power cannot approue,  
For earthly thoughts are subiect to annoy.*

*Be whist, be still, be silent Censors now ;  
My fellow swaine has tolde a pretie tale  
Which moderne Poets may perhaps allow,  
Yet I condemne the termes ; for they are stale.*

*Apollo, when my Mistres first was borne,  
Cut off his lockes, and left them on her head,  
And said ; ¶ plant these wires in Natures scorne,  
Wnose beauties shall appeare when Time is dead.*

*From foorth the Christall heauen when she was made.  
The puritie thereof did taint hir brow :  
On which the glistering Sunne that sought the shade  
Gan set, and there his glories doth auow.*

*Those eyes, faire eyes, too faire to be describde,  
Were those that earst the Chaos did reforme :  
To whom the heauens their beauties haue ascribde,  
That fashion life in man, in beast, in worme.*

*When first hir faire delicious cheekes were wrought,  
Aurora brought hir blush, the Moone hir white :  
Both so combinde as passèd Natures thought,  
Compilde those pretie orbes of sweete delight.*



*When Loue and Nature once were proud with play,  
From both their lips hir lips the Corral drew :  
On them doth fancy sleepe, and euerie day  
Doth swallow ioy such sweete delights to view.*

*Whilome, while Venus Sonne did seeke a bowre,  
To sport with Psiches his desired deare,  
He chose her chinne ; and from that happy stowre  
He neuer stints in glorie to appeare.*

*Desires and Ioyes that long had seruèd Loue,  
Besought a Holde where pretie eyes might woo them :  
Loue make her necke, and for their best behoue  
Hath shut them there, whence no man can vndoo them*

*Once Venus dreamt vpon two prettie things,  
Hir thoughts they were affections chiefest neasts :  
She suckt and sightht, and bathde hir in the springs,  
And when she wakt, they were my Mistres breasts.*

*Once Cupid sought a holde to couch his kisses,  
And found the bodie of my best belo:ude,  
Wherein he closde the beautie of his blisses,  
And from that bower can neuer be remoude.*

*The Graces earst, when Alcidelian springs  
Were waxen drie, perhaps did finde hir fountaine  
Within the vale of blisse, where Cupides wings  
Doo shield the Nectar fleeting from the mountaine.*

*No more fond man : things infinite, I see,  
Brooke no dimension : Hell a foolish speech ;  
For endles things may neuer talkèd be.  
Then let me liue to honor and beseech.*

*Sweete Natures pompe, if my deficient phraze  
Hath staind thy glories by too little skill,  
Yeeld pardon though mine eye that long did gaze,  
Hath left no better patterne to my quill.*

*I will no more, no more will I detaine  
Your listning eares with dallyance of my tongue :  
I speake my ioyes, but yet conceale my paine ;  
My paine too olde, although my yeeres be yong.*

As soone as *Melicertus* had ended this Eclogue, they expected the doome of *Democles*, who hearing the sweete description, wherein *Melicertus* described his Mistres, wondered that such rare conceipts could bee harboured vnder a shepherds gray clothing, at last he made this answere.

*Arcadian Swaines*, whose wealth is content, whose labours are tempered with sweete loues, whose mindes aspyre not, whose thoughts brooke no enuie ; onely as riualls in affection, you are friendly emulators in honest fancie : sith fortune (as enemye to your quiet) hath reft you of your fayre shepherdesse, (the worlds wonder, and *Arcadies* miracle) and one of you as champion must lead the rest to reuenge, both desirous to shew your valour as your forwardnesse in affections, and yet (as I said) one to be sole chieftaine of the traine, I award to *Melicertus* that honour (as to him that hath most curiously portrayed out his Mistres excellence) to beare sole rule, and supremacie.

At this, *Menaphon* grudged, and *Melicertus* was in an extasie of ioy, so that gathering all his forces together of stout headstrong clownes, amounting to the number of some two hundred, he apparaild himselfe in armour, colour sables, as mourning for his Mistres, in his shield he had figured the waues of the sea, *Venus* sitting on them in the height of all her pride. Thus marched *Melicertus* forward with olde *Democles*, the supposed shepherd, till they came to the castle, where *Pleusidippus* and his faire *Samela* were resident.

As soone as they came there, *Melicertus* begirt the Castle with such a siege, as so manie sheepish Caualiers could furnish : which when he had done, summoning them in the

Castle to parley, the young Knight stept vpon the walls, and seeing such crue of base companions, with Iackets and rustie bills on their backs, fell into a great laughter, and began to taunt them thus. Why, what strange Metamorphosis is this? Are the Plaines of *Arcadie*, whilome filled with labourers, now ouerlaide with launces? Are sheepe transformed into men, swaines into souldiers, and a wandring companie of poore shepherds, into a worthie troope of resolute champions? No doubt, either *Pan* meanes to playe God of warre, or else these be but such men as rose of the teeth of *Cadmus*. Nowe I see the beginning of your warres, and the pretended ende of your stratagemes; the shepherdes hauing a madding humour like the *Greekes* to seek for the recouerie of *Helena*, so you for the regaining of your faire *Samela*. Heere shee is, Shepherds, and I a *Priam* to defende hir with resistance of a ten yeares siege: yet for I were loath to haue my Castle sackte like *Troy*, I pray you tell me, which is *Agamemnon*?

*Melicertus* hearing the youth speake thus proudly, hauing the sparkes of honor fresh vnder the cinders of pouertie, incited with loue and valor (two things to animate the most dastard *Thersites* to enter combate against *Hercules*) answered thus. Vnknowne yongster of *Thessalie*, if the feare of thy hardie deedes were like the Diapason of thy threates, wee would thinke the Castle of longer siege, than either our ages would permit, or our valour aduerture: but where the shelve is most shallowe, there the water breakes most high; emptie vessells haue the highest sounds, hollowe rockes the loudest echoes, and pratling gloriosers, the smallest performance of courage; for prooffe whereof, seeing thou hast made a rape of faire *Samela*, one of her vowed Shepherds is come for the safetie of her sweete selfe to challenge thee to single combate; if thou ouercome me, thou shalt free lie passe with the shepherdesse to *Thessaly*; if I vanquish thee, thou shalt feele the burden of thy rashnesse, and *Samela* the sweetnesse of her libertie.

*Pleusidippus* meruailed at the resolution of the shepherd; but when *Democles* heard how if he wonne, she should be transported into *Thessaly*, a world of sorowes tomlod in his discontented braine, that he hammered in his head many meanes to stay the faire *Samela*.

For when *Pleusidippus*, in a great choller, was readie to throwe downe his gantlet, and to accept of the combat, *Democles* stept vp, and spake thus. Worthy mirrors of resolved magnanimitie, whose thoughts are aboute your fortunes, and whose valour more than your reuenewes, know that Bitches that puppie in hast bring forth blind whelpes; that there is no herbe sooner sprung vp than the Spattarmia nor sooner fadeth; the fruits too soone ripe are quickly rotten; that deedes done in hast are repented at leisure: then braue men in so weightie a cause, and for the conquest of so excellent a Paragon, let not one minute begin and end the quarrell, but like *Fabius* of Rome vse delay in such dangerous exploytes, when honor sits on wreaths of Lawrels to giue the victor his garland: deferre it some three daies, and then in solemne manner end the combat.

To this good motion not onely *Pleusidippus* and *Melicertus* agreed, but all the companie were consenting, and vpon pledges of truce being giuen, they rested.

But *Democles* seeing in couerte he could not conquer, and that in despairing loues secrecie was no salue, he despatched letters to the Nobilitie of his Court, with strait charge that they should bee in that place within three dayes with tenne thousand strong.

This newes no sooner came to the Generall of his Forces, but leuying so many approoued souldiers, he marched secretly by night to the place *Democles* in his letters had prescribed; and there ioyfully intertained by the King, they were placde in ambush, readie when the signall should be giuen to issue out of the place, and performe their Souereignes command.

Well, the third day being come, no sooner did *Titan* arise from the watrie Couche of his Lemman, but these two champions were readie in the lists, accompanied with the route of all the *Arcadian* shepheards, and olde *Democles* whom they had appoynted for one of the Iudges.

*Pleusidippus* seeing *Melicertus* aduance on his shield the waues of the sea with a *Venus* sitting vpon them, meruailed what the shepheard should be that gaue his armes, and *Melicertus* was as much amazed to see a strange *Thessalian* Knight vant his armes without difference; yet being so fraught with direfull reuenge, as they scorned to salute ech other so much as with threates, they fell toughly to blowes.

*Samela* standing on top of the turret, and viewing the combate; the poore Ladie griewing that for her cause such a stratageme should arise in *Arcadie*, her countenance ful of sorrow, and flouds of teares falling from her eyes, she began to breathe out this passion.

Unfortunate *Samela*, born to mishaps, and forepointed to sinister fortunes, whose bloomes were ripened by mischance, and whose fruite is like to wither with despaire; in thy youth sate discontent pruning her selfe in thy forehead, now in thine age sorow hides her selfe amongst the wrinckles of thy face: thus art thou infortunate in thy Prime, and crossed with contrarie accidents in thy Autumne, as haplesse as *Helena*, to haue the burden of warres laid on the wings of thy beautie. And who must be the champion? whose sword must pearce the helme of thineemie? whose blood must purchase the freedome of *Samela*, but *Melicertus*? If he conquer, then *Samela* triumphs, as if she had been chiefe victor in the *Olympiades*; if he loose, euerie drop falling from his wounds into the center of my thoughts, as his death to him, so shall it be to me, the end of my loues, my life, and my libertie.

As still shee was about to goe forward in hir passion, the trumpet sounded, and they fell to fight in such furious sorte, as the *Arcadians* and *Democles* himselfe wondered to see the courage of the Shepherd, that tied the Knight to such a sore taske. *Pleusidippus* likewise feeling an extraordinarie kinde of force, and seeing with what courage the Knight of the shepherds fought, beganne to coniecture diuersly of the waues, and to feare the euent of the combate. On the contrarie parte, *Melicertus* halfe wearied with the heauie blowes of *Pleusidippus*, stood in a maze howe so yong a wagge should be so expert in his weapon.

Thus debating diuersly in their several thoughts, at length being both wearie, they stepte backe, and leaning on their swordes, tooke breath, gazing each upon other.

At last *Pleusidippus* burst into these speeches. Shepherd in life, though now a Gentleman in armour, if thy degree be better I glory, I am not disgracde with the combate: tel me, how darest thou so farre wrong mee, as to weare mine Armes on thy shield?

Princookes (quoth *Melicertus*) thou liest, they be mine owne, and thou contrarie to the Law of Armes bearest my Crest



without difference, in which quarrell, seeing it concerns my honour, I will reuenge it as farre as my loues. And with that, he gaue such a charging blow at *Pleusidippus* helme, that hee had almost ouerturned him : *Pleusidippus* lefte not the blowe vnrequited, but doubled his force : insomuch that the hazard of the battle was doubtfull, and both of them were faine to take breath againe.

*Democles* seeing his time, that both of them were so weakned, gaue the watchword, and the ambush leapt out, slaughtered manie of the shepheards, put the rest to flight, tooke the two champions prisoners, and sacking the Castle, carried them and the faire *Samela* to his Court : letting the Shepheardesse haue her libertie, but putting *Melicertus* and *Pleusidippus* into a deepe and darke dungeon.

Where leauing these passionate Louers in this *Catastrophe* ; againe to *Doron*, the homely blunt Shephearde ; who hauing been long enamoured of *Carmela*, much good wooing past betwixte them, and yet little speeding ; at last, both of them met hard by the Promontorie of *Arcadie*, shee leading foorth her Sheepe, and hee going to see his newe yeand Lambes. As soone as they met, breaking a few quarter blowes with such countrey glances as they coulde, they geerde one at another louingly.

At last *Doron* manfully began thus. *Carmela*, by my troth, Good morrow, tis as daintie to see you abroad, as to eate a messe of sweete milke in Iuly : you are proude such a house doue of late, or rather so good a Huswife, that no man may see you vnder a couple of Capons, the Church-yeard may stand long inough ere you will come to looke on it, and the Piper may begge for euerie pennie he gets out of your pursse : but it is no matter, you are in loue with some stout Ruffler, and yet poore folkes, such as I am, must be content with porredge. And with that, turning his backe, he smiled in his sleeue to see howe kindly hee had giuen her the bobbe :

Which *Carmela* seeing, she thought to be euen with him thus. Indeede *Doron* you saye well, it is long since wee met, and our house is a Grange house with you : but we haue tyed vp the great Dogge, and when you come you shall haue greene rushes, you are such a straunger : but tis no matter ; soone

hote soone colde, hee that mingles himselfe with draffe, the hogges will eat him : and she that lays her loue on an vnkinde man, shall finde sorrowe inough to eate hir soppes withall. And with that *Carmela* was so full stomackt that she wept.

*Doron* to shewe himselfe a naturall yong man, gaue her a few kinde kisses to comfort her, and sware that she was the woman he loued best in the whole worlde, and for prooffe, quoth he, thou shalt heare what I will praise.

And you, quoth she, what I will performe.

And so taking hand in hand, they kindly sate them downe, and began to discourse their loues in these Eclogues.

DORONS ECLOGUE IOYNED  
WITH CARMELAS.



*It downe Carmela, here are cubbs for kings,  
Slowes blacke as ieat, or like my Christmas shooes,  
Sweet Sidar which my leathren bottle brings :  
Sit downe Carmela, let me kisse thy toes.*

CARMELA.

*Ah Doron, ah my heart, thou art as white,  
As is my mothers Calfe, or brinded Cow,  
Thine eyes are like the slowwormes in the night,  
Thine haire resemble thickest of the snow,*

*The lines within thy face are deepe and cleere  
Like to the furrowes of my fathers waine :  
Thy sweate vpon thy face dooth oft appeare,  
Like to my mothers fat and Kitchin gaine.*

*Ah leaue my toe, and kisse my lippes, my loue,  
My lips are thine, for I haue giuen them thee :  
Within thy cap tis thou shalt weare my gloue,  
At foote ball sport, thou shalt my champion be.*



D O R O N .

*Carmela deare, euen as the golden ball  
That Venus got, such are thy goodly eyes :  
When cherries iuice is iumbled therewithall,  
Thy breath is like the steeme of apple pies.*

*Thy lippes resemble two Cowcumbers faire,  
Thy teeth like to the tuskes of fattest swine,  
Thy speach is like the thunder in the aire :  
Would God thy toes, thy lips, and all were mine.*

C A R M E L A .

*Doron, what thing doth mooue this wishing grieffe ?*

D O R O N .

*Tis Loue, Carmela, ah tis cruell Loue.  
That like a slaue, and caitiffe villaine thiefe,  
Hath cut my throate of ioy for my behoue.*

C A R M E L A .

*Where was he borne ?*

D O R O N .

*In faith I know not where.  
But I haue heard much talking of his dart.  
Ay me poore man, with many a trampling teare,  
I feele him wound the forehearse of my heart.*

*What, doo I loue ? O no, I doo but talke.  
What, shall I die for loue ? O no, not so.  
What, am I dead ? O no, my tongue doth walke.  
Come kisse, Carmela, and confound my woe.*

## C A R M E L A .

*Euen with this kisse, as once my father did,  
I seale the sweete indentures of delight :  
Before I breake my vowe the Gods forbid,  
No not by day, nor yet by darkesome night.*

## D O R O N .

*Euen with this garland made of Holy-hocks,  
I crosse thy browes from euerie shepheards kisse.  
Heigh hoe, how glad am I to touch thy lockes,  
My frolicke heart euen now a free man is.*

## C A R M E L A .

*I thanke you Doron, and will thinke on you,  
I loue you Doron, and will winke on you.  
I seale your charter patent with my thummes,  
Come kisse and part, for feare my mother comes.*

Thus ended this merrie Eclogue betwixte *Doron* and *Carmela*: which, Gentlemen, if it be stufft with prettie Similies and farre fetcht Metaphores; thinke the poore Countrey Louers knewe no further comparisons then came within compasse of their Countrey Logicke. Well, twas a good world when such simplicitie was vsed, sayes the old women of our time, when a ring of a rush woulde tye as much Loue together as a Gimmon of golde: but Gentlemen, since we haue talkte of Loue so long, you shall giue me leaue to shewe my opinion of that foolish fancie thus.

## S O N E T T O .



*What thing is Loue? It is a power diuine  
That raines in vs: or else a wreakefull law  
That doomes our mindes, to beautie to encline :  
It is a starre, whose influence dooth draw  
Our heart to Loue dissembling of his night,  
Till he be master of our hearts and sight.*

*Loue is a discord, and a strange diuorce  
Betwixt our sense and reason, by whose power,  
As madde with reason, we admit that force,  
Which wit or labour neuer may deuoure.*

*It is a will that brooketh no consent :  
It would refuse, yet neuer may repent.*

*Loue's a desire, which for to waite a time,  
Dooth loose an age of yeeres, and so doth passc,  
As dooth the shadow seuerd from his prime,  
Seeming as though it were, yet neuer was.*

*Leauing behinde nought but repentant thoughts  
Of daies ill spent, for that which profits noughts.*

*Its now a peace, and then a sodaine warre,  
A hope consumde before it is conceiude,  
At hand it feares, and menaceth afarre,  
And he that gaines, is most of all deceiude :*

*It is a secret hidden and not knowne,  
Which one may better feele than write vpon.*

Thus Gentlemen haue you heard my verdite in this *Sonetto*, now will I returne to *Doron* and *Carmela*, who not seeing her mother come, fell againe to a few homely kisses, and thus it was, after they had thus amorously ended their *Eclogues*, they plighted faith and troth, and *Carmela* verie brisklye wiping her mouth with a white apron, sealed it with a kisse, which *Doron* taking marueilous kindly, after a little playing loath to depart, they both went about their businesse.

Leauing them therefore to their businesse, againe to *Democles*; who seeing no intreaties would serue to perswade *Samela* to loue, neither the hope of the *Arcadian* crowne, nor the title of a Queene, lastly assayed with frownes and threatates, but all in vaine: for *Samela*, first restrained by nature in that he was her Father, and secondly by loue, in that *Melicertus* lay imprisoned onely for her sake, stode still so stiffe to her tackling, that *Democles* chaunging loue into hate, resolved to reuenge that with death, which no meanes els might satisfie: so

that to colour his frauds withall, he gaue *Samela* free license to visite *Melicertus*: which shee had not long done, but that by the instigation of the old King, the gailor confederate to his trecherie, accuseth her of adulterie: whereupon without further wisse they both were condemned to dye.

