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PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A.D. 1583.

PART II.
The Display of Corruptions.



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IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART II.

The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation.

EDITED BY

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TO

MY FRIEND AND HELPER

Teena (Mary Lillian) Rochfort-Smith.



CONTENTS.

FORETALK, p. xi†.

Notes for Part II, p. xxix† ; for Part I, p. xxxvi†.

The Display of Corruptions, p. 1—116.

PART I. THE TEMPORALTY.

The state of England, p. 2 ; its Iron Age, p. 3 ; the Pope and Jesuits, p. 5, 6. Queen Elizabeth, p. 7, and her Council, p. 8.

I. Abuses in the LAW: Delay, p. 9 ; rascally Lawyers, p. 12 ; bad Prisons, p. 12.

Will-do-all, or Money, Lord of the Law, p. 13. One law for the Rich, another for the Poor, p. 14. Lawyers' fees too high, p. 16. Princes are to be obeyd absolutely, p. 17.

II. Abuses in EDUCATION: in Schools, and Colleges, p. 19 ; every Parish to have a well-paid Schoolmaster, p. 21.

III. Abuses in TRADE: *Merchants* are too rich, p. 21, and export goods needed at home, p. 22. They uze false weights, and lie, p. 23.

Drapers' and *Clothmakers'* tricks, p. 24 (and p. 34).

Goldsmiths' rogueries, p. 25. *Vintners'* cheating, p. 25.

Butchers' tricks, p. 26. *Grasiers'* high prices, p. 26.

Commons enclozed, p. 27. Sheep eat up poor men, p. 28.

Woolsellers' dodges, p. 28.

Landlords' extortions, p. 29 (and p. 45). Great rise in Rents, p. 30.

Fines demanded, p. 31, on renewal of Leases, p. 32.

Landlords the cause of high prices, p. 33.

IV. Abuses in APPAREL and its makers:—

Tailors' abominations, p. 33. *Drapers'* cheating, p. 34.

Ruffs of awful size are worn ; and Starching- and Trimming-Houses set up for these Devils Cartwheels, p. 35. Putting- and Setting-Sticks are uzed too, p. 36.

Tanners' and *Curriers'* rascalities in making bad leather, p. 36.

Shoemakers' tricks, p. 37 ; no good Shoes now, p. 38.

- Brokers'* iniquities, in buying stolen Drapery, &c., p. 38; inciting servants to pilfer, p. 39, and then dodging the Law, p. 40.
- V. Abuses in RELIEF OF THE POOR:—
 Gentlemen keep the poor waiting for a few scraps, p. 41.
 Strong, sturdy Beggars should be made to work, or be hangd, p. 42.
 The old and sick poor—who now die like dogs in the fields, p. 43—
 should be relievd by their own Parish, helpt by a rate on richer Parishes, p. 42.
 An Almshouse is wanted in every Parish, p. 43.
- VI. Abuses in HUSBANDRY AND FARMING:—
 Landlords are so grasping, p. 45. Corn is so dear, from hellish Ingraters buying it up, p. 45-6.
Husbandmen are up to all kinds of tricks, p. 47-8.
- VII. Abuses among *Chandlers*, p. 49.
 Of *Barbers*, and the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 50-1.
- VIII. Abuses among *Doctors*, p. 52. Quacks and Women: need of Licenses, p. 53.
Apothecaries, p. 55.
- IX. Abuses among *Astronomers and Astrologers*, p. 55; and *Prognosticators*, p. 56.
 Absurdity of supposing Men subject to Stars, p. 61-6.

PART II. THE SPIRITUALTY.

The Division of Congregations into Parishes, p. 68. The King of each country is Head of its Church, p. 69. Bishops are set over Dioceses, p. 71. All Ministers don't preach; some only read, 72.

Abuses of *wrong Preferment*, p. 73; *bad Pay*, p. 75; *Pluralism*, p. 75, or ignorant drunken *Substitutes*, p. 76-7; *Patronage* not being in each Church's hands, p. 79; *Evasion of the Law* by Patrons, p. 81; *Simony*, p. 81. Private Patronage should be abolisht, p. 82.