These two louers knowing themselues guiltlesse in this surmised faction, were ioyfull to ende their loues with their liues, and so to conclude all in a fatall and finall content of mindes and passions. But *Democles* set free *Pleusidippus*, as afraide the King of *Thessalie* would reuenge the wrong of his Knight, intertaining him with such sumptuous banquets, as befitted so braue and woorthie a Gentleman.

The day prefixed came, wherein these parties should die, *Samela* was so desirous to end her life with her frieed, that shee would not reueale either vnto *Democles* or *Melicertus* what she was; and *Melicertus* rather chose to die with his *Samela*, then once to name himselfe *Maximius*. Both thus resolved, were brought to the place of execution; *Pleusidippus* sitting on a scaffold with *Democles*, seeing *Samela* come forth like the blush in the morning, felt an vncouth passion in his mind, and nature began to enter combat with his thoughts: not loue, but reuerence, not fancie, but feare began to assaile him, that he turnd to the King, and sayd: Is it not pitie, *Democles*, such diuine beauty should be wrapt in cinders?

No, quoth *Democles*, where the anger of a King must be satisfied.

At this answer *Pleusidippus* wrapt his face in his cloke and wept, and all the assistants grieved to see so faire a creature subiect to the violent rage of fortune.

Well, *Democles* commanded the deathsman to doo his deuoyre; who kneeling downe and crauing pardon, readie to giue *Melicertus* the fatall stroake, there stept out an olde woman attired like a Prophetesse, who cryed out; Villaine holde thy hand, thou wrongest the daughter of a King.

*Democles* hearing the outcrie, and seeing that at that word the people began to mutinie and murmur, demanded of the old woman what she meant.

Now, quoth she, *Democles*, is the *Delphian* oracle performed; *Neptune* hath yeelded vp the worlds wonder, and that is young *Pleusidippus* nephew to thee, and sonne to fair *Scphestia*, who heere standeth vnder the name of *Samela*, cast

vpon the Promontory of *Arcadie* with her yong sonne, where she, as a shepherdesse, hath liude in labours tempred with loues; her son playing on the shore, was conueyed by certain Pirates into *Thessaly*, where (when as he was supposed euerie way to be dead) doing deedes of chivalrie, he fulfilled the prophecie: your highnesse giuing the Lion, were guide vnto the lambs in dissembling your selfe as a shepheard: planets resting vpon the hils, was the picture of *Venus* vpon their crests; and the seas that had neither ebbe nor tide, was the combat twixte the father and the sonne, that gaue the waues of the seas in their shields, not able to vanquish one another, but parting with equall victorie. For know *Democles* this *Melicertus* is *Maximius*, twice betrothed to *Sephestia*, and Father to yong *Pleusidippus*; now therefore the Oracle fulfilled, is the happie time wherein *Arcadie* shall rest in peace.

At this, the people gaue a great shout, and the olde woman vanisht.

*Democles* as a man rauisht with an extasie of sodaine ioy, sate still, and stared on the face of *Sephestia*.

*Pleusidippus* in all dutie leapt from his seate, and went and couered his mother with his roabe, crauing pardon for the fondnesse of his incestuous affection: and kneeling at his fathers feete submisse, in that he had drawen his sword, and sought his life that first in this world gaue him life.

*Maximius* first lookt on his wife, and seeing by the lineaments of her face, that it was *Sephestia*, fell about her necke, and both of them weeping in the bosome of their sonne, shed teares for ioy to see him so braue a Gentleman.

*Democles* all this while sitting in a trance, at last calling his senses together, seeing his daughter reuiued, whom so cruelly for the loue of *Maximius* he had banisht out of his confines, *Maximius* in safety, and the childe a matchlesse paragon of approued chivalrie, he leapt from his seate, and imbraced them all with teares, crauing pardon of *Maximius* and *Sephestia*: and to shew that the outward obiect of his watrie eies had a sympathie with the inward passion of his hart, he impald the head of his yong newew *Pleusidippus* with the crowne and diadem of *Arcadie*: and for that his brother *Lamedon* had in all distresse not left his daughter *Scphestia*, he toke the matter so kindly, that he reconciled himselfe vnto him, and made him Duke in *Arcady*.

The successe of this forerehearsed Catastrophe growing so comicall, they all concluded after the Festiuall solemnizing of the Coronation (which was made famous with the excellent deedes of many worthy Caualiers) to passe into *Thessaly*, to contract the mariage twixt *Pleusidippus*, and the daughter of of the *Thessalian* King.

Which newes spred through *Arcadie* as a wonder, that at last it came to *Menaphons* ears, who hearing the high parentage of his supposed *Samela*, seeing his passions were too aspiring, and that with the *Syrian* Wolues, he barkt against the Moone, he left such lettice as were too fine for his lips, and courted his old loue *Pesana*, to whom shortly after he was married.

And lest there should be left any thing vnperfect in this pastorall accident, *Doron* smudgde himselfe vp, and iumpde a marriage with his old friend *Carmela*.

*FINIS.*



The English Scholar's Library.

No. 13.

---

*An Apology to W. TINDALE.*

1535.





The English Scholar's Library.

# GEORGE JOY.

*An Apology made by GEORGE JOY,  
to satisfy, if it may be,*

*W. TINDALE.*

1535.

Edited by EDWARD ARBER,

HON. FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON; F.S.A.,  
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,  
SIR JOSIAH MASON'S COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM.

1, MONTAGUE ROAD, BIRMINGHAM.

15 August, 1882.

No. 13.

(All rights reserved.)





## INTRODUCTION.



HIS *Apology* (here first reprinted from the only copy at present known, now in Cambridge University Library) passed immediately on to the list of the Forbidden Books of its time. It is, for us, one of the most important contributions to the earliest bibliography of the printed English *New Testament*: and as it carries that deeply interesting Story onward from the first editions of 1526, it may be regarded as a continuation of the documents embodied in the *Preface* to our photo-lithographic reprint of the fragment of the first Quarto of that year, republished

by us on 15 Feb., 1871.

Mr. HENRY BRADSHAW, better known for his profound bibliographical knowledge of the First Century of printed literature, than even he is as Librarian to the University of Cambridge, has pointed out to us while preparing the present reprint, that the great "Apostle of England" always printed his name WILLYAM TINDALE: which, taken in conjunction with his only autograph extant, being, in Latin, W. TINDALUS, would seem to show that we should now spell his name WILLIAM TINDALE.

If the Reader would be on a level with the latest researches as to the first printed English Scriptures, confessedly one of the most difficult topics in the whole range of our Literature, he should consult, with this *Apology*, the following:

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A. *The Bibles in the Caxton Exhibition.* 1877.

FRANCIS FRY, F.S.A. *Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament, Tyndale's version, in English.* 1878.

HENRY BRADSHAW, M.A. Article on GODFRIED VAN DER HAGHEN (G. H.), the publisher of TINDALE's own last edition of the *New Testament in 1534-5*; in *The Bibliographer.* No. 1. Dec., 1881.

Although there is, undoubtedly, much more knowledge yet to be recovered in reference to this matter; the five works above indicated will

furnish materials for a *true* acquaintance (so far as it can extend at present) of this most deeply interesting subject.

## II.



UR knowledge of the first Forbidden printed English Literature must chiefly come from three sources. The Texts themselves, which were printed on the Continent; what is said of them from the Outside, by prohibitions, confiscations, trials, &c.; and what is said of them from the Inside, by those who either had a hand in their production, or were acquainted with those who had.

Naturally, the contributions from the Inside are the most rare: as the Exiles would not show their hands in print, unless provoked to it by some quarrel. Thus we know of ROY and BARLOW's printing at Strasburg, through ROY's quarrel with TINDALE, as appears in the latter's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: and so now, but for this conflict over the word *Resurrectio*, we never should have got the glimpse behind the scenes which JOY here gives us.

He had been admitted, apparently for some three or four years, into the small inner circle of English exiles at Antwerp, whose lives were consecrated to the Reformation of their mother country. He calls TINDALE, at *p.* 50,

My nowne felowe / my companion in lyke perel and persecucion / my familiare / so well knowne / vnto whom I committed soloungly my secretis / with whom gladly I went into the house of god.

Yet TINDALE does not appear to have put much confidence in him, or to have acquainted him with his own plans.

If one might compare the English with the German Reformers, TINDALE was our LUTHER. JOY, who accuses him of "chyding and brawling," at *p.* 32; says at *p.* 17, "He after his wont[ed] disdaynful maner agenst me fylpt them forth betwene his fynger and his thombe / and what disdaynfull and obprobious wordis he gaue me," &c. Also, "Warned of me / but a fole and vnlearned as he bothe reputeth me and telleth yt me to my face!" *p.* 43. FRITH was our MELANCTHON, "ientle and quyet and wel lerned," as JOY testifies at *p.* 33. And JOY was almost our CARLSTADT.

It should be remembered that this text is as bitterly angry a retort as any Christian man could write. We may believe JOY in what he says about himself; but not so much in what he says about TINDALE: whom, notwithstanding all, he unconsciously admires and thoroughly respects; though he is vexed at having been injured, as he thought, by so powerful an author.

Our motive for this reprint, however, is not the quarrel, interesting as that is; but the bibliographical information.

## III.



HIS *Apology* teems with points of interest; the due elucidation of which would require a commentary three times its length. We shall best serve the reader by adding to it, in the very little space at our disposal, a few external facts that run together with information given us by JOY: whose life is already done to our hand, in COOPER'S *Athen. Cantab.*,

i. 114. Ed. 1858.

JOHN FOX, in the second edition of his *Actes and Monumentes*, printed under the title of the *Ecclesiastical History*, in 1570, prints the following as *A table of certain persons, abjured within the diocese of London*, as from the Register of that Bishop.

### John Raimund, a Dutchman, 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of TINDALE'S *New Testaments* to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England. p. 1184

### John Row, Bookbinder, a Frenchman, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes. p. 1188.

### Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, 1531.

This man, for selling certain *New Testaments* in English, to JOHN ROW aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died. p. 1188.

EDWARD HALLE, in his *Chronicle*, tells us the following stories:

Here is to be remembered, that at this present tyme, Willyam Tyndale had newly translated and imprinted the *New Testament* in Englishe, and [CUTHBERT TUNSTALL] the Bishop of London, not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with hymself, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroye that false and erroneus translacion (as he saied).

And so it happened that one Augustine Packyngton, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a greate honestie, the same time was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was [*? Autumn of 1529*], and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored William Tyndale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed hymself to the contrary.

The bishop desirous to haue his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the *New Testaments*, and how gladly he would bye them.

Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lorde, if it bee your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie, then moste of the Merchautes of Englande that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers, that haue bought theim of Tyndale, and haue them here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure to paye for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for theim, I will then assure you, to haue euery boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde.

The Bishop thinkyng that he had God by the toe, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packyngton, do your diligence and get them, and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoever

thei cost you, for the bokes are erroneous and naughtes and I entende surely to destroy them all, and to burne them at Paules Crosse.

Augustine Packyngton came to Willyam Tyndale and saied, Willyam I knowe thou arte a poore man, and hast a hepe of *newe Testamentes*, and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indangered thy frendes, and beggered thy self, and I haue now gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thynke it so profitable for your self.

Who is the Merchant, said Tindale?

The bishoppe of London, saied Packyngton.

O that is because he will burne them, saied Tyndale.

Ye Mar[r]y, quod Packynton.

I am the gladder, said Tindale, for these two benefites shall come thereof: I shall get money of hym for these bokes, to bryng my self out of debt (and the whole worlde shall crie out vpon the burning of Goddes worde). And the ouerplus of the money, that shall remaine to me, shall make me more studious, to correct the said *Newe Testament*, and so newly to Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will muche better like you, than euer did the first.

And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packyngton had the thankes, and Tyndale had the money.

Afterward when mo *newe Testamentes* [*the second of the two Dutch editions of 5,000 copies in all, referred to at p. 20*] were Imprinted, thei came thicke and thre-fold into Englande, the bishop of London hearyng that still there were so many *Newe Testamentes* abroad [*in circulation*], sent for Augustyne Packyngton and saied vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that there are so many *Newe Testamentes* abrode, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought al?

Then said Packyngton, I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: but I perceiue thei haue made more sence, and it will neuer bee better, as long as they haue the letters [*type*] and stamperes [*matrices*]: therefore it wer best for your lordshippe to bye the stamperes to, and then are you sure.

The bishop smiled at hym, and saied, Well Packyngton well: and so ended this matter.

Shortly after, it fortun'd one George Constantine, to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, whiche was then lorde Chauncellor of England, of suspicion of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More, after diuerse examinations of diuerse thynges, emong other Master More saied in this wise to Constantine.

Constantine I would haue thee plain with me, in one thyng that I will aske of thee, and I promes thee I will shewe thee fauor, in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many mo of you. I knowe thei cannot liue without helpe, some sendeth them money and succoureth them, and thy self beyng one of them, haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I praie thee who be thei that thus helpe them?

My lorde, quod Constantine, will you that I shall tell you the truthe?

Yea I praie thee quod my Lorde.

Mar[r]y I will quod Constantyne, truly, quod he, it is the Bishoppe of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed emong vs, a greate deale of money in *New Testamentes* to burne them, and that hath and yet is our onely succoure and comfort.

Now by my trothe, quod More, I thynke euen the same, and I said so muche to the bishop, when he went about to bye them. [*GEORGE CONSTANTINE escaped from this imprisonment, and landed at Antwerp on 6 Dec. 1531. See Cott. MS. Galba B. x. fol. 21.*]





## Willyam Tindale/yet once more to the christen reader.



Hou shalt vnderstonde moost dere reader / when I had taken in hande to looke ouer the new testament agayne and to compare it with ye greke /and to mende whatsoever I coule fynde amysse and had almost fynessed ye laboure : George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it also by what occasion his conscyence knoweth : and prevented [*anticipated*] me /in so moche /yat his correccion was prynted in great nombre /yer myne beganne.

When it was spyed and worde brought me ; though it semed to dyuers other yat George Joye had not vsed ye offyce of an honest man /seinge he knew yat I was in correctyng it my selfe : nether dyd walke after ye rules of yat love and softenes which christ /and his disciples teache vs /how yat we shuld do nothyng of stryfe to moue debate /or of vayne glorie or of couetousnes. Yet I toke ye thinge in worth as I have done dyuers other in tyme past /as one that haue moare experyence of ye nature and dysposicion of yat mannes complexion /and supposed that a lytle spyse of couetousnes and vayne glorie (two blynde gydes) had bene ye onlye cause yat moued him so to do /aboute whiche thynges I stryue with no man : and so followed after and corrected forth and caused this to be prynted /without surmyse or lokinge on his correction.

But when the pryntyng of myne was almost fynessed /one brought me a copie and shewed me so many places /insoche wyse altered that I was astonyed and wondered not a lytle what furye had dryuen him to make soche

change and to call it a *diligent correction*. For thorow out Mat. Mark and Luke perpetually: and ofte in the actees / and sometyme in John and also in the hebrues / where he fyndeth this worde *Resurreccion* / he chaungeth it into *ye lyfe after this lyfe* / or *verie lyfe* / and soche lyke / as one that abhorred the name of the resurreccion.

If that change / to turne *resurreccion* into *lyfe after this lyfe* / be a dylygent correccion / then must my translacion be fautie in those places / and saynt Jeromes [*the Vulgate*] / and all ye translatoours that euer I heard of in what tonge so euer it be / from ye apostles vnto this his dylygent correccyon (as he calleth it) which whither it be so or no / I permyt it to other mennes iudgementes.

But of this I chalenge George Joye / that he dyd not put his awne name thereto and call it rather his awne translacion: and that he playeth boo pepe / and in some of his bookes putteth in his name and tytle / and in some kepeth it out It is lawfull for who will / to translate and shew his mynde / although a thousand had translated before him. But it is not lawfull (thynketh me) ner yet expedyent for the edifienge of the vnitie of the fayth of christ / that whosoeuer will / shall by his awne auctoritie / take another mannes translacion and put oute and in and change at pleasure / and call it a correction.

Moreover / ye shall vnderstonde that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvellouse ymaginacions about this worde *resurreccion* / yat it shuld be taken for the state of the soules after their departinge from their bodies / and hath also (though he hath been reasoned with ther of and desyred to cease) yet sowed his doctryne by secret lettres on that syde the see [*i.e., in England*] / and caused great division amonge ye brethren. In so muche that John Fryth beyng in preson in the towre of London / a lytle before his death / wrote yat we shuld warne him and desyer him to cease / and would have then wrytten against him / had I not withstonde him. Therto I have been sence informed yat no small number thorow his curiositie / vtterly denye the resurreccion of ye flesshe and bodye / affirminge yat the soule when she is departed / is the spirituall bodye of the resurreccion / and other resurreccion shall there none be. And I have talked with some of them my selfe / so doted in that folye / that it were as good perswade a post / as to plucke that madnes oute of their braynes. And of this all

is George Joyes vnquyet curiosite ye whole occasion / whether he be of the sayde faccion also / or not / to that let him answer him selfe.

If George Joye wyll saye (as I wot well he will) that his change / is the sence and meaninge of those scriptures. I answer it is soner sayde then proved : howbeit let other men iudge. But though it were ye verie meaninge of the scripture : yet if it were lawfull after his ensample to every man to playe boo pepe with the translacions that are before him / and to put oute ye wordes of ye text at his pleasure and to put in every where his meaninge : or what he thought the meaninge were / that were the next waye to stablyshe all heresyas and to destroye the grounde wherewith we shuld improve them. As for an ensample / when Christ sayth Jo. v. The tyme shall come in ye which all that are in the graves shall heare his voyce and shall come forth : they that have done good unto resurreccion of lyfe / or with the resurreccion of lyfe / and they that have done evell / vnto ye [resur]reccion or with the resurrection of damnacion. George Joyes correccion is / they that have done good shall come forth into the verie lyfe / and they that have done evell into the life of damnacion / thrustinge cleane out this worde *resurreccion*. Now by ye same auctorite / and with as good reason shall another come and saye of the rest of ye text / they yat are in ye sepulchres / shall here his voyce / that ye sence is / the soules of them that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce / and so put in his diligent correccion and mocke oute ye text / that it shall not make for ye resurreccion of the flesshe / which thinge also George Joyes correccion doth manyfestlye affirme. If the text be left vncorrupt / it will pouрге hir selfe of all manner false gloses / how sotle soever they be fayned / as a sethinge pot casteth vp hir scome. But yf the false glose be made the text / diligentlye ouersene and correct / wherwith then shall we correcte false doctrine and defende Christes flocke from false opinions / and from ye wycked heresyas of ravynge of wolves ? In my mynde therefore a little vnfayned loue after the rules of Christ / is worth moche hie learninge / and single and sleyght vnder standinge that edifieth in vnitie / is moche better then sotle curiosite / and mekenes better then bolde arrogancye and standinge over muche in a mannes awne consayte.

Wherfore / concernynge the resurreccion / I protest before

god and oure savioure Jesus Christ / and before the vniversall congregacion that beleveth in him / that I beleve accordynge to the open and manyfest scriptures and catholyck fayth / that Christ is rysen agayne in ye flesshe which he receaved of his mother ye blessed virgin marie / and bodye wherin he dyed. And yat we shall all both good and bad ryse bothe fleshe and bodye / and apere together before the iudgement seat of christ / to receave every man accordynge to his dedes. And that the bodyes of all that beleve and contynew in the true fayth of christ / shalbe endewed with lyke immortalite and glorie as is ye bodye of christ.

And I protest before God and oure savioure Christ and all that beleve in him / that I holde of ye soulest hat are departed as moche as maye be proved by manifest and open scripture / and thinke the soules departed in the fayth of Christ and loue of the lawe of God / to be in no worse case than yee soul of Christ was from the tyme yat he delivered his sprite vnto the handes of his father / vntyll the resurrection of his bodye in glorie and immortalite. Neverthelater / I confesse openly / yat I am not persuaded yat they be all readie in the full glorie that Christ is in / or the elect angels of god are in. Neither is it anye article of my fayth : for if it so were / I se not but then the preachinge of the resurrection of the fleshe were a thinge in vayne. Not withstandinge yet I am readie to beleve it / if it maye be proved with open scripture. And I have desyred George Joye to take open textes that seme to make for yat purpose / as this is.

To daye thou shalt be with me in Paradise / to make therof what he coulde / and to let his dreames aboute this worde resurrection goo. For I receive not in ye scripture ye pryvat interpretacion of any mannes brayne / without open testimony of eny scriptures agreinge thereto.

Moreover I take God (which alone seeth ye heart) to recorde to my conscience / besechinge him yat my parte be not in ye bloude of Christ / if I wrote of all yat I have wrytten thorow oute all my boke / ought of an evell purpose / of envie or malice to anye man / or to stere vp any false doctrine or opinion in the church of Christ / or to be autor of anye secte / or to drawe disciples after me / or that I wolde be esteemed or had in pryce above the least chylde yat is borne / save onlye of pitie and compassion I had and yet have on the blindnes of

my brethren and to bringe them vnto the knowledge of Christ/  
and to make every one of them/if it were possible as perfect  
as an angell of heaven/and to wede oute all yat is not  
planted of our hevenly father/and to bring doune all that  
lyfteth vp it selfe agaynst the knowledge of the salvacion  
that is in ye bloude of Christ. Also/my parte be not in  
Christ/if myne heart be not to folowe and lyve accordinge as  
I teache/and also if myne heart wepe not night and daye  
for myne awne synne and other mennes indifferently/beseche-  
inge God to convert ys all/and to take his wrath from vs/  
and to be mercifull as well to all other men/as to myne  
owne soule/caringe for the welth of the realme I was borne  
in/for the kinge and all that are therof/as a tender hearted  
mother wolde for hir only sonne.

As concerning all I have translated or other wise written/  
I beseche all men to reade it for that purpose I wrote it:  
even to bringe them to the knowledge of the scripture. And  
as farre as the scripture approveth it/so farre to alowe it/  
and if in any place the worde of god dysalow it/there to  
refuse it/as I do before oure sayvour Christ and his congregacion.  
And where they fynde fautes/let them shew it me/  
if they be nye/or wryte to me/if they be farre of: or wryte  
openly agaynst it and improve it/and I promyse them/if  
I shall perceave that there reasons conclude I will confesse  
myne ignoraunce openly.

Wherefore I beseche George Joye/ye and all other to/for  
to translate ye scripture for them selves/whether oute of the  
Greke/Latyn or Hebrue. Or (if they wyll nedes) as the fox in  
the grayes [*badger's*] hole challengeth it for his awne/so let them  
take my translacions and laboures/and change and alter/  
and correcte and corrupte at their pleasures/and call it their  
awne translacions/and put to their awne names and not to  
playe boo pepe after George Joyes maner. Which whethe he  
have done faythfully and truly/with soch reverence and  
feare as becommeth the worde of God/and with suche love  
and mekenes and affeccion to vnite and circumspeccion that  
the vngodlye have none occasion to rayle on the verite/as  
becometh ye servauntes of Christ/I referre it to the iudge-  
ment of them that knowe and love the truth. For this I  
protest / that I provoke not Joye ner any other man (but am  
prouoked/ and that after the spytfullest maner of provokynge)



to do sore agaynst my will and with sorow of harte that I now do. But I neyther can nor will soffre of any man/that he shall goo take my translacion and correct it without name/and make soche chaungynge as I my selfe durst not do/as I hope to have my parte in Christ/though the hole world shulde be geven me for my laboure.

Finally that new Testament thus dyligently corrected/besyde this so ofte puttinge out this word *resurreccion*/and I wot not what other chaunge/for I have not yet reede it over hath in the ende before the Table of the Epistles and Gospelles this tyle:

(Here endeth the new Testament dyligently ouersene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp/by me wydow of Christophell of Endhouen. In the yere of oure Lord.  
A. M. D. xxxiiii.  
in August.)

Which tyle (reader) I have here put in because by this thou shalt knowe the booke the better.

Vale.



[The exact colophon of Joy's edition as in the copy No. 12,180 in the Grenville Collection is—

¶ Here endeth the new Testament diligently ouersene and corrected/and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe/by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endouen In the yere of oure Lorde.  
M. C C C C C.  
and. xxxiiij. in August.:]

¶ An Apologye made by George  
Joye to satisfye (if it maye be) w.  
Tindale: to pounge and defende him-  
self ageinst so many sclaunderouse  
lyes fayned vpon him in Tindals vn-  
charitable and vnsober Bystle so  
well worthy to be prefixed for  
the Reader to induce him in-  
to the vnderstanding of hys  
new Testament diligent-  
ly corrected and prin-  
ted in the yeare  
of oure lor-  
de. M.  
CCCC. and  
xxxiiij. in Nouember.

¶ I knowe and beleue that the bodyes of euery  
dead man / shall ryse agayne at domes daye.

¶ Psalmes cxx.

¶ Lorde / delyuer me from lyinge lypes /  
and from a deceatfull tongue. Amen. .







## How we were once agreed.



After that w. Tyndale had put forth in prynt and thrusted his vncharitable pystle into many mennis handis / his frendis and myne vnderstanding that I had prepared my defence to poure and clere my name whyche he had defamed and defiled / called vs together to moue vs to a concorde and peace / where I shewed them my grete greif and

sorowe / for that he shulde so falsely belye and sclauder me of syche crymes which I neuer thought / spake / nor wrote / and of siche which I knowe wel his owne conscience doth testifye the contrarie / euen that I denied the Resurreccion of the bodie / but beleue it is constantly as himself : and this with other haynous crymes whiche he impingeth vnto me in his pistle / nether he nor no man els shall neuer proue : wherfore except Tin[dale]. (sayd I) wil reuoke the sclauders fayned vpon me hym self / I wyl (as I am bounde) defende my fame and name / whiche there is nothyng to me more dere and leif And to be shorte aftir many wordis : It was thus thorowe the mocion of our frendis concluded for our agrement and peace : That ¶ The condicions of oure agrement. I shulde for my parte (a reason and rekenyng firste geuen why I translated this worde *Resurrectio* into the lyfe after this) permyt and leaue my translacion vnto the iugement of the lerned in christis chirche. And T[indale]. on his parte shuld cal agein his pistle into his hand / so to redresse it / reforme it / and correcke it from siche sclauderous lyes as I was therwith offended and he coude not iustifye them / that I shulde be therwith wel contented / T[indale]. addyng with hys own mouthe that we shulde with one accorde in his next testament then in printing in the stede of this vncharitable pistle wherwith I was offended / salute the reders

with one comon salutation to testifye our concorde: of these condicions we departed louyngly. Then after. v. or. vj. dayes I came to Tin[dale]. to se the correccion and reformation of hys pistle/and he sayd he neuer thought of it sence/ I prayd him to make yt redy shortely (for I longed sore to se it) and came agene to him after. v. or vj. dayes. Then he sayd it was so wryten that I coude not rede it: and I sayd I was wel aquainted with his hande and shulde rede it wel ynough: but he wolde not let me se it. I came agene the thirde tyme desyryng him to se it/but then had he bethought him of this cauyllacion contrary to the condicions of our agrement/that he wolde firste se my reasons and wryte agenst them ere I shulde se this his reformation and reuocacion. Then thought I/syth my parte and reasons be put into the iugement of the lerned/T[indale]. ought not to write agenst them tyl their iugement be done/ no nor yet then nether/syth he is content before these men to stonde to their iugement/and not to contende any more of thys mater withe me. yet I came agene the fourthe tyme/ and to be shorte: he persisted in his laste purpose and wolde fyrste se my reasons and wryte agenst them and then leaue the mater to the iugement of Doctour Barnes and of his felowe called Hijpinus pastour of. s. nicholas parisshe in Hambourg/adding that he wolde reuoke that euer he wrote that I shulde denye the resurreccion. Then I tolde one of the men that was present at the condicions of our agrement all this mater: and wrote vnto the other these answers that I had: so ofte seking vpon T[indale]. to be at peace and to stande to hys promyse/desyryng them al to moue him and aduise him to holde his promyse/or els/if he wolde not/them not to blame me though I defende my selfe and clere my fame whiche he hath thus falsely aud vncharitably denigrated/ deformed/and hurte. But in conclusion I perceyued that T[indale]. was half ashamed to reuoke according to his promyse al that he coude not iustifye by me/and with whiche I was so offended. wherfore sythe he wolde not kepe promyse/ I am compelled to answeere here now for my selfe: which I desier euery indifferent reder to iuge indifferently.

And now first of all/because thou shalt se more clerely

(good reder) what moued T[indale]. thus to belye me : to rage and rayle vpon me/and what is T[indale's]. opinion and doctrine as concerning the state of the soulis departed/and also that he affirmed it constantly and defended the same vnto my face when I resoned agenst him more then once or twyse and proued him the contrary by the scriptures : mouyng him to reuoke his errour (which doctryne to confute and put it oute of some mennis headis/my conscience compelled of the truthe of goddis worde caused me to englysshe thys worde *Resurrectio* the lyfe aftir this) haue here his own wordis in his answere to. m. Moris seconde boke.

**More.** *And when M. More proueth that the saintis be in heuen in glory with christe alreedy sayng. If god be their God/they be in heuen : for he is not the God of the dead.* lxxii. leif the seconde syde.

**Tindal** Here saith Tin[dale]. *that Morestealeth awaye christis argument where with he proueth the Resurreccion/that Abraham and all sayntis shuld ryse again and not that their soulis were in heuen : which doctrine was not yet in the worlde/and with that doctryne he taketh awaye the resurreccion quyte and maketh Christis argument of none effecte. For when christe allegeth the scripture that god is the God of Abraham/and addeth to that god is not the god of the dead/but of the lyuing : and so proueth that Abraham muste ryse agayne/I denye christis argument. et cetera.*

**Joye.** Here is it manifest that T[indale]. vnderstondeth not this place of scripture/nether knoweth whither cristis argument tendeth/nor yet the Saduceis opinion : ☞ The confutation of Tyndals opinion. and therefore no meruel though he geueth not this worde *Resurrectio* ther his proper significacion/of which ignorance this his errour springeth God so suffring vs to fal standing to miche in our own consaightis/thynking our self so highly lerned/and to translate and write al thingis so exquisitely and perfaitly that no man is able ether to do it better or to correck our workis : whose argument is this.

If the soulis of the faithful were in heuen/there shulde be no resurreccion of their bodies/whiche ☞ Tindals argument. inconuenience to avoide/he laith them down to slepe out of heuen as do the Anabaptists tyl domes daye/but here I meruell that Tin[dale]. is so sclenderly lerned ☞ Th[e]anabaptistys opinion off the soulis departed. in the forme of arguyng that he se not howe his antecedence may be true and consequence false : seyng that

the contrary of his consequence is necessary / that is to wit /  
1 corinthio. 15 there shalbe the resurreccion of the flesshe: Paule  
 thus prouing it. If Christ be preached to haue rysen / how  
 Tyndals argu- happeneth that some of you saie thee is no resur-  
 ment is proued reccion? As who shuld thus argew / Christe our  
 false. head is rysen: wherfore yt must nedes folowe that his bodye  
 which is his chirche shall ryse ageyn. For wherfore shuld  
 the beyng in heuen of the soulis of Peter and Paule and of  
 all saintis / let the resurreccion of their bodies more then the  
 being in heuen of Christis soule those iij. dayes did let his  
 resurreccion? Tin[dale]. wil saie: They be al redy in ioye /  
 and therefore there nedeth no resurreccion. And I saie / so  
 was christis spirit and yet he rose agayn. And I denye  
 Tin[dale's]. argument / For were they in neuer so greate ioye /  
 yet must their bodies ryse agayn / or els he wil make christe  
 Mat. 5 a lyer and his doctryne false. Heuen and erthe shal  
 soner passe away then one iote of goddis worde shal passe  
 vnfulfilled. The verite hath sayd it and wryten it / concluding  
 that our bodies shal ryse agein: wherfore ther can no con-  
 ditionall antecedence of T[indale]. nor yet of any angel in  
 heuen make this conclusion false.

But let vs examen the text / and se the Saduceis opinion /  
 vnto the whyche Christe answereth so directly and so  
 confuteth yt vtterly. The Saduceis / as wryteth  
 The Saduceis opinion. that aunciaunt historiograph Josephus beinge  
 himself a iew / in his. xvij. boke the. ij. ca. sayd that the  
 soule of man was mortall and dyed with the  
 acto. 23 bodie: and Paule confirming the same to be their  
 ¶ Paule de- declareth the sa- duceis opinion. opinion / addeth that thei said ther were nether  
 spirits nor angels: so that to saye there is nether spirit /  
 (spirit properly is the soule departed) nor aungel / is as  
 miche to saye as the soule is mortall / and no lyfe to be  
 aftir this: and the Saduceis in denying the lyfe aftir this /  
 denied by the same denye but onely those two: that is /  
 bothe spirit and angell: for if they had denyed by that  
 worde *Resurrectio* the generall Resurrection to in that place /  
 so had thei denied thre distincte thingis: but Paule addyng /  
*Pharisei autem vtraque confitentur* / but the pharises graunt them  
 bothe two / declareth manifestly that thei denyed but onely  
 two thingis that is to saye bothe spirit and angell: for aftir  
 this present life tyl domes daye there is no lyfe of eny

creature but of these two creatures spirits and aungels. And if by this worde *Resurrectio* Paule had vnderstanden as T[indale's]. doth the resurrection of the flesshe / he wolde not haue sayd / the pharyses graunt them bothe / but all thre. For this worde *vtraque* as euery latyne man knoweth / is spoken but of two thingis only : but as for this my mynde I leaue it vnto the iugement of the lerned. And nowe shall I proue yt by christis owne answer / that the Saduceis in those places of Math. Mark. and Luke / denied that there is any lyfe aftir this : and so nether to be spirit nor angel / whiche is as miche to saye as towching the soule / it to be mortall. For yf it shuld lyue aftir the departing / thei thought to haue had taken christe in this trappe with their question of those. vij. brethren / that thei now being all a lyue aftir their dethe / shuld haue al seuen together that one wyfe at once ; for thei sayd that al these. vij. had hir here. But christe answerde them directly accordyng to their opinion : and not aftir Tin[dale's]. opinion of this worde *resurrectio* / telling them that thei erred being ignorant of the scriptures and also of the power of god / whiche pow[er] christe declareth to consist in the preseruing the dead lyue / for because out of god the father and christe the sone / being that vere lyfe / all lyfe floweth / ye and that into the dead : whiche power to confirme into the confutacion of their opinion and their own confusion : he alledged these scriptures exodi. iij. But first he tolde them of the present state of the soulis departed / saynge that in the tother lyfe aftir this they nether marye / nor ar married / but thei ar as the aungels of god in heuen.

**Tindal** And yet saith Tindal *this doctryne was not then in the worlde / and what is done with the soulis departed (the scripture make no mencion / but it is a secrete* (saith he) *layd vp in gods tresury.*

In his exposition of. S. Ihon Pystle.

**Joye.** It is verely a depe secrete to him that is ignorant [of] so many playne scriptures whiche I shall here aftir brynge in prouyng their state in heuen. Here is also to be noted that christe in describing their present state / saith in the present tence. Thei mary not nor ar maryed / but ar lyke aungels / ye egall vnto aungels / and the sonnes of god saith Luke cap. xx. But yet yf Tindal wyll saye that the present tence is here taken for the future / and playe boo



pepe withe the tencis as he englissheth *resuscitantur* shal  
 mar. 12. ryse agen/and not are reuiued or resuscited/yet  
 must I aske hym whether that the children of that lyfe  
 luc. 20. and worthy that worlde (as Luke calleth them)  
 be not now more lyke aungels then they shalbe affir the  
 resurreccion of their bodies? me thinketh that in thys  
 poynt/that they nether marye nor are maryed: aungels  
 and the spirits be now bothe a lyke: and the chylde[n] of the  
 lyfe or the worlde where now the blessed lyue with Christe/  
 are now more lyke aungels then they shalbe aftir the resur-  
 reccion of their bodyes/for now they ar substances incor-  
 poral/immortall/and intellectuall/and so be aungels: but  
 then they shalbe bodely substances hauyng very flesshe and  
 bones which the aungels neuer had nor neuer shall haue.