Ministers are entitled to Tithes, p. 83; but endowd ones should take no fees, p. 84. All Ministers should have fair Stipends, p. 86. Unbenefist ones may take pay for Preaching, p. 87; benefist ones may not, p. 88. Bishops should stop Vagrant Ministers, p. 89.

Every Church should appoint its own Minister, p. 90, 92. Bishops' Nominees should not be thrust on Churches, p. 91.

Unfit Ministers should resign, p. 93-5. Cowardly ones leaving flocks for fear of Disease are condemd, p. 95-8.

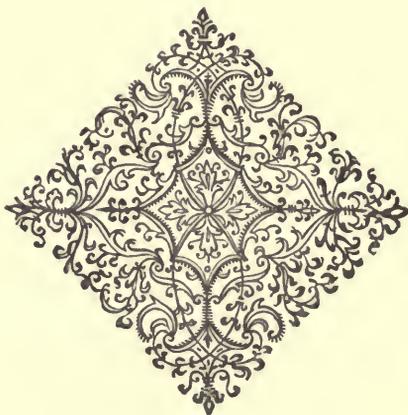
Ministers are to attend Death-beds, p. 98.

- Pastors are to be elected by each Church, with the Bishop's approval, p. 99. Eldership is not needed now, p. 100. Deacons' work is done by Churchwardens, p. 101.
- Bishops are needful, p. 101. Their titles come from the Sovereign, p. 102, 104. Christians should tolerate them, p. 103. The Pope is the Devil's Lieutenant-General, p. 104. Bishops may take the titles their Prince gives them, p. 105-6, but they mustn't exercise temporal authority, p. 107.
- Pastors' Dress; some abuse in it, p. 108. They may wear Surplices, &c., p. 109-110, and even Tippetts and Forkt Caps, if their Prince orders em, p. 111. Garments are a matter of Indifference, p. 112. A Pastor who leavs his Flock on account of a Surplice, is no good Shepherd, p. 113.
- Reformers should agree, and not quarrel about Trifles, p. 115.

This Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's *Restituta*, i. 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House and Poking-Stick bits (p. 35-6), and the scene in the Barber's Shop (p. 50-1). On p. 527 Haslewood says "that a limited impression of the whole work would materially assist the spirit of modern researches." A note on p. 530 states that "Copies of this edition [Part II] are attached to the third edition [1585] of the first part."

There is a copy of Stubbes's *Motive to good Workes*, 1593 (see Forewords to *Anatomie*, Part I, p. 67*), in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—W. C. Hazlitt. *Bibliog. Collections and Notes*, 2nd Series, 1882. I hope we may be able to print it some day in our *Shaksper's England Series*.

Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, a^o 1634," had for his 4th wife a "widow of Mr. Stubbes, but no issue." Harl. MS. 6164 (Visitation of Sussex, 1634), lf. 22, bk.



☞ The Committee of the *New Shakspeare Society* give express notice that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible for the opinions express in it.

FORE TALK.

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|---|---|
| <p>§ 1. <i>Stubbes still earnest, and finding fault only with real Evils</i>, p. xi†</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Proofs of the Abuses he complains of in Education and Trade, from Elizabeth's and James I's Statutes, &c.</i>;—<i>Colleges and Benefices</i>, 1588-9, p. xiii†
<i>Clothiers</i>, 1592-3, 1597-8, p. xiv†; <i>Tanners and Shoemakers</i>, 1603-4, p. xv†
<i>Brokers</i>, 1603-4, p. xviii†</p> | <p><i>Regraters of Corn, and Failers to keep up Hospitality</i>, 1596, p. xx†</p> <p>§ 3. <i>Poor Law and other Reforms cald for by Stubbes, since wrought</i>, p. xxii†</p> <p>§ 4. <i>Sum fresh news of Stubbes</i> p. xxiii†; <i>none of his Family</i>, p. xxv†
<i>A few Notes from Latimer, &c.</i> p. xxix†
<i>Corrections and Notes for Part I.</i> p. xxxiii†</p> |
|---|---|

§ 1. IN the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's *Anatomic* for the New Shakspeare Society in 1877-9, I said that I meant to reprint this Second Part, and I gave a list of the subjects treated in the first Division of it, that describing the Corruptions of the Temporalty. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spirituality, I gave only a mention at the foot of p. 35. Now pages viii-ix of the Contents above sufficiently sketch it.