But nowe let vs heare the scriptures wherwith christe  
 The text is her[e]x[pe]nded  
 [i.e., ex-  
 pounded]. confuteth their opinion and proueth the same thyng  
 that the saduceis denied. Crist considering what  
 thing thei denied/sayd vnto them. *De resurrectione  
 vero mortuorum / non legistis quod vobis dictum est a deo / qui ait.  
 Ego sum deus Abraham. &c* That is to saye. As concernyng the  
 lyfe of them that be dead haue ye not red what is tolde you of  
 god saying: I am the God of Abraham/the god of Isaac/  
 and the god of Jacob: God is not the God of the deade/but  
 of the lyuinge. By this argument: god is the god of the  
 lyuing and not of the dead: God is the god of Abraham  
 Isaac and Jacob *ergo* Abraham Isaac and Jacob are a lyue:  
 christe concludeth planely/nothing els but that there is a lyfe  
 aftir this whereyn the soulis departed lyue/whiche conclusion  
 sith it is directly made ageynst the Saduces opinion/it must  
 nedis folow that thei denied in this place that thinge whiche  
 christe proued/for christe was not so vncircumspecte to  
 proue one thing/they denying another/or els they myght  
 haue well obiected saying: Syr what is this answeare to our  
 question? we aske the whose wyfe shall she be at the general  
 resurreccion of their bodyes? and thou answerest vs nothyng  
 els nor prouest vs any thing els with this scripture but that  
 there is a lyf after this wheryn the soulis departed nowe lyue:  
 and so to be both spirits and angels for that thei be lyke  
 aungels: If the Saduces here had denied cheifely and  
 principally/by that worde *Resurrectio* the general resurreccion/  
 criste wolde haue proued it then by scriptures/as well as he  
 here proued them the lyfe of spirits separated from their



bodies/and christe rendering the cause of his argument to confirme the same and to declare the powr of god in so preserving the dead a lyue saith *Omnes enim illi viuunt*/all men lyue in him/or by hym. Also it is to be noted Luc. 20. diligently how that saynt Marke for the inducyng Mar. 12. of that autorite of Moses/setteth before the thing that yt proueth in these wordis saying. *Ceterum de mortuis quod resuscitantur non legistis in libro Mosi. &c.* that is to saye. But as touching the dead/that thei ar resuscited or they ar all redy alyue (he saith not that they shalbe alyue or shall ryse agayne as [Tindale]. in hys diligent last correccion turneth the present [t]ence into the future: and the verbe passiue into a neuter to stablisshe his errour thus corrupting the text. And lyke wyse he plaith with the verbe in Luke and in Marke he englissheth the verbe of the preter tence *resurrexerint*/for the future. So fayne wolde he wrest the wordis from their natyue sence to serue for hys errour) haue ye not red in exodo what Moses saith &c? so that he induceth the autorite to proue that they ar a lyue/and nothing lesse then to proue the resurreccion of the flesshe. I wouder wherfore T[indale]. flittith from the text in these places. Here maye euery man se/that this worde *Resurrectio* in this place/as in dyuerse other places of scripture is taken for the lyfe aftir this wheryn the soules now lyue tyl the resurreccion of their bodies as testifyeth Joan: And Tin[dale]. not knowyng this significacion or not willing to se it/is gretely to blame to write and so belye and sclaunder me sayng: That for because I thus geuing the worde in his place his very significacion /I do denye the resurreccion of the flesshe: which I neuer doubted of but beleue it as constantly as he/I haue preached and taught it/and so interpreted it where it so signifyeth and confesse it openly as euery man maye se that read my workis/and as Tindals own conscience testifyeth the same. For thoughe this place proueth not directly the resurreccion of the bodies yet are there many places moo that proue it clerely: as doth all the. xv. chapter of the first Pystle to the Corin. where I englissh it Resurreccion/and in the article of our Credo: but in John/and in the. xj. cap. to the Hebrwes where the worde signifyeth the lyfe of the spirits departed/there I englissh it as the very worde signifyeth to put the reder out of doubt and to make it clere lest he be

*Resurrectio*  
hath two  
significacions  
apo. 20.

seduced and erre with Tind[ale], beleuyng that the soulis slepe out of heuen : when sleape in scripture is properly and onely vnderstanden of the bodye which shal be awaked and ryse ageyne.

For I did translate thys worde *Resurrectio* in to the lyfe aftir

For two causes  
is this worde  
*Resurrectio*  
so translated. thys/in certayne placis/for these two causes principally. First because the latyn worde/besidis that it signifieth in other places the Resurreccion of the bodye /yet in these it signifieth the lyfe of the spirits or

mat. 22  
apo. 10 soulis departed as christis answeere vnto the Saduceis/ and John declare. Secondaryly /because that agenst the Anabaptistis false opinion /and agenst their errour whom Erasmus reproueth in hys exposition of the Credo which saye the resurreccion of the soules to be this: that is to weet /when thei shalbe called out of their preuey lurking places /in whiche they had ben hyd from the tyme of their departyng vnto the resurreccion of their bodies /because (I saye) that agenste these erroneouse opinions /these places thus truely translated make so myche and so planely /that at thys worde *Resurrectio* the lyfe of the spiritis aftir this /their false opinion falleth and is vtterly condempned.

And if Tin[dale], wolde loke beter vpon his booke and folow not so miche his owne witte /he shulde fynde

Here it is come  
to the grunde  
of one cause  
*Surgo* to ryse.  
*Maneo* to  
abide or en-  
dure. that the hebrew worde which comonly is translated into this verbe *Surgo* /the same some tyme saynt Jerome translated into *Maneo* /as in Isaye. *Verbum domini manet in eternum* /The worde of the Lorde endureth for euer /some tyme into theise verbis *sto* or *consto* /as Isaye xlvj. And some tyme into theis verbis *Pono* /*constituo* /*excito* /*facio stare in vita* /*vel seruo in vita* as in exo. cap. ix. of Pharao. *Et perfecto ideo posui te* /*vel excitavi te* /*seruaui te in vita* /*vel feci et stare* /*superstitem te volui esse plagis meis : vt ostendam in te fortitudinem meam* &c. that is to saye : Doutlesse or verely for this cause yet haue I set and constitute the or stered the vp /preserued the alyue to receyue my plages to declare my strength vpon the and to shewe that my name myght be knowne thorowte all the worlde : of the which

*Resurrectio*  
hath more sig-  
nifications then  
one. verbe there cometh *Surrectio* and so *Resurrectio* whose rote and original sith it hath these so many dyuerse significacions /it must nedis folow that the nowne diriuyed oute therof haue as many /and so to signifye

that permanent and verye lyfe or the preseruing of them  
styll a lyue / which significacion agreeth in all these placis of  
these thre euangelistis / for thei all tel one and the same  
storye. If T[indale]. will englisshe thys verbe *Resurgo* euery  
where to ryse agayne in bodye / so shal he translate it falsely /  
corruppe the text and bringe the reder in to no small errour /  
as once did one preacher in a sermon / expownyng this verse  
of the first psalm. *Idco non resurgent impij in iudicio &c.*  
englysshing yt thus: wherfore the vngodly shal not ryse  
agayn in the iugement. wherat many were offended and  
astonied / and some beleued that the vngodly shulde not ryse  
agen at the generall iugement. which worde in that place  
Philip melanchton / Martyne Bucere / Conradus Pellicanus /  
zwinglius / Campensis / (men of greter knowleg / higher lern-  
ing / and more excellent iugement in holy scripture / in the  
hebrew / greke and latyne then Tindal is or euer lykely to be)  
translate it into these verbis: *consistunt / constant / perstant /  
durant / viuunt*: rendering the versethus. *Idco non constant non  
consistunt non durant / or non viuunt impij in iudicio &c.* that is  
to saye the vngodlye abyde not / nor endure / nor lyue in the  
company of the iust at the iugement: whether it be in the  
generall or partic[u]lare iugement of euery soule departed / as  
Rabbi Kimhy cyted of Bucere vpon that same verse taketh  
*Judicium* in that place: Also Bartholomeus Vesthemerus  
gathering out of the lerned mennis workis / in hys boke en-  
titled *Collectanea communium troporum* / the dyuerse significa-  
cions of wordis / and the comon phrasis in the scripture:  
declareth in the. iij. c. leif / in how many places this worde  
*Resurrectio* is taken for the ferme permanent lyfe of the soulis  
now departed: And Henrichus Bullyngerus / a man of grete  
lerning and greter iugement both in the scriptures and the  
tongues consenteth with me in the significacion of this worde  
*Resurrectio* in these placis. Many wordis in dyuerse places of  
the scripture haue diuerse / ye some contrari significacions:  
which thying if it be not diligently obserued of the translatur  
translatinge one for a nother / he may sone erre and corrupt  
the text into the grete perel of the reder. I am sure that  
T[indale]. wil not euery where englisshe this worde *Benedico*  
a lyke / as to blesse: for in some placis it signifieth to curse /  
nor yet englesshe *pectum* synne / for in some placis it signifieth  
the cove or calfe offred vp for synne / and so the selfe sacrifice

offred vp for the synne/and the expiacion and clensing or purgacion from synne/as is christe hym selfe so called. But here wil Tin[dale]. let grete scorne that I being so vnlearned in the hebrewe and other tongues (as I am in very dede) shuld take vpon me to poynt him to this marke whyche ether of ignorance he sawe not/or els of a selfe wyll and froward mynde wolde not se yt.

Furthermore he findeth himself sore aggrieved for that I haue so englysshed this worde *Resurrectio* in the. xj. chap. to heb. 11 the hebrews in thys place. Some men were racked/ and yet refused they to be redemed or delyuered / to the[e]ntent they might haue *potiorem resurrectionem* / saith the text : which T[indale]. englissheth a beter resurreccion : where it is playn that he englissheth it falsely / for sith he taketh here Resurreccion for the resurreccion of the flesshe : and this comparison is here betwene two resurreccions only / it must nedis folow that aftir T[indale]. there shuld be two resurreccions of our bodyes / of the which one is beter than the t[he]other : and these men so stretched and racked hauing experience of the worse resurreccion despysed the delyuerance to obtayne the beter. Here may ye se in what absurdytes and errours Tin[dale]. wrappeth himself for falsely translating thys worde *Resurrectio* in this place : wherfore according to his owne desier in the ende of hys first new testament desyering all that be able to mende that at was amysse in it and to geue the wordis (where he did it not himself) their right significacions : for he confesseth euen there that hys first translacion was a thinge borne before the tyme / rude and imperfit / rather begun then fynished / not yet hauing her right shape. This I saye hys owne desyer and confession and my conscience so compelled me and caused me where I sawe sicke notable fautes to mende them / lest so many false bokis thruste into mennis handis might ether staye the reader or els seduce him into any errour. Therefore (I saye) I englissheth it thus / that thei mought receyue rather the beter lyfe : for the comparison consisteth betwene this lyfe / of whiche thei were werie / and the tother beter lyfe aftir this which thei so feruently desiered that they refused to be delyuered from their paynes. And euen in the next lyne before T[indale]. himself / magry his tethe : was compelled so to englysshe the same worde callyng yt lyfe / and not the resurreccion. wherby thou mayst se

(good reader) of what stomake and mynde he wryteth agens me. Let euery man loke in his first translacion: and there shal he read this text. *Mulieres acceperunt ex resurrectione mortuos suos* thus englysshed of himself. The wemen receyued their dead to lyfe ageyne. Lo here resurrection aftir T[indale]. signifyeth lyfe/and not the generall resurrection: *ergo* T[indale]. aborreth this worde resurrection and denyeth the resurrection of the flesshe/these be his arguments ageinst me/wherwith (if he thinketh them so stronge) I do here snare and hold him faste/tyl he be able to loose him selfe. But yet I neuer red that/*ex*/shulde signifye/*ad*/as to translate *ex resurrectione* to lyfe/but rather from that lyfe. Also in this we differ here: for he calleth resurrection the present lyfe of this worlde/which is no lyfe in comparison to the tother/and I cal it the lyf of the tother worlde wherin the blessed soulis lyue with criste tyl domes daye: and ther aftir euer more with their bodies to. But yet in his last newe testament so diligently corrected and compared wyth the greke/because he wolde varie and swarue fro my englysshing (ye from the trueth of the worde) he goyth aboute *per ambages* with a longe circumlocution/sayng rayed from dethe to lyfe agen: lo here *ex resurrectione* signifieth rayed vnto this lyfe agen/he had leuer thus play bo peep with. ij. wordis/turning *ex* into *ad*/and the nowne into a participle/and the very lyfe of the spirits separated into the dedly shadow of this worlde/then to say the trueth wyth me. Here maye ye se what shiftis this man maketh to discorde from me: ye rather from the trueth.

But let vs returne to Tin[dale]. his answer to M. More in the sayd place and se with what faithfulness and reuerence he allegeth Paule. There he saith that Tindal is confuted. Paulis argument is this/If ther be no resurrection/we be of al wretches the most miserablest Here maye ye se how 1. corinthio. 15. T[indale]. runneth ryot of his own wit falsely belying Paule hauing no respecte vnto his book/nor yet dew reuerence vnto holy scriptures alleging them/It wolde haue wel Tindal belieith paule. becomen as grete a clerke as he is/first to haue turned to Paulis argument and looked more diligently whyther Paule had so knytte it togyther/and not to haue coupled paulis consequence with an antecedence of his own ymaginacion/For this is Paulis argument. If we haue but in thys lyfe



onely oure hope fastened in christe / so were we miserablest of al men. He saith not If ther were no resurreccion / for so myght his antecedence be true and his consequence false: for admitted that as T[indale]. allegeth him / there were no resurreccion / yet foloweth it not that the electe nowe departed beinge (as now at laste he is compelled to graunt) in no worse case then christis spirit was from his deth tyl he rose agen / be most miserable of al men: for they that be yet a lyue / and they that be dead and not receyued into Abrahams bosom but in hel in tormentis be miche more miserable. But what saith T[indale]. to his own argument: for Paul made it not / verely euen thus.

**Tindal** *Nay Paule thou art vnlearned / Go to m. More and lerne a new waye. We be not most miserable though we ryse not agene / for oure soulis go to heuen as sone as we be dead.*

**Joye.** This saith Tin[dale]. yroniously in a mok as though it were false / that oure soulis as sone as we be dead shulde go to heuen.

**Tindal** *And ar there in as grete ioye as Christ that is rysen agayne.*

**Joye.** In heuen dare I saye that thei be: ye and that in ioye / if they dye in the lorde / but whether in as grete ioye as christ himselfe / let More and T[indale]. dispute it.

**Tindal** *And I meruel saith T[indale]. that Paule had not counforted the Thessalonians wyth that doctryne / if he had wist it / that the soulis of their dead had bene in ioye as he dyd wyth the resurreccion that their dead should ryse agen.*

**Joye.** Neuer meruel at it Tindale / for Paule thought this present consolacion sufficient and could haue counforted them then with many mo / as with this of Christ. Joan. v. that who so here my worde and beleue in hym that hath sent me / hath lyfe euerlastinge and shall not come into condempnacion / but is passed ouer from dethe to lyfe. whiche consolacion because in that place and at that tyme Paule spake it not: is it a good argument that ther was non[e] siche? ye must beware (syr) how ye argew a *negatiuis* / for siche kynde of arguments be the worste and feblest that ye can make. It is a naughty argument / Paule dyd not comfort them with that doctrine / but with another as good / *ergo* that doctrine was false or was not in the world? ye may not iuge Paule as ignoraunt as you be in it / because he did not then

and there expresse it for in other places he declareth and techeth that doctrine plenteously ynoughe.

Now reade Tinda[le]. wordis in hys answere to M. Moris fourth boke/and loke whether he graunteth not Cxij. leif the seconde syde. playnly that the sculis sleap tyll domes daye/and whether he calleth not the doctryne that they shulde lyue euer: heythen and fleshly doctryne of the Philosophers ioyned wyth the popis doctrine. And agayn in the .cxviii. leif where vnto he remitted the reader in his table Cxviii. leif.

withe thys sentence/Soulis sleap/belying Christe and hys Apostles saynge that they taughte non[e]other/And yet bothe there in his answers and in his exposition vpon Johns Pystle apou this text. And now lytle chyldeyn abyde in him/that when he shall apcare. &c. He sayth yt is a depe secrete layd vp in gods tresury And yet a lytle before vpon thys text. And he is the satisfaccion &c. He bryngeth in Tindals wordes fyght agenst them selfe. Paule tellynge a longe tale in hys sleap (yf Tin[dale's]. doctryne be trew) and maketh Paule at laste to confesse that he himself with other sayntis be in heuen/contrary to hys own saynge/read the. xvj. lyne the fyrste syde of the. xij. leif of the expositoryon of that text. And he is the satisfaccion &c. And ther shalt thou se how Tindals wordis fight agenst them selfe. Finally yf yt be so depe a secrete/no scripture to make mencion of their state/I wouder what made Tindale so bolde to saye and to wryte yt to/that thei sleap/and that thei be not in heuen: and now at last to thinke thei be in no worse case then was cristis spirit aftir his dethe vntil his resurreccion. Aftir I had sene theise places and known Tindals erroneouse opinion I resoned wyth hym as we walked together in the feeld more then once or twyse: bryngyng ageynst him sicke textis as me thought/proued playnely agenst hym/as when christe answerde the theif hangyng by his crosse saying. This daye thou shalt be with Luc. 23

me in paradyse. where I sayd It is manifest that if christe had that daye commended hys spirit into hys fathers handis in heuen (as he dyd indeed) and promysed that the spirit of the theif shuld be with his spirit (for their bodies were not together) it must nedys folow that hys spirit was with cristis spirit in heuen. And to expresse the place paradyse is taken for heuen 2 cor. 12. more playnly christe added saying/In paradyse/ which is not elsthen in heuen. whych one autorite albe it/it had



bene sufficient for any mane that wolde haue admytted and receyued the sengle and playn veryte of cristis worde / yet I brought forthe christes wordis agayn describing the state of the faithful and vnfaithful aftir this lyfe / saying. Math. viij. I tell you verely that many shal come from the east and west and shal sit down to eat with Abraham Isaac and Jacob in the kyngdom of heuen / that is to saye / shalbe associated vnto Abraham and Isaac to be parte takers of their ioye and fruicyon in heuen / but the chyl dren of the kyngdom of the deuyl shalbe cast forth into extreme derknesses where shalbe wepinge and gnassing of tethe. This sitting downe at

Abrahams  
bosom.

table with Abraham / is not els but Abrahams bosome into which all that resembled Abraham in faith / aftir

their departinge were receyued / as ye maye se of Lazarus. Luke. xvj. where the state of the electe and of the reprobated immediatly after their deth is described / th[e] electe to be borne of aungels into Abrahams bosome as was Lazarus / and the reprobated to be caste into hell into tormentis wyth

2. cor. 5 Erthy  
tabernacle/  
oure corrup-  
tible bodye.  
Heuenly taber-  
nacle / is that  
ioye and glori-  
ouse presence  
of God.

the ryche gloton. Then alleged I Paule saying : For we knowe that yf oure erthye tabernacle where in we dwell were destroyed / yet haue we a perpetual mansion not made with handis / in heuen : of these mansions all redy prepared of christe yt is wryten.

Joan. xiiij. And at last Paule affirmeth that to be absent from the bodye / is to be present with god / saying. we haue confydence and aproue thys to be beter / that is to weit / to be absent from the bodye and to be present wyth god / which saying is spoken of the state of soullis now beyng with

Sleap is onely  
appropriated to  
the bodyes.

god / absent frome theyr bodyes yet a sleape in the erthe tyll thei be awaked and raised vp at the general iugement. Unto this pertayneth his sayings also

Phi. i. vnto the Philippians / affirming that dethe is to himself more aduantage then here to lyue : and therefore he desired to be losed from his bodye that he might be with criste his life : and this state to be miche beter then the lyfe

apoc 14 of this worlde. Then I alleged John in the Apocalipse describing the states bothe of the dampned and also of the blessed that dye in the lorde hence forthe : which sith they be blessed from their dethe forth / it must nedis folow that

apoc. 20. thei be in blysse in heuen. And John repetyng the same state describyng it almost withe the same wordis saith

those soulis were alyue and raigned with crist. M. yere &c. and calleth that lyfe of the soulis / *primam resurrectionem* / the first resurreccion : and hym blessed and holy which hath his parte in the fyrste resurreccion : here is it playn that this worde *Resurrectio* is not euery where taken a lyke as T[indale]. saith / and John describeth the state of the seconde resurreccion immediatly in the same cap. and calleth the state of the dampned the seconde dethe by whiche correlatiuis calling it the first resurreccion in respecte of the seconde / and those antithesis and puttyng one contrary agenst another euery reader maye gather whiche is the first lyf / and the firste dethe / whiche is the seconde dethe and seconde resurreccion.

The first resurreccion, is the lyf of the soulis.

But these playn testimonyes of the scripture wolde take no place with Tindal / for he wrested and writeth them contrary to his own doctryne out of their proper and pure sence with fayned gloses to shift and seke holes / he aftir his wont [ed] disdaynful maner agenst me fylypt them forth betwene hys fynger and his thombe / and what disdaynfull and obprobrious wordis he gaue me for so resoning agenst hym I wyll not now reherce / lest I shuld minyssh the good opinion that some men haue in him.

Also ther is a playne descripcion of the state where vnto the soulis departed in crist he ar receyued Hebr. xij. ye ar not come vnto the hill Sinai which none might touche : but ye are come vnto the mounte zion the cite of the lyuing god / the heuenly Jerusalem / and vnto the innumerable company of aungels vnto the congregacion of our former first begoten fathers writen together in heuen / and to god the iuge of al men / and vnto the spiritis of the pure iuste and vnto Jesus criste the mediatour of the newe couenant euen vnto the bespreigned bloude. Here is yt playne / that in this heuenly Jerusalem ar now the congregacion of our former fathers and the spiritis of the iuste men / for aftir the generall resurreccion / this congregacion shalbe no spiritis / but the company of very men hauyng flesshe and bone / whiche the spiritis haue not : crist sayng to his disciples fele and touche me / for a spyrit hath nether flesshe nor bones.

But at laste I remember that I made hym thys reason / saynge. Syr ye knowe that christe is our head / 1. cor. 15 and we his members / and altogither hys bodye / ye knowe also

that christe is the firste frutis/and fore leader of them that sleap/Then I argewed thus/The bodye must nedis ioan. 14 and. 17 folow the head/and whother the head went thither must the bodye folow (for crist optayned of his father that wheresoeuer he shuld be/there shulde his faithful be with him to se his glorie) but christis spirit departed slept not oute of heuen/but wente into the fathers handis in heuen/wherfore euen so shall ours afir our dethe/if we dye his membres and in the lorde :

This reason did so byght Tindal/and stoke so faste vpon hym that he coude not shake it of/but is now at laste (thanked be god) constrayned to saye with me in hys goodly Tindal godly pistle agenst me/*that I thynke (he dare not yet constantly affyrme it) the soulis departed in the faith of crist to be in no worse case then the soule of criste was from the tyme he delyuered his spirit into the handis of his father vntyll the resurreccion of hys bodye.*

**Joye.** Here maye euery reader se /that though he thinketh now other wyse then he hathe wryten in so many placis /and now thynketh the very same that I euer affirmed and obiected agenste him/yet had he leuer ageinst his owne conscience thus enuyously withe so many spightfull lyes and sclauders vnto my perpetuall infamy/hauyng no respecte vnto the sclauders and hurte mynistred vnto the congregacion of Christe/nor yet to the gaudye and reioyse of our aduersaries/to haue wryten agenst me then to refrayned his penne and aknowleged hys errour. So prouwd and arrogant are they that stonde so hyghly in their own consayght and false opinion/pertinatly to defende it though thei se it right false/rather then thei wolde seme conuicted especially of any simple and one that apereth not so wel lerned as thei be them selues.



ut let vs now here Tindals vncharitable  
pistle set before hys newe Testament thus  
tytled.

**Tindal** *Vylliam Tindal / yet once more to  
the Christen Reader.* [p. ix.]

**Joye.** Tindale shulde haue gotten hym  
more honesty / and lesse shame / yf he had  
written once lesse to the reader.

**Tindal** *Thou shalt vnderstonde (most dere reader) when I had  
taken in hande to loke ouer the newe testament agayn / and to  
compare it with the greke / and to mende what so euer I coude fynde  
amysse and had almost fynessed the labour.* [p. ix.]

**Joye.** It was but loked ouer in deed nothinge performing  
his so large promyses added in the later ende of his first trans-  
lacion to the reader / and I wounder how he coude compare  
yt with greke sith himselfe is not so exquisitely sene thereyn.

**Tindal** *George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it also /  
by what occasyon his conscyence knoweth: and preuented me / in  
so moch / that his correccion was printed in greate noumbre / yer  
myne beganne. When it was spyed and worde brought me / though  
it semed to dyuers other that George Joye had not vsed the offyce  
off an honest man / scynge he knewe that I was in correctyng  
it my selfe: nether dyd walke aftir the rules of the loue and softenes  
which Christe and hys disciples teache vs / howe that we shulde do  
nothyng of stryfe to moue debate / or of vayne glorie / or of  
couctousnes. yet I toke the thinge in worth as I have done dyuers  
other in tymes past as one that haue more experience off the nature  
and disposicion off that mannes complexyon / and supposed that a  
lytle spyse off couctousnes and vayne glorie / (two blynde goydes)  
had bene the onlye cause that moued him so to do / aboute which  
thinges I striue with no man: and so folowed aftir and corrected  
forth and caused this to be printed without surmyse or lokinge on  
hys correctyon.* [p. ix.]

**Joye.** Lo good Reder / here mayst thou se of what nature

and complexion T[indale]. is so sodenly fyerceley and boldely  
 ¶ *Nolite iudicare ut non iudicemini* to choppe in to any mannis conscience and so to  
 vsurpe and preuent the office of god in iugment which is onely the enseer and sercher of herte and mynde. Thys godly man/iugeth and noteth me vaynglorious curious and couetouse/and al for correcking a false copie of the testament that thei mought be the trwelyer printed agen/and so not so many false bokis solde into the realme [*England*] to the hurt and deceyt of the byers and reders of them. I correked but the false cotype wherby and aftir whyche the printer dyd sette his boke and correcked the same himself in the presse.

But I shall now playnly and sengly (for the trowth knoweth no fucated polessed and paynted oracion) declare vnto euery man/wherof/howe/and by whom I was moued and desyered to correcke this false copie that shulde els haue brought forth mo then two thousand falsen boke more then euer englond had before.

First/thou shalt knowe that Tindal aboute. viij. or. ix. yere a goo translated and printed the new testament in a mean great volume/but yet wyth oute Kalender/concordances in the margent/and table in th[e]ende. And a non aftir the d[e]wche men gotte a cotype and printed it agen in a small volume adding the kalendare in the begynning/concordances in the margent/and the table in th[e]ende. But yet/for that they had no englisshe man to correcke the setting/thei themselue hauyng not the knowlege of our tongue/were compelled to make many mo fautes then were in the cotype/and so corrupted the boke that the simple reder might ofte tymes be taryed and steek.

Aftir this thei printed it agein also without a correctour in a greater letter and volume with the figures in th[e]apocalipse whiche were therefore miche falsen then their firste.

when these two pryntes (there were of them bothe aboute v. thousand bokis printed) were al soule more then a twelue moneth agoo [*i.e., before February, 1534*]/Tind[ale]. was pricked forthe to take the testament in hande/to print it and correcke it as he professeth and promyseth to do in the later ende of his first translacion. But T[indale]. prolonged and differred so necessary a thing and so iust desyers of many men. In so miche that in the mean ceason/the dewch men prynted it agen the thyrd



tyme [*in the Summer of 1534*] in a small volume lyke their first prynt / but miche more false then euer it was before. And yet was T[indale], here called vpon agen / seyng there were so many false printed bokis stil put forth and bought vp so fast (for now was ther geuen thanked be god'a lytel space to breath and reste vnto christis chirche aftir so longe and greuouse persecucion for reading the bokes) But yet before this thyrd tyme of printing the boke / the printer desiered me to correcke it. And I sayd It were wel done (if ye printed them agene) to make them truer / and not to deceiue our nacion with any mo false bokis / neuertheles I suppose that T[indale], himself wil put it forth more perfait and newly corrected / which if he do / yours shalbe naught set by nor neuer solde. This not withstanding yet thei printed them [*in the Summer of 1534*] and that most false and aboute. ij. M. bokis / and had shortly solde them all.

Al this longe while T[indale], slept / for nothing came from him as farre as I coude perceiue.

Then the dewche began to printe them [*in August, 1534*] the fowrth tyme because thei sawe no man els goyng aboute them / and aftir thei had printed the first leif which cople another englissh man had correcked to them / thei came to me and desiered me to correcke them their copie / whom I answered as before / that if T[indale], amende it with so gret diligence as he promysethe / yours wilbe neuer solde. yisse quod thei / for if he prynte. ij. m. and we as many / what is so litle a nnumber for all englond ? and we wil sel ours beter cheape / and therefore we doubt not of the sale : so that I percyued well and was suer / that whether I had correcked their cople or not / thei had gone forth with their worke and had geuen vs. ij. m. mo bokis falselyer printed then euer we had before.

Then I thus considred with myself : englond hath ynowe and to many false testaments and is now likely to haue many more : ye and that whether T[indale], correck his or no / yet shal these now in hand go forth vncorrecked to / except somebody correck them : And what T[indale], dothe I wote not / he maketh me nothing of his counsel / I se nothyng come from him all this longe whyle. wherin with the helpe that he hathe / that is to saye one bothe to wryte yt and to correcke it in the presse / he myght haue done it thryse sence he was first moued to do it. For T[indale], I know wel was

not able to do yt with out sicke an helper which he hathe euer had hitherto.

Aftir this (I saye) considered / the printer came to me agen and offred me. ij. stuuers and an halfe for the correcking of euery sheet of the copye / which folden contayneth. xvj. leaues / and for thre stuuers which is. iiij. pence halpeny starling / I promised to do it / so that in al I had for my labour but. xiiij. shylyngis flemesshe [*this amount fixes the number of pages in the tiny volume of this Fourth surreptitious edition, of 2000 copies ; a copy of which is in the Grenville Collection, British Museum. 14 Flenish=12 English shillings sterling at 9d. for two sheets of 16 leaves=32 sheets or 512 leaves*] which labour / had not the goodnes of the deede and comon profyte and helpe to the readers compelled me more then the money / I wolde not haue done yt for. v. tymes so miche / the copie was so corrupt and especially the table : and yet saith T[indale]. I did it of couetousnes : If this be couetousnes / then was Tindal moche more couetouse / for he (as I her say) toke. x. ponde for his correccion. I dyd it also / sayth he / of curiositie and vaynglory / ye and that secretly : and did not put to my name whiche / I saye / be two euydent tokens that I sought no vaynglory / for he that doth a thing secretly and putteth out hys name / how seketh he vaynglory? and yet is not the man ashamed to wryte that vaynglory and couetousnes where my two blynde goides / but I tell Tin[dale]. agen / that if malyce and enuy (for all his holy protestacions) had not bene his two blynde goidis / he wold neuer haue thus falsely / vncharitably / and so spightfully belyed and sclaundred me with so perpetual an infamie. Tin[dale]. saith I walked not aftir the rules of loue and softenes / but let men read how maliciously he belyeth and sclaundereth me for wel doing : and iuge what rule of loue and softnes he obserueth. It is greate shame to the teacher when his owne deedis and wordis reprove and condempne himself. He hath grete experience of my natural disposicion and complexion saith he. But I wyll not be his Phisicion and decerne his water at this tyme. And as for his two disciplis that gaped so longe for their masters morsel that thei might haue the aduauntage of the sale of his bokis of which one sayd vnto me. It were almose he were hanged that correcketh the testament for the dewch / and the tother harped on his masters vntwined string / saying that because



I english Resurreccion the lyfe aftir this / men gatherd that I denied the general resurreccion: which errour (by their own sayng) was gathred longe before this boke was printed / vnto which ether of theis disciples I semed no honest man for correcking the cople / I wil not now name them / nor yet shew how one of them / neuer I dare say seyng. *s. Ferome de optimo genere interpretandi* / yet toke vpon him to teche me how I shuld translatt the scripturis / where I shuld geue worde for worde / and when I shulde make scholias / notis / and gloses in the mergent as himself and hys master doith. But in good faithe as for me I had as lief put the trwthe in the text as in the margent and excepte the glose expowne the text (as many of theirs do not) or where the text is playn ynough: I had as lief leue sicke fryuole gloses clene out. I wolde the scripture were so puerly and pplynly translated that it neded nether note / glose nor scholia / so that the reder might once swimme without a corke. But this testament was printed or T[indale's]. was begun / and that not by my preuencion [*anticipation*] / but by the printers quicke expedicion and T[indale's]. own longe sleaping / for as for me I had nothing to do with the printing therof / but correcked their copie only / as where I founde a worde falsely printed / I mended it: and when I came to some derke sentencis that no reason coude be gathered of them whether it was by the ignorance of the first translattour or of the prynter / I had the latyne text by me and made yt playn: and where any sentence was vnperfitte or clene left oute I restored it agene: and gaue many wordis their pure and natieue significacion in their places which thei had not before. For my conscience so compelled me to do / and not willingly and wetingly to slip ouer sicke fautes into the hurte of the text or hinderance of the reder

But to certifie the (good indifferent reder) wyth what conscience and discrecion Tin[dale]. wrote this vnsober pistle agenst me / thou shalt here after se / that of some greuouse crimes he accuseth and condempneth me of an hearsaye or of the informacion by other men.

**Tindal** *That my curiosite shuld haue drawne no small noubner utterly to denye the Resurreccion of the bodye | affirming that the soule departed is the spiritual bodie of the resurreccion | and other resurreccion shal there none be.*

[p. x.]

**Joye.** This informacion T[indale]. bringeth in / in the

seconde leif of his pistle to confirme the same sclaunderouse lye ymagened of hys owne brayne / adding with a constant affirmacion these wordis.

**Tindal** *And of al this is George Joyes vnquiet curiosite the hole occasion.* [p. xi.]

**Joye.** This shameles lye and sclaunderouse affirmacion T[indale]. is not ashamed to prynte / onely because I saye that there is a lyf aftir this wherein the blessed spirits departed lyue in heuen with criste (for this is his wyse argument / he that putteth the soulis in heuen before domes daye stealeth away the resurreccion of their bodyes / Ge. Joye sayth they be in heuen / ergo he denyed the resurreccion) but also because he is so enformed. Besydis thys condempnacion of me by hearsaye or enformacion of hys faccyon : he is not ashamed of hys owne brayne to affirme and to wryte it / saying in the same fowrthe peise [*paragraph*] of his pistle thus.

**Tindal** *Moreouer / ye shal vnderstonde that George Joye hath had of a longe tyme meruelouse ymaginacions about this worde Resurreccion that it shulde be taken for the state of the soulis departed &c.* [p. x.]

**Joye.** which same meruelouse ymaginacion / John apo. xx. hath : calling that state or lyfe the first resurreccion : Lo. Nowe yf T[indale]. nor yet his wyse enformers cannot proue nor iustifye these sclaunderouse lyes vpon me / as I know well they neuer shall as euery man maye se me in my bokis constantly wrytinge and affirmyng the Resurreccion of our bodyes at domes daye which (I thanke god) I neuer doubted of : may ye not se then the maliciouse entent / shrewed purpose / and corrupt conscience of this man for all his holy protestacions / thus temerariouly and abominably to write to defame and sclaunder me ? Ar not these the venomouse tethe of vepers that thus gnawe a nother mannis name ? ar thei not spearis and dartis and their tongues as sharpe as Psal. 57. swerdis as the prophet paynteth them ? whette thei Psal. 140. not their tongues lyke serpents ? nouryssh thei not adders venome with their lippes ? yisse verely. For the psal. 5 trowth is not in their mouthes sayth Dauid : They are corrupted within / their throte is an open stynkyng graue / wyth their tongues they flater and deceyue. Here may ye smel out of what stynkyng breste and poysoned virulent throte thys peivisshe Pystle spyrethe and breathed forthe.

But yet here first of all / T[indale]. (as ye maye se) accuseth and dampneth me / of coniecture and temerariouse iugement / to be vn honest / not walking aftir christis rules of loue and softnes / but rather to be a sediciouse persone mouing stryfe and debate / to be vayngloriouse / curiouse / and couetouse and I cannot tell you what. But ere T[indale]. had thus by open writing and prynting it to / accused and dampned me / yt had become him (yf he had wyllde to be taken for a cristen man) firste to haue knowne these vices pryuateley correcked betwene me and them whom I had with these synnes offended and eft aftir for my incorrigible and vntractable hardnes not hearing the chirche / to haue also offended yt openly casting me out of yt / as crist techeth vs: and not thus fyerceley and sodenly of a lyght and false coniecture and temerariouse iugement (I wil say no worse) to preuent [*anticipate*] bothe the iugement of god and man and to vsurpe the offyce of god before he come to iuge vs bothe / nothyng feryng his terrible threthning / saing Juge noman lest ye be iuged / condempne not lest ye be condempned your selues. T[indale]. condemneth mat. 7. Luc. 6. me of curiosite / but iuge (indifferent reder) whither this be not an vnquiet vayn curyouse touche to crepe into a nother mannis conscience curiously to serche accuse and condempne / when he shuld haue descended rather into his own / examining himselfe of what affeccion and minde he wolde write so many lyes and sclaunders of his brother of so light coniecture and heresayes. If I had bene gilty [of] al these fautes / it had bene Tin[dale's]. parte to haue had compassion rather vpon me / to warne / to exhorte me / then so sodenly and spyghtfully to haue had accused me so openly / and that wyth so perpetual and haynouse a sclaunder of my name that himselfe (though he wolde) yet can he not reuoke it and restore it me agene. He shuld haue consydered that god commaundeth vs to be eche others seruants / and not so cruell iuges and condempners / namely of sicke light coniectures. what Ro. 14 hath T[indale]. to do to iuge a nother mannis seruant? what folehardines is it to crepe out of our own consciences curiously to serche other mennis hertis? ye and that to iuge and condempne them by open and perpetuall bokis? I haue god my iuge / and therefore nede I not Tindals temerariouse iugement: ether I stande or fall vnto my nown lorde / yea he is redye / yf I fall / merciably to lifte me vp agayn / and to sustayn me that I fall not.

But T[indale]. and his goodly enformers thought/it was no honest mannis touche to correcke a false cople of the testament/which yf yt had not be done at that tyme/ther had bene printed and solde two. M. mo falsen bokis then euer before: thys semed no honest touche to them that had bought Tindals copy corrected for ten ponde as I herde saye/and shuld haue the auantage of the first sale/for it semed to them/that the mo trwer testaments/the lesse to be their auantage: but had these that I correcked/gone forth falsen then eny wother before/and had I refused the correccion of them/and so all the byers and reders to haue ben vtterly deceyued with them/then had I plaid the honest man: then wold not one of them (as he did) haue wissed me hanged for my labour. But nowe to haue correct that false copy that the testaments myght be the trwlyer prynted for the edifying of the reders/is aftyr T[indale's]. charite/a dede of stryfe and debate/and of one that walketh not aftir the rules of loue and softnes whych Tindale/Christe I shulde saye/and hys disciples teach vs. To correck the false cople that the holy testament myght be the perfytyler red and vnderstonden/that the reders be not taried nor seduced is now aftir T[indale]. and his enformers a touche of vaynglory/curiosite/and couetousnes blynde gydis &c. For yf I had chaunged neuer a worde in the boke/but onely correcked those wordis whyche were falsely printed before in the cople/yet had T[indale]. in this first peise of his pistle thus accused iuged and condempned me gilty of al these sayd vices as hys own wordis testifye and as euery man maye perceyue his mynde that wil expende and consydere his processe: ioyninge this peise vnto that at foloweth.

**Tindal** *But when the pryntyng of myne was almost fynessed/one brought me a copie and shewed me so manye places/in soche wyse altered that I was astonyed and wondered not a lytle what furye had dryuen him to make soche chaunge and to call yt a diligent correction. For thorow oute Mat. Mark and Luke pcrpetually: and ofte in the actees/and sometyme in John and also in the hebrues/where he fyndeth this worde Resurreccion/he chaungeth yt into the lyfe after this lyfe/or verie lyfe/and soche lyk/as one that abhorred the name of the resurreccion.* [pp. ix-x.]

**Joye.** Se how this man exaggereth and heapeth togyther so many placis so altered making himself to be astonned and

to woundre of what furye I was caryed to geue this one worde Resurreccion hys very ryght significacion : and yet of so many places he can shew but one sely worde altered into his right significacion as I haue sufficiently proued / whiche worde in all the thre euangelists telling al the same thing / haue but one and euer the same significacion in those thre placis and in John the. v. cap. and in the hebrewes ca. xj. also a lyke. But and yf Tin[dale]. dirst haue shewed of so many places any one mo so chaunged / men shuld haue plainly sene / my diligent correccion to haue mended his negligent (I wil not saye his false) translacion. And yet he woundreth of what furie I was drouen thus to do. Softe and pacient / good wordis Tindale : and no furiose fumes / remember your rules of loue and softenes aftir the which a litel before your self pretende to walke / and me to haue broken them / and take not your selfe no more by the nose / prease not so furiously vpon me as to saye I abhorre the name of the Resurreccion for geuing it in his place his right significacion / which I did of no furie but of good zele vnto the trueth / lest the reader myght be seduced with you beleuing there is no lyfe of soulis departed : but to lye a sleape without heuen tyl domes daye / For in so englysshing the worde I do no more abhorre the name of the resurreccion then do your selfe in the. xj. cap. to the hebrews where youre selfe call yt lyfe also : and haue graunted it me that yt so signifyeth. If I denye the resurreccion for so englysshing yt / so do you denye hell for englysshing *Infernus* a graue.

**Tindal** *If that chaunce / to turne resurreccion into lyfe after this lyfe / be a dyligent correccion / then must my translacion be fautie in those places / and saynt Jeromes / and all the translatoours that euer I heard of in what tonge so euer it be / from the apostles vnto this hys dyligent correccion (as he calleth it) which whither it be so or no / I permit it to other mennes iudgementes.* [p. x.]

**Joye.** whether my correccion in this place be a diligent correccion / and Tin[dale's]. translacion fautye or no / let better lerned then we bothe be iuges. Nether foloweth yt / that for be cause ether myne be diligent / or T[indale]. be fautye / saynt Jerom[e]s (whyche neuer that I red translated it into englysshe) shulde be fautye in latyne / for he translated but oute of greke into latyn (yf he dyd translate it) vnderstanding (I dare saye) by thys worde *Resurrectio* in those places the



lyfe of soulis departed or the first resurreccion as John  
apo. 20 calleth yt/and not the generall resurreccion as  
 Tin[dale] dremeth. S. Jerome knewe ful wel that the worde  
 in hebrew had no significacions then the resurreccion of the  
 flesshe/and did not euery where translate the hebrew verbe  
 into *Surgo*/as I haue shewed before aleged in Isaye.

**Tindal** *But of thys I challenge George Joye | that he did not  
 put his owne name therto and call yt rather his owne tra[n]slacion :  
 and that he playeth boe pepe | and in some of hys bookes putteth in  
 his name and title | and in some kepeth it oute.* [p. x.]

**Joye.** If George Joye playth boe peep for not putting to  
 his name/then doth Tin[dale]. play boe peep with the testa-  
 ment first translated wher he did not put to his name to  
 avoyd vaynglory: And. S. Paule (by this wyse reason) playd  
 boe peep wythe hys pistle to the hebrews. Also here T[indale].  
 chalengeth me be cause I called yt not rather my nowne  
 translacion/oh good lorde what occasions this man honteth  
 for agensst me? Truth yt is that Solomon sayth prouer.  
 xvij. he that delighteth in dissension/taketh of euery thing  
 an occasyon to chyde. Shuld I haue called yt my translacion  
 for correcking the fawty and corrupt cotype/or for englisshing  
 resurreccion the very lyfe aftir this? If I had so done verely  
 T[indale]. had had a iuste cause to haue writen agenst me  
 for lying and stealing awaye the glorie of his name for first  
 translating the testament/But it was happie that the printer  
 in making the title called yt a diligent correccion and not a  
 translacion T[indale]. here addeth to my name/my title to.  
 I cannot tell what he meaneth by my title: except yt be/  
 that in some of my bokis I write that I was some tyme fellow  
 of Peter Colledge in Camebridge for the more difference be-  
 twene a nother man that perchaunce might haue the same  
 name that I haue/And yf thys be the tytyle that offendeth  
 T[indale]. I will hence forthe leaue yt oute.

**Tindal** *It is lawfull for who will | to translate and shew his  
 mynde | though a thousand had translated before him.* [p. x.]

[**Joye.**] why then is T[indale]. thus angrie with me for  
 shewing my mynde (no not my minde but the mynde of crist)  
 vpon thys worde *resurrectio*?

**Tindal** *But yt is not lawfull (thynketh me) ner yet expedient  
 for the edifieng of the vnitie of the fayth of christ | that whosoever  
 wil | shal by hys awne auctoryte | take another mannes translacion*

and put oute and in and chaunge at pleasure / and cal it a correc-  
cion. [p. x.]

**Joye.** God forbyd that T[indale]. shulde so thinke of hym-  
selfe / that he hathe so exquysitly / (ye and that at firste)  
translated the testament that yt cannot be mended / for he  
aknowlegeth and proueth the contrary himself / and desyerth  
other men to mende yt : wherefore verely me thought it bothe  
lawfull and expedyent so to do : ye and that by as good  
autorite as he did first translate it vnperfactly. Is yt not  
lawful to correck that at is amyse lest the readers be ether  
taryed or seduced ? Aftir orygin / Jerome translated and  
ofte correcked the psalter and was desyered of Damasus then  
bishop of Rome to correck the the new testamet / which (I  
am suer) thought it lawfull and expedient to / as we se dayly /  
other lerned men other wyse redyng and translating the  
scriptures then dyd Jerome. Dyd all the olde doctours  
translate / allege / and rede the scriptures a lyke ? Did they  
stonde so highly in their own consaight that any one dys-  
dayned to be correcked of a nother ? And shall we then  
permytte vnto onely Tind[ale]. but a man / farre inferior vnto  
them both in lerning / iugement / and vertew / to translate and  
wryte what he lysteth noman so hardy to amende his fautis ?  
what profit and goodnes cometh of the diuersite of transla-  
cions / rede S. Austen in his seconde boke *de doctrina christiana*  
cap. xij. In the chirch of god as there be many and dyuerse  
membres / so haue they many and sondry giftes / and one may  
se in a nother mannis workis that he saw not himselfe. And  
I doute not but there be / and shal come aftir vs / that canne  
and shall correcke our workes and translacions in many  
places and make them miche more perfayt and better for the  
reader to vnderstande / and shulde we therfore brawll and  
wryte agenst them as T[indale]. dothe agenst me ? god forbyde /  
but rather thanke them and geue place as Paule teacheth. j.  
Corinth .xiiij.

**Tindal** *Moreouer / ye shall vnderstonde that George Joye hath  
had of a longe tyme maruelouse ymaginacions aboute this worde  
resurreccion / that it shuld be taken for the state of the soules aftir  
their departinge from their bodyes / and hath also (though he hath  
been reasoned with therof and desyred to cease) yet sowed his doctrine  
by secret letters on that syde the see [i.e., in England] / and caused  
great division amonge the brethren. Insomoch that John Fryth*



beying in prison in the toure of London / a litle before his death  
[on 4th July, 1533] / wrote that we shuld warne hym and desyer  
him to cease / and wolde haue then wryten agaynst him / had I not  
withstonde him. et cetera. [p. x.]

**Joye.** If Tindals parte had bene so trwe / and myne so  
false for translatyng thys worde *Resurrectio* / as he pretendeth:  

 ¶ Tindale fall-  
eth from his  
cause, to lying  
and sclaunder-  
yng.
 
 he wold haue boden better by it / and haue stoken  
 nerer the probacion therof in his pystle as by the  
 kaye of his whole cause prouing his translacion  
 trwe and myne false: and neuer haue had so farre swaruen  
 from his principal / as (al probacions for his parte / and the  
 confutations of myn clene forgotten) a man caryed of what  
 furiose affectis his tragical pistle declareth to fal to belying /  
 defaming and sclaundering of any man: he shuld haue erst  
 proued his parte trw and myn false or he had thus raged and  
 rayled vpon me. But these crimes which he here openly  
 and falsely impingeth vnto me of his own head and cannot  
 iustifye them / he hath promysed before recorde to reuoke.  
 And if he be a trwe crysten man / sithe he cannot iustifye  
 his writing so vncircumspectly put forth and thrusted into  
 many handis / he must ether for fere of that terrible sentence  
 of god threting al euill spekers / detractours and defamers  
 his vengeaunce and wrath / orels if charite be so farre quenched  
 in his breste as hys maliciouse pistle proueth it / yet at leste  
 wise for very shame of these. iiij. honest men / before whom  
 and eft sens before me he promised to reuoke his writing of  
 me / he muste now reuoke his sclauderouse and lying pistle  
 wherin he sayth that I abhorre the name of the resurreccion  
 and that I shuld denie it. Also here he imputeth vnto me  
 certain crimes of which he condempneth me of heresaye / ye  
 and that by the enformacion of other / That no small noubler  
 thorow my curiosite vtterly denye the resurreccion of the  
 bodyes &c. lo / good reader / Thus is not T[indale]. ashamed  
 nor afraid to write at th[e]enformacions (if there be eny sich)  
 of other men. T[indale]. shuld haue first considred what  
 men these were that so falsely enformed him / and of what  
 stomak and proof thei enformed him. For this dare I say  
 constantly (I haue yet the copie of the letters writen but onely  
 vnto one man / in which as euery man may se / it may be  
 assone and as lykely gathered that I denye that there is any  
 god as the resurreccion / but I do rather affirme yt / or that

onely the soule departed is the spiritual bodie of the resurreccion as T[indale]. is enformed and here affirmeth the same to confirme thys false enformacion. T[indale]. and his enformers shuld haue turned fyrst to the article in our *credo* concerning the resurreccion which I translated /loking whether I do not affirme it /and like wise in all placis of scripture where so euer I fynde this worde *Resurrectio* signifying the resurrection of oure bodyes.) But I dare saye: that yf Tindals enformers whom by name I coude drawe out into light (if T[indale]. saye it not of his owne head) were examined of this reporte /that as they cannot for shame affirme and shew it to be taken of my letters /so shulde T[indale]. with miche more shame to haue bene afrayd openly to wryte it /adding this adsercion of his owne brayne.

**Tindal** *And of all this is G. Joyes vnquyet curiosite the hole occasion / whether he be of the sayde faccion also / or not / to that let him answer him selfe.* [p. xi.]

**Joye.** Al this forsayd peise therefore is nothinge els (I take god to recorde) but a continuall shamelesse lye and a perpetual spightful sclaunder maliciously blowne togyther vpon me out of Tin[dale's]. mouthe. These false lyes and enuyouse infamyas whether they can come forth of any cristen breste or stande with siche holy adiuracions and protestacions as he paynteth aftirward to colour his yprocrysy and deadly hatered so long conceyued / noureshed in his brest and now spitted oute vpon me let euery man iuge /

Forasforme / god know[e]th / I neuer had other ymaginacion aboute this worde resurreccion then the significacion whych I haue sufficiently declared. And if euer I had any wother ymaginacions then that whiche in some placis (as I haue translated it) it signifyeth / euen the ferme faste permanent lyfe of the soulis departed: and agene in some placis the resurreccion of the flesshe as I haue declared yt / I adpele / prouoke / and compell Tindals conscience to tell yt openly / and yf he cannot / let him confesse his lye and knowleg how shamelessly he sclaundereth me and reuoke it. Also where he sayth / that I haue ben reasoned wyth all and desyered to ceasse: it is true that I reasoned with him of this mater twise or or thryse and tolde him that he did well yf he reuoked his erroneouse doctryne sowne so ofte in hys bokis: and if he saith that it was he that desyered me to ceasse / I reasoned

wyth none els but onely with him/in good faith I shal tel the trwthe/we neuer reasoned the mater but thorow his impacience our disputation euer ended with chydng and brawling in somiche that aftirwarde in hys exposition vpon John he stretched forth his penne agenst me as farre as he dirst/but yet spared my name/at the whiche chaleng I winked/yet taking yt not as ment of me because I loued quyetnes not wylling that any man shuld know what hatred he did euer beare me sence I came ouer/

For when he coude not avoyd the manyfest scriptures nor soyle the reasons brought agenst him/then the man began to fume and chaafe calling me fole/vnlerned/with other obprobriouse names: then I knew not the scriptures nor what I sayd &c. and except T[indale]. call this his charitable desyer and louing monicion wherwith he desyerd me to ceasse/in good fayth I neuer herd whother of hys mouthe. I am sory to wryte this/but hys deadly lyes and maliciously sclauders compel me to do yt.

**Tindal** Then sayth he that I haue *sowne my doctryne by secrete letters on that syde the sea* [i.e., in England] *and caused grete diuision emonge the bretherne &c.* [p. x.]

**Joye.** I neuer wrote letter concerning this mater I take god to recorde but vnto one man seduced by his false doctryne/whych yet (I thynke) persysteth for all my letters in the same opinion/so wholly dependeth he vpon Tindals mouth addicte vnto hys wordis/that the soulis sleap oute of heuen tyll domes daye/whom I warned at last to ceasse wryting any more of this mater to me/and not to stande ouer miche in hys own consayght nor yet to depende ouer myche of any mannis doctryne/declaring him fyrst the significacions of this worde *resurrectio* as I haue done in thys Apologye/

And yet haue I here the cople of my letters sent vnto this man whych I neuer desyered as euery man shall se to be kept secrete/nether dyd the yonge man so kepe them for they and their copleys went thorow many handis as I vnderstode aftir/and were sent vnto Frith in the tower/wherof Frith wrote thys warnyng to Tin[dale] whyche he here mencyoneth/

and I answerd Frith agene by my letters/but aftir I answered him/I neuer herde more from Frith of this mater/and yet had he a longe tyme aftir in the tower to haue wryten/if he had sene his parte good :

Frith wrote tindals answers to More for tindale / and corrected them in the prynte / and printed them to at Amelsterdam / and whether he winked at T[indale's]. opinion as one hauyng experience of Tindals complexion / or was of the same opinion I cannot tel / the man was ientle and quyet and wel lerned and better shuld haue ben yf he had liued. Then sayth T[indale].

**Tindal** *Thereto I haue ben sence enformed that no small nowmber thorow hys curiosite denie the resurreccion of the flessch and bodie.* [p. xiv.]

**Joye.** Thou seist (good reader) how that I denie not the general resurreccion / nor I my self neuer thought it to be denyed but haue constantly affirmed and taught it. But thou remembrest euerywhere T[indale's]. argument / thus argwing full falsely : If the soulis be in heuen / ergo there shalbe no resurreccion of their bodyes. Here tindals faccion and his disciples argew and beleue lyke their Master / sayng : lo George Joye sayth the soulis be in heuen / wherfore it muste nedis folow that he denyeth the resurreccion of their bodyes / or els he muste make oure Master and father tindale a lyer and his doctrine false / here may euery man se how T[indale]. playth bo peepe wyth me impynging heresy vnto me / for confuting hys error sowne hitherto in his bokis :

**Tindal** yet sayth T[indale] to / that these men seduced by my doctryne affirme that the soule / when she is departed / is the spiritual bodye of the resurreccion : and other resurreccion shall there non[e] be. [p. xiv.]

**Joye.** If T[indale]. can shew me these wordes to be mine ether in writing / or brynge forthe any man that euer herde me speke them / then let me suffer dethe. For I take god to recorde that I neuer thought them / and sence I red my philosophy / I knew the difference betwene a bodye and the soule / and was neuer so mad as to call the soule a spirituall bodye / as Tyndal sayth I do affirme yt : but T[indale]. in deed when I argewed that sleape in scrypture was onely appropryated vnto the bodie and not to the soule / and a shutting vp of the sencis frome their vse / he graunted me that the soule of man was also a bodely substaunce : wherat a non I perceyued his highe lerning.

**Tindal** At last saith T[indale]. *I haue talked wyth some of them my selfe so dotyd in that foyle that it were as good to perswade a poste as to plucke that madnes oute of their*

braynes. And of this all is George Joyes vnquiet curiosite the hole occasion.

[pp x.-xi.]

**Joye.** If any man list to beleue T[indale] / that he hath thus talked wyth some so doted / lete him so do in gods mane [name]. For as for me / sithe I se him lye so manifestly in other thingis / suerly I trust him the lesse in thys tale: nor wil I neuer beleue him til he bringeth forthe some one so doted / For I thinke there be none so mad / And whether I be so curiouse and vnquiet as he reporteth me / lete them be iuges that se my workis and rede this mine answer and know my conuersacion. And here T[indale]. addeth this tayle to knyt vp his lies sayng /

**Tindal** whether he be of the sayd faccion also or not / to that let him answer himselfe.

[p. xi.]

**Joye.** I am not affraid to answer Master Tindal in thys mater for all his high lernyng in hys hebrewe greke latyne &c. T[indale]. supposeth / ye he affirmeth yt here wise for fayling / that I am of the same faccion And I answer and tel T[indale]. agene that he belyeth me deadly / and that nether he nor noman els can gather one iote of al the wryting and wordes that euer I spake or wrote / that I shulde once thynke that there shuldbe no general resurreccion of our bodyes / nor yet that the soules departed shulde onely be the spiritual bodyes of the resurreccion. Blame me not (I besече the cristen reader) though I seme in this place vnpacient: For verely I am spightfully prouoked and exasperated with his lyes and sclaunderes thus penned into my perpetuall infamy / and am compelled to defende my name and fame which ther is nothing to me more dere and leife / for there is no kynde of infamy so pernicious as is to be sclaundered of heresy / whych Tin[dale]. impingeth vnto me / nothing consydering that (though he wolde) yet can he not restore me my name agene / And I meruel that this so holy a man as he pretendeth himselfe forgetteth what paule threteneth sayng that  
i. cor. vj these euyl spekers bye / and sclaunderers shalnot possede the heretage and kingdome of god / I pray god geue this man a better mynde and to printe wel in his hert and remember his own doctrine / and to feare hys own terrible othe and so harde and perellouse desyer in thys hys pistle: thus saying here aftir.

**Tindal** More ouer I take god (whych alone seith the hert)



to recorde to my conscience | beseching him that my parte be not in the bloude of crist | yf I wrote of all that I haue written thorow out all my boke | aught of an euil purpose | of enuy or malice to eny man &c. [p. xii.]

**Tindal** If George Joye wil saye (as I wot well he will) that his chaunge is the the scene. &c. [p. xi.]

**Joye** George Joye hath sayd yt and proued yt to / that yt is the meanyng of the scryptures in that place / And T[indale]. had ben so pacient as he pretendeth when euery man saye as he sayth / and loke vp and woundre at his wordis : he wolde haue taryed other mennis iugement / and not haue thus maliciously auenged hym selfe preuenting yt wyth so poysoned a pistle.

[**Tindal.**] But though yt were the verie meanyng &c.

[**Joye.**] Lo here maye se how highly thys man standeth in his owne opinion / thynking that his false translacion ought not to geue place to the trwe meanyng of the scryptures put in of a nother man : nether do I here at my nowne pleasure put in my meanyng but the meaning of crist as hymself expowneth it / whose meaning is not the next waye to stablysshe heresyas as Tindals meaning dothe / as I haue playnely proued / which let me se yf he can improue and confute : but rather to confute T[indale's]. heresy which is that the soulis sleap out of heuen feling nether payne nor ioye til domes daye.

**Tindal** As for an ensample / when Christ sayth Jo. v. The tyme shall come in the which all that are in the graues shall heare his voyce and shall come me forth : they that haue done good vnto resurreccion of lyfe / or with the resurreccion of lyfe / and they haue done euil / vnto the resurreccion or with the resurreccion of damnacion. George Joyes correccion is / they that haue done good shall come forth into the verie lyfe / and they that haue done euill into the lyfe of damnacion / thrustinge cleane oute this worde resurreccion. [p. xi.]

**Joye** He that geueth this worde resurreccion his very trw significacion in his place thrusteth not out the worde / but declareth yt playnly and putteth it in / as he that translate thys worde *Deus* / calling yt god in englysshe / thrusteth not out god / but putteth him for them to know him in englisshe which vnderstande not the latyn. If Tin[dale]. translate theis wordis / *paradisum voluptatis* / calling them a garden in

Eden/and a nother come aftir him englisshyng the same a pleasaunt paradise/this man thrusteth not clene out paradise. Nether where he translateth And Jacob blessed Gen. xlvij Pharao/and a nother translateth the same sayng/ And Jacob thanked Pharao/yt folowthe not that therefore this man thrusteth out clene this worde *Benedixit*/no more Thes. ij. then he thrusteth out Paulis soule/that translateth this place of paule. we desyerd not onely to geue vnto you the gospel of god but also our owne lyues or our owne selues/for which Tin[dale]. sayth our own soulis.

**Tindal** Now by the same auctorite/and with as good reason shall another come and saye of the rest of the text/they that are in the sepulchres/shall heare his voyce/that the sence is/the soules of them that are in the sepulchres shall heare his voyce/and so put in his dyligent correccion and mocke oute the text/that it shal not make for the resurreccion of the flesshe/which thyng also George Joyes correccion doth manifestlye affirme. [p. xi.]

**Joye.** I wolde know of Tinda[le]. whether when a mannis bodye is dead and layd in graue/yt be his dead bodye or hys soule that hereth cristis voyce/I am suer T[indale]. is not so farre besydis his comon sencis as to saye the dead bodye hereth cristis voyce/*ergo* yt is the soule that hereth yt/and then why dothe T[indale]. despyse my sence or rather the trw sence of the scripture calling it a mocking out of the text and a false glose? I am suer Tin[dale]. will not vnder- i. Pet. 3 and. 4 stand the textis of Peter/that the gospell is preched to the dead bodyes in graue but rather to the soulis departed/ Albeit I se in hys new correccion how shamefully and of what corrupt mynde god knowth/he hathe peruerted thys i. pe. 4 text/wyth thys note/That the dead ar the ignorant of god. when there the dead and quyke be taken as they stonde in the *credo*/the deade euen for the departed out of this worlde and the quyke for them that lyue there in: whych article that cristie shal iuge them bothe/as it is setforth for the playn peple so is it playnly spoken as the letter sowneth/and not in a mistik allegory worthy any sich a false glose in the mergent/T[indale]. shuld haue loked beter on the circumstance of the texte/and not haue englisshed/*vt iudicarentur quidem secundum homines carne*: that thei shuld be condempned of men in the flesshe. For by thys peruertyng of the text men may se that T[indale]. hath forgotten his grammer/or els god



know[e]th of what mynde he wold haue here / *mortuis* / not to signifye the departed oute of this worlde / and *iudicarentur* to signifye that they shuld be condempned / and *secundum homines* / of men. whiche sentence he translated at first truely / and now corrected it *de meliore in peius* : as euery lerned / ye and vnlearned may se / T[indale]. sayth I take away the texte from him in this one worde *resurrectio* : but he in this place / I dare saye / and can proue it to his face / that he corrupteth the text / and by his false translating it / taketh awaye the trwe vnderstanding therof from as many as rede yt / and beleue his translacion.

Nether dothe he that saythe the soulis of the dead shal here cristis voyce / denye the resurreccion of the flesshe : for they maye / and do bothe stande well together. Criste had al power geuen him in heuen and erthe aftir his dethe and resurreccion / and that euen the power to preserue the dead alyue in their soulis which power of god he tolde the Saduceis they knew not / and yet by his godhed he did daily execute yt : he had powr also to iuge / althoughe he be the sonne of man / whiche powr then geuen him is not idle and voyd til domes daye / but is dayly executed in the partic[u]lare iugement of euery soule departed (yf T[indale]. graunteth any parti[u]clare iugement at al but wil saye the soulis sleape) and then is not this the trwe sence of John in this place ? that the soulis of the bodyes resting and sleeping in graue shall here cristis voice and come forthe into that very lyfe which they now lyue and crist proued it vnto the Saduces ? John (I saye) beyng so plentiuouse in telling one thing so ofte and so many ways / sayd the same thing twise be fore / once thus : verely verely I saye vnto you / who so here my worde / and beleue him that sent me / hath lyfe euerlastyng and shalnot come into condempnacion / but is passed ouer from dethe to lyfe / And aftir warde he expressith yt playnely to be verified euen of the dead / the tyme of his iugement in his manhed then standing vpon or beyng present / saynge verely verely I say vnto you / The tyme shal Joan 5 come / and euen now yt is : when euen the dead shal here the voice of the sone of god / and who so here yt shal lyue : which powr of the sone / to be receyued of the father / and in that to be egal with him declared / he resumeth the same sentence yet agen the thirde tyme / sayng. Meruel not at

this thyng/for the tyme shall come in which al that ar in graues shal here his voyce and they that haue done good shal come forthe into that verye lyfe/and they that haue done yll into that myserable or dampnable lyfe. For where he sayd before/the dead shal here his voice/n<sup>ow</sup> he sayth for the same/all that ar in graues shall here his voyce/and where he sayd in the first same sentence/ar passed frome dethe to lyfe and haue euerlasting life/in the seconde sentence he sayth/shal lyue/and in the thirde and last of all he saythe/shal come forth in to that very and perfit lyfe/and where he sayd before/condempnacion/here at last he calleth the same the lyfe of condempnacion or dampnable lyfe/as yt is the comon phrase of scripture to saye *spiritus sanctificationis*/pro spiritu sancto et sanctitas veritatis pro vera sanctitate with many siche lyke/Also yt is to be noted that there is none of th[e] euangelistis nor apostles so plentuouse in expowning himselfe with so many wordis and so ofte repeting one thing as is John/vsyng thys particle (*Et*) in englyssh as myche to saye as (*And*) expositiue: that is to expowne the Jo. vi. sentence or worde before/as when he saythe who so come to me shall not hongre/and whoso beleue in me shall neuer thirst/there thys particle (*and*) expowneth what yt is to come to Crist/that is to saye to beleue in Criste/ Jo. xj. And when he saythe: I am the resurreccion and lyfe/there thys worde (*and*) expowneth what resurreccion sygnifyeth/euen very lyfe/and so the sentence folowyng Jo. iij. declareth yt. And agen where he saith except a man be borne of water and the spirit &c there/this worde (*And*) signifyeth/that is to saye of the spirit/expowning Esaye. xliij what water is in that place as Isay expowneth Jo. vij. water/and John also. But and if T[indale]. wil nedis saye styll that I mocke out the Resurreccion of the flesshe/ because I say that the soulis of them that be in graues shal here his voyce/I answer and aske him what mok is ther in these my wordis to saye that aftir the general resurreccion/the soulis with the bodis that were in graue shall come forthe into that lyfe euerlasting? Is not this a trewe and catholyk sence? can T[indale]. make it false?

But yet here wolde I aske T[indale]. (yf he wolde not iuge me curiouse) a nother question/euen this: whether that the bodies shal ryse be fore thei come forthe of

their graues/and so come forth into that perpetual lyfe/ or whether thei shal first come forth of their graues and then rise aftirwarde? If he saythe they must ryse before they come forth vnto that very lyfe/then is yt trwe that they shall not come forth vnto the resurreccion/ for they be now rysen al redye and the resurreccion is past wyth them/and then is my translacion trwe that they shal come forth into that very lyfe/and not vnto the resurreccion of their bodyes as T[indale]. saythe. And yf he wyll saye/to make this worde resurreccion to signifie the resurreccion of the flesshe (lest it be mocked out as he saythe/ whiche noman entendeth) that the bodies firste come forth of their graues and then ryse aftirwarde/then is his translacion as trew and as lyke/As the man that lyeth him down to slepe vpon his bed in his chamber first to come forth of his chamber before he ryseth out of his bed/lo (reader) here thou seist whother Tin[dale]. is brought for so supersticyously steking to onely one significacion of this worde *Resurrectio*. Now let T[indale]. beware lest emong so many his friuole notis and gloses in mergents some of them be fownde bothe false and sclaunderouse and to litle effect. For as for my englisshing of the worde/is proued manifestly to be the very text.

[**Tindal.**] And at laste where T[indale]. sayth/that in his mynde a *lytle vnfayned loue aftir the rules of criste &c.* [p. xi.]

**Joye.** I thynke that siche loue may not stande with cristis rules/orels Tindals loue is miche worthe whiche hathe fayned vtwardly to haue loued me/when all this while he did but nouresshe in his breste hated and malice longe a go conceyued and now at laste hathe spewed forth the al his venome and poyson at once vpon me.

**Tindal** *Wherfore | concernynge the resurreccion | I protest before god and oure sauioure Jesus Crist | and before the vniuersall congregacion that beleueth in him | that I beleue accordinge to the open and manyfest scriptures and catholyck fayth | that Christ is rysen agayne in the flesshe whych he receaued of his mother the blessed virgin marie and bodye wherin he dyed. And that we shal all both good and bad ryse both flesshe and bodye | and apere together before the iugement seat of crist | to receaue euery man accordynge to his dedes. And that the bodyes of all that beleue and continew in the true fayth of christ | shalbe endewed with lyke immortalite and glorye as is the bodye of christ.*

**Joye.** Tin[dale]. nedeth not to make so longe an holy protestacion of thys mater / for noman layth yt to hys charge: but let Tin[dale]. clere himselfe of this errour that he hathe wryten thryse in his answer to M. More and in his exposition of John: That is to weite that he saithe the soulis departed slepe and shall not be in heuen tyll domes daye / and yet affirmeth arrogantly and argeweth vnwisely / that whoso schulde saye the contrary / denyeth the general resurreccion.

**Tindal** *And I protest before god and oure sauioure christ and al that beleue in him / that I holde of the soules that are departed as moche as maye be proued by manifest and open scripture / and thinke the soules departed in the fayth of christ and loue of the lawe of god / to be in no worse case then the soule of Christ was / from the tyme that he deliuered his spryte into the handes of his father / vntyll the resurreccion of hys bodye in glorie and immortalite. Neuerthelater / I confesse openly / that I am not persuaded that they be all readie in the full glorie that crist is in / or the elect angels of God are in. Nether is yt anye article of my fayth: for yf yt so were / I se not but then the preachynge of the resurreccion of the flesshe were a thinge in vayne. Not withstandinge yet I am readie to beleue it / if it may be proued with open scripture.* [p. xii.]

**Joye.** Now thanked be god / that Tin[dale]. at last hath fownde oute that doctryne whyche crist nor hys apostles neuer taught / nor was not in the worlde at that tyme. God be preased that haue shewed T[indale]. that depe secrete layd vp in hys tresury / Now he thinketh that the soulis departed be in no worse case then was cristis spirit from hys dethe vntyl his resurreccion / but cristis spirit was in heuen: ergo T[indale]. stealeth awaye the resurreccion of cristis bodye and our bodyes to /

**Tindal** But Tin[dale]. thus come home / now shifteth and seketh this sterling hole sayng that if they be in heuen in as ful and perfit glory as crist is in / or the electe aungels (and yet of this full and perfit glory noman contendeth with him) then he seith not els but that *the preching of the resurreccion were in vayne.* [p. xii.]

**Joye.** No forsothe: The resurreccion is so necessary an article of our faythe that in what Joye soeuer the soulis be / yet we must beleue yt and preche it to / orels make cristis doctryne false and saye that himself is not rysen. And here can I not meruel ynoughe at T[indale's]. ignorance of the

scriptures / whyche declare playnely that the glorye and ioye of the soulis is more ful and perfit when they shal haue their bodyes felows and parte takers of their felicite and ioye whom they had once as ministers of their good workis and partakers of their afflictions / then when they haue their glory a lone wyth out their bodyes. For vnto this fulnes and gloriouse perfeccion Paule loked with sore sighes to come when the hole intire bodye of crist and ful nowmbir of his electe shall come in altogither aftir the resurreccion of their bodyes / sayng That all creatures longe for the de- rom. 8. lyuerance oute of their seruitute into that gloriouse libertye of the children of god : and we our selfe longe sore and abyde for that adopcion euen the redempcion of our luce. 21 bodyes. For then the soulis shal resume their own bodyes not mortal but immortal / incorruptible / spiritual / i. cor. 15 and gloriouse for euer. And yf this werre not a more ful and perfyter state then the glorye that yet is but of the soulis a lone / yt shulde not be so sore sighed and longed fore of paule and euery faythfull that thus beleueth of the redemption / adopcion / and libertie of their bodyes whych yet ether slepe in the duste or lyue in trouble affliction / corrupcion / mortalite / ignomyne &c. Also in the actis / Luke remembreth Act. iij thys perfeccion and full state callyng yt the tyme of refrigery and confort of the presence of god and tyme of the restoring of all thyngis. And Paule expressing this gloriouse He. xi. perfeccion and perfit glorye of bothe bodyes and soulis together aftir the general resurreccion / sayth. All these thorow fayth deseruyng thys testimony haue not yet receyed the promyse (that is to saye the intire renewing / redempcion / and resurreccion of their bodies promised them) because that god had prouided this one beter thyng for vs / that is to wete / that thei without vs shuld not be made ful and perfite or be set faste in their ful glorye of bothe body and soule. For then shal the vniuersal and intire corps of crist his hole chirche be made ful and perfit in hir most gloriouse and perfit state and perpetual fruicion ioyned in ioye euerlasting vnto hir head Jesu crist. But Tin[dale]. sayth he is not persuaded that they be all redye in the ful glorie that crist is in / as though this were not playn in the scriptures / that crist is there bothe body and soule / and so be not yet the electe : But yet when the electe shal be there with their bodyes /



they shal not haue so full and per fayth glory as criste  
epphe. 1. hathe.

**Tindal** *And I haue desired George Joye to take open textes that seme to make for that purpose | as this is. To daye thou shalt be with me in paradise | to make therof what he coulede | and to let his dreames aboute thys worde resurreccion goo. For I receaue not in the scripture the priuat interpretacion of any mannes brayne | without open testimony of eny scriptures agreinge thereto. [p. xii.]*

**Joye.** T[indale]. neuer desyered me except his obprobrious wordis and reuyling of me were his desyere / And in dead I brought the same text agenst him / and he made a glose of paradice and sayd yt was not there taken for heuen / where euery man may se yt taken for heuen : for crist sayd thou shalt be wyth me / whiche was in heuen. Nether is the interpretacion of that worde resurreccion my priuat interpretacion / but cristis owne interpretacion as I haue proued yt.

**Tindal** *Moreouer I take god (which alone seeth the hert) to recorde to my conscience | beseeching him that my parte be not in the bloude of crist | yf I wrote of al that I haue writen thorow out all my boke | ought of an euell purpose | of enuye or malice to anye man | or to stere vp any false doctrine or opinion in the churche of crist &c. [p. xii.]*

**Joye.** Here is an holy othe broken / and a perellouse desyer / yf the contrary to be trewe / For here he rayleth vpon me / he belyeth me / he sclaundereth me and that most spightfully with a perpetual infamy: whiche al yf yt be not of enuy / malice / and hatered of what els shulde yt spring ? And euen here for all his holy protestacions / yet herd I neuer sobre and wyse man so prayse his owne workis as I herde him praise his exposicion of the v. vj. and. vij. ca. Mat. in so myche that myne eares glowed for shame to here him / and yet was it Luther that made it / T[indale]. onely but translating and powldering yt here and there with his own fantasies. which praise methought yt then better to haue ben herde of a nother mannis mouth / for it declared out of what affeccion yt sprang euen farre vnlyk and contrarye vnto these whiche he now professeth and protesteth so holely for wordis be the messageris of mennis myndis.

**Tindal**]. *Saue onlye of pitie and compassion I had and yet haue on the blindnes of my brethren | and to bringe them vnto the knowledge of christ | and to make euery one of them | yf yt were possible as perfect as an angeli of heauen. [pp. xii-xiii.]*

**Joye.** Lo here may ye se the good purpose and godly entent of thys good man/and yet hath he by thys his vncharitable/sediciouse/sclaunderouse and lying pistle offended and hurt many a good simple man/and caused them to caste their bokis clene away neuer to loke on them more/nor to beleue vs what so euer we haue or shall wryte/thus hath he destroyed that whyche god hathe thorow vs hitherto bylded/and caused vs bothe/ye and the gospel to/to be euill spoken of: besyds the grete reioyse and gaudye mynystred to the enymes of the trowth/ye and some good men wysse vs bothe neuer to haue ben borne/and saye we be bothe full of poyson. For doutelis Tindals complexion is siche/that for all his holy protestacions and holier fayned good entents here expressed of his owne mouthe/yet had he leuer marre and destroy al/and (as they saye) set all at six and seuen/then he wolde haue suffred the translacion of this one worde resurrection to haue taryed and aboden the iugement of cristis chirche: so sore yt gnaweth his herte to be correcked and warned of me/but a fole and vnlearned as he bothe reputeth me and telleth yt me to my face/

For in good fayth/and as I shal answere before god/ere he came to one place of the testament to be last corrected/I tolde his scribe/euen him that wrote and correckted the testament for him/that there was a place in the begynnyng of the. vj. cap. of the actis somewhat derkely translated at fyrst/and that I had mended it in my correction and bode him shew yt Tin[dale]. to mende yt also/yf yt be so sene vnto him/and I dare saye he shewd yt him/but yet because I fownde the fawte and had corrected yt before/Tin[dale]. had leuer to haue let yt (as he did for all my warnyng) stande styll derkely in his new correccion whereof the reder myght take a wrong sence/then to haue mended yt whyche place whether yt standeth now clerer and truer in my correccion then in his/let the lerned iuge. The place is this/In those dayes as the nowmber &c. where/for that at he translath wydows: I saye/their pore nedye/which includeth bothe men and wemen/for bothe were releifed by their dayly almose and the greke worde is the comon gender to bothe/and where Tin[dale]. sayth/dayly minystracion/I saye dayly almose as Paule vsseth the same worde. ij. corin. ix. For aftir Tindalis translacion/yt sowneth that the apostles



shulde haue had certayn wedews of the hebrewes to serue and mynyster vnto them at their tables or in other vses/and so the grudge to haue rysen/that these wydews were despysed and put out of offyce/when the text trwly and clerely translated sheweth a nother sence farre vnlyke yt as the circumstance declareth. And yf I had ben giltie al these crymes which T[indale]. falsely imputeth vnto me calling me vaynglorious / couetouse / curiouse / sedyciouse / factiouse a sower of heresy / a denyer of the general resurreccion whych I take god to recorde I neuer thought nor did yt/he wolde rather (yf he had had siche a godly zeale as he here cloketh) ere he had thus openly and perpetually belyed and sclaudered me/fyrst haue come to me and warned me brotherly and paciently / But god almyghty th[en]seer and sercher of herte and reynes how holy so euer our vysard wordis and workis apere/be iuge at our departing betwene T[indale]. and me.

I shewed and now I shew T[indale]. agene where the scripture disalow[s] his false opinion of the soulis to slepe/and ye se how he beareth yt/

I shewd T[indale]. where I fownde fawtis longe before this in his translacion and now ye se that he do not onely not mende yt nor confesse not his ignorance but rather call me heretyke and belye me thus spightfully for my labour.

**Tindal** *wherfore I beseche George Joye/ye and all other to/for to translate the scripture for them selues / whether oute of Greke / Latyn / or Hebrue.*

[f. xiii.]

**Joye.** Here T[indale]. is afrayd lest any man wolde steale awaye frome him the glorie and name of his translacion: whych nether I/nor no man els is aboute to do/he wolde haue men translate for them selfe/when we be all borne to profite our neybouris and for the comon wele/by his foxisse ensample he pretendeth as though I shulde steale awaye his gloriouse name for the translacion/and yet he seith and repeteth my wordis himself calling yt but a dyligent correccion and no translacion/for yt had ben but a lye to cal yt my translacion for translatyng and mending a fewe certayn doutful and derke places. But I doubt not/but that aftir T[indale]. and me bothe/there be or shal come/whych shall mende bothe our translacions and paradventure cal them theirs/whych I pray god sende vs/and I/for my parte shal geue place vnto siche one withe grete and many thankis.

**Tindal** *For this I protest / that I prouoke not Joye ner any other man (but am prouoked / and that after the spytfullest maner of prouokinge) to do sore agaynst my wil and with sorow of harte that I now do.* [p. xiii-xiv.]

**Joye.** If this be not a spightful prouokacion to me / thus to belye me / to sclauder me as Tin[dale]. hath done / let all that rede bothe our talis be iuge / and whether the englisshing of that worde *resurrectio* be so spightful a prouocacion to a meke modest cristen man / as thus so spightfully and sclauderously to wryte agenst me.

**Tindal** T[indale]. sayth *I neuer can nor wil suffer of any man that he shall go take my translacion and correcke yt with out name.* [p. xiv.]

**Joye.** Lo here is a grete mater wherfore this so pacient a man shulde be offended and moued thus shamelesly to wryte into the offense and hurte / ye into the destruccion of al that is buylded in cristis chirche / and perpetual infamy of his brother / let euery man be ware how he medle withe T[indale]. workis / and especially take hede that he mende not / nor yet correck them / except he putto his name / For how false so euer they be / Tin[dale]. wilnot gladly haue them mended as I perceyue / thinkyng that no man is able to correcke hym / and yet vnder the cloke of hipocrysye himselfe desyereth in the ende of his fyrste translacion other men to mende and correcke yt / thys man belyke when he translated yt / was nether man nor angell but god himselfe that cannot erre nor lye /

**Tindal** he saythe I haue made siche *changing as hym selfe dirst not do as he hopeth to haue hys parte in criste though the hole worlde should be gcuen hym for his labour.* [p. xiv.]

**Joye.** And I saye / I haue made many changes which yf T[indale]. had had siche sight in the greke as he pretendeth and conferred yt diligently with the greke as he sayth he did / he shulde haue made the same changes him selfe / which places I shal poynt him to here after / but yet let Tindale loke ouer his Testament once agene and conferre yt a lytle beter withe the verite and greke to / I wolde euery man wolde compare my correccion wyth his / and marke well euery change / and he shall se that I changed some wordis and sentencis / which T[indale]. afir me was compelled euen as I did / so to change and correcke them himselfe.

Aftir that Tindals correccion was printed: yt chaunced me to turne here and there in his new diligently corrected testament so compared wyth the greke: as first in the beginning of. j. ca. Ro. And there me thought his translacion was not accordyng to the text / where Paule in hys salutacion apereth to affirme that by thre thyngis especially / as the scripture shewth yt / Criste was declared to be the sonne of god. First by power / secondarely by the holy gost / thirdely in that he rose from dethe. where the text hath / *ex eo quod resurrexit* &c. which T[indale]. englissheth sence the tyme that he rose / knowing not what / *Ex eo* / there sygnifyeth / For cristie was declared to be the sonne of god bothe by hys godly powr and also by the holy goste often tymes before his resurreccio and not after yt / as ye maye se hys power in doing miracles all before his resurreccion / the holigost also before yt declaring hym / John. j. xv. and. xvj. Also in the. xiiij. ca. j. cor. how englissheth he there this worde / *spiritus*? which signifieth in that place the breathe / and voice of our tongue / and yet T[indale]. sayth. If I pray with tongues my spirit prayth / but my mynde is with oute frute / whych sentence aftir hys translacion is contrary to cristis sayng that wolde haue vs to praye and worship his father in spirit. Joan. iiij. ro. j. In that chap. also what englissh geueth Tin[dale]. these wordes *propheta* and prophecie? which signifie there / the interpretour and interpretacion or prechynge of holy scriptures. And where Paule wolde that these interpretours or prechers shuld preche and declare the scriptures one aftir a nother before the congregacion / and not two or thre of them all at once to avoyde confusion / For god (sayth he) is not the autor of confusion &c. T[indale]. euen clene contrary to the text / translateth thus: let the prophetis speke two at once or thre at once. There were some heretyks in paulis tyme which sayd that our bodyes shulde not ryse the selfe same I. co. 15 ageyn / but wother distincte and seueral bodies: vnto whose opinion (al be it I know wel T[indale]. beleueth yt not) yet he ministreth a shrewd occasion in taking awaye the texte by vntrwly translating this sentence. *et unicuique seminum dat deus suum* or *proprium corpus* / (as hathe the vulgare texte) God geueth to euery sead his own bodye / and not a seueral bodye as T[indale]. translateth yt / For by this text Paule confuteth their heresy / that saye we shal not

ryse agene wyth our own bodyes/ but with some wother seueral and distincte bodyes from these which we now carye aboute. I meruel that T[indale]. calleth *suum* or *proprium corpus*/ a seueral bodye/ If I had thus translated these places he might wel haue sayd/ I had nede go lerne my donate and accidence agene/ rather then to translate scriptures: had he not yet haue sayd worse by me. But here peradventure Tin[dale]. will excuse him by the greke or by some hebrew phrase left theryn/ as he telleth some simple reders that know nether of them bothe how they make agenst me in thys worde *resurrectio*: and as he bosteth himselfe in the beginning of this his godly pistle and also in his prologe/

**Tindal** saying that he hath compared the testament with the greke and weded out of yt many fautis (*and yet in some place made yt worse then it was before*) which lake of helpe at the beginnyng and ouer sight did sowe therin. If ought seme changed (sayth he) or not all together agreing wythe the greke/ let the finder of the fawte/ conseyder the hebrew phrase or maner of speche lefte in the greek wordis &c.

**Joye.** So that T[indale]. in his translacion/ yf any fawt be fownde/ wolde seme to flitte from Greek to hebrew/ from the present tence to the future/ from persone to persone/ from nowmber to number/ yea and as yt playnely i. pe. 4. apereth in altering the texte of Peter/ and in altering these sayd places from the latyn texte/ euen clene from the trwthe of the texte vnto hys owne vayne imaginacions/ as euery reder maye wel perceyue. If he were so wel sene in the greek as he maketh him selfe/ doing siche diligence in this his correccion as he pretendeth and professeth/ he shulde haue lefte out some of so many vayne and fryuole notis in the mergent nothing corresponding nor expowning the texte/ and haue mended mo fawtes in his texte/ At the firste opening of his boke/ I chaunced vpon this glose in the i. ioan. 3 mergent. Loue is the firste precept and cause of all other. And I loked on the tother syde/ and there I sawe ageinst yt this other: Fayth is the firste commandment and loue the seconde/ whych gloses (except T[indale]. geue vs the thirde glose to declare and conciliate these two) maye apere contrarye to the reders: how be it methinketh yt not good so derkely and doutefully to glose where the text is playne/ that we must go make glose vpon glose/ and so at laste lede

men from the texte to wander in gloses as it hath bene in tymes paste: and paradventure Tin[dale]. wolde haue geuen vs the thirde glose to/had the mergent haue ben able to receyue yt for other gloses/gloses/and al lytel to the purpose. I meruel that aftir T[indale]. in his first translacion our ladie was maryed vnto Joseph/and that now in his new correccion she is but betrouthed to him. If his first translacion were trwe in this place/why then did he correck it? And yf it were false that she was maryed to Joseph when she was there espyed grete with childe/how shall we proue that crist was conceyued in wedlok: which thyng Matthews mynde is there to proue yt/and luke affirmeth the same/the worde translated into this latyne worde *desponsata*/which worde aftir my pore lerning/by the reson of the proposition/*De*/in composition signifyeth more then the simple worde *sponsata*/and maketh the verbe to bere wyth yt more encrease and fulnes. Also this sentence in latyne folowing/*priusquam congressi fuissent*/Tin[dale]. englessith/before they came to dwell together: in which whether he hath translated trwly the mynde of th[e] euangelist let the lerned in cristis chirche be iuges. I wolde haue thus translated it. When Mary/his mother was maryed vnto Joseph/before they had layne together/she was espyed to be with chylde: which was by the holy goste. For she was saluted in wedlok and conceiued criste by the holy goste/before she knew (that is) slept with hir howsbonde/as the order of the text and story tolde/declareth.

when T[indale]. hath mended these fautes/I shal shewe him moo. And for al his grete diligence in adding the pistles of the olde Testament/ yet hath he missed the kushen in many placis/and must be compelled to mende hys fawtis aftir myn ensample/orels leue the reder as yt were in hys Maze sekyng for some of the pistles where he shal neuer finde them.

Paulis mynde is that. ii. or. iij. one aftir a nother 1. cor. 14. (thoughe Tin[dale]. translatheth two at once or thre at once contrary to the text) may interpret scriptures in the chirche/ wother men iuging and tryng their interpretations by the scriptures. And if aught be reueled and geuen to any other that sitteth bye and hereth the firste/the first man shulde holde his peace and here him/



and not euen anon to wryte any maliciouse and contencious pistle agenst him/as dothe T[indale] agenst me. Paule commandeth vs to do al thingis for the edifying and consolacion of the chirche/and not to destroye/auerte/confounde/and inquyete yt as hath T[indale]. done by his sclanderouse and sediciouse pistle. The mynde and sence of one interpretour/sayth paule/is subiecte vnto a nother interpretour/him to expende and iuge yt by scriptures faythfully and louingly/and shal not T[indale's]. interpretacion be then subiecte and iuged by wother men? will he not suffer a nother man to correcke and mende his fawtis? but anon must break forthe into raging and lying/writing so sclanderouse and shamelesse a pistle vpon his brother that so wel deserueth vpon his worke? And yf he be so blindly affeccionated as euery man is/with out the more grace vnto his owne werkis and sentence: yet ought he not to auenge himselfe on this maner/so sodenly and headely casting sich confusion into amonge the congregacion/For god is not the autor of confusion but of peace &c. And euen here/by this same troublouse touche of T[indale]. may euery indifferent reder se which of vs stode on the trwe parte/whether yt was I/in translating that worde other wyse then he did/or whether yt was he aftir warde euen continently in wryting so sclanderouse and venomouse a pistle declaring vnto all indifferent godly and not affeccionated reders of what spirit the man was caryed.

But god geue him a better mynde/and vs bothe grace to forgeue eche other/to repress al siche carnall affectis that we may be bothe reuiued and renewed with the spirit of peace and loue/that our spiritis departed from our bodis might liue with crist in heuen vntyl our bodyes aftir that sleape in the duste be awakened with the trompet of god/and resumed of our soulis to ryse and come forthe together into that gloriouse lyfe and ioyouse glorye/perpetually to prayse and magnifye our father by hys sonne our sauour in the holy gost/vnto whom be glorie and prayse for euer Amen.

Tindale verely might neuer abyde yt/that I especially (whether he so thynketh of wother men god knoweth) shuld translate/wryte/or medle wyth the scriptures/as thoughe

the holy goste with hys giftis were restrayned vnto onely Tin[dale]. and might not breath where him listeth / as though Tin[dale]. were lerned onely / and none but he. wherefore let euery ræder be warned and taught at this ensample and greuouse tentacion of this man (for I take yt no nother wyse) lest as Paule saith / we be puft vp with coninge voyd al charite which edifieth. Let vs not stonde to highly in our own opinion / lest whyle we apere lerned / we proue our selfe / and while we seme to stond faste / we lye groueling on the grownde gnawing the erthe / eting and deuowring our cristen brothers name and fame / besmering and dawbing eche other with dirte and myer.

But had it bene my enemye that thus had vniustely  
Psal. 55 reuyled and vexed me / I coulde haue borne him /  
 And yf my hater had thus oppressed me / I coude haue  
 had avoyded hym. But yt was thou my nowne felowe /  
 my companion in lyke perel and persecucion / my familiare /  
 so well knowne / vnto whom I committed solouingly my  
 secretis / with whom gladly I went into the house of  
 god. wherefore me thynketh he shulde haue ether borne  
 and winked at the calling of this worde *Resurrectio* the  
 lyfe aftir this / sith yt so signifyeth / or haue patiently  
 aboden wother mennis iugement / rather then wyth so  
 sclanderes a pistle / so sodenly to haue rente and torne  
 my name with so perpetual an Infamy and  
 with so many fayned lyes. whiche  
 all God forgeue the man as I  
 wolde be forgeuen my  
 nown selfe  
 Amen.

The. xxvij. daye of Februarye.









UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

REC'D MJD

University of California  
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY  
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388  
Return this material to the library  
from which it was borrowed.

5 1962

PR  
1121 The English  
E5 scholar's  
v.2 Library of  
old and modern  
works

*Anne M. M. M.*

PR  
1121  
E5  
v.2

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 297 677 7



Un