Readers must not, as I warnd them before, expect to find in this Part II as much amuzement and interest as they found in Part I¹. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-1 below, the humour of which I commend to those who look on Stubbes as "a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan." But the Men and Women who are in earnest themselvs now, will find Stubbes in like earnest in this Second Part, as in his First, dealing with real abuses in the Life of his time, demanding that Justice be dealt to the Poor as

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

xiii † § 1. *Stubbes's Fault-finding, & liberal Church-views.*

fairly as to the Rich ; that endowments be kept for the Poor who dezerve them, and not jobd in favour of the monied folk who abuze them ; that Tradesmen shall deal honestly with their Customers,— Drapers and Clothiers not cheating, Butchers not selling diseazd meat ;—that rich men's Pleasures and Profit shall not, by Parks and Sheep, eat up poor men's Homes and Lives ; that Landlords shall not rack their Tenants to their ruin ; that strong and able Beggars shall be made to work, or be hung, while an Almshouse shall be set in every Parish for the sick and aged Poor ; that Doctors shall tend the Poor as well as the Rich, and that a Parish-Doctor shall be provided for the Poor ; that the evils of Forestalling shall be checkt, Astrologers punisht,¹ and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spirituality and Church matters, the view that Stubbes was a mere narrow Puritan utterly breaks down. He comes out as a preacher of implicit obedience to the Sovereign even when he orders what is wrong (p. 17-18) ; he accepts Bishops, ' My Lord Bishop ' too (p. 104-5), Surplices, Forkt Caps, and other externals which the Puritans held as signs of the Whore of Rome (p. 109—112) ; and his advice about all the trifles of garments about which men then, and since have, made such a needless fuss, is (p. 116):—

“ And seeing we do all agree together, and iump in one truth
“ having al one God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauior,
“ one holy Spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith,
“ one hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the
“ kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together in these ex-
“ ternall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to
“ agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend
“ about the karnell, and to vary about the shell? to agree in the
“ truth, and to brabble for the shadow? ”

This is surely as much a proof of his good sense, as are his demands that every Congregation shall have the Patronage of its own living (p. 79), and nominate its own Pastor—presenting two

¹ The 5 Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1562-3. “ An Act agaynst fonde and phantastical Prophecyes ” only applies to folk who put them forth “ to thintent therby to make anye Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, losse of Lief or other Disturbance within this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions.”

§ 2. *Stubbes right as to corrupt Presentations.* xiii†

or three to the Bishop that he may pick the best (pp. 90-2, 100), that the abuses of private Patronage shall be stopt (p. 80-2), Pluralism (p. 75-6) and Simony abolished, and that every Church shall have power to alter its form of external government from time to time (p. 101).

On the whole then, I claim that this Part II of the *Anatomic* more than bears out the favourable opinion of Phillip Stubbes that I uttered in my Forewords to Part I.

§ 2. In proof that Stubbes was not inventing the Abuses of which he complained, I've thought it right to make some extracts from the Statutes and a Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, and the Statutes of James I, 1. on the corrupt Presentations to Scholarships and Benefices; 2. on the tricks of Clothiers; 3. the bad work of Tanners and Shoemakers; 4. the thefts and evils (which we still know so well) arising from the wrongly-named 'Brokers'—our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers;—and 5. from the practice of Regrating. As of old, I quote mainly the words of the Statutes. Any one who finds em too long and tedious, will skip em.

(I.) A.D. 1588-9, 31 Eliz. chap. VI. "An acte against Abuses in Election of Scollers and presentations to Benefices."

"Whereas by the intent of the Founders of Colledges, Churches Collegiat, Churches Cathedrall, Scoles, Hospitals, Halles, and other like Societies within this Realme, and by the Statutes and good Orders of the same, the Eleccions, presentations and Nominacions of Fellowes, Schollers, Officers and other Persons to have roome or place in the same, are to be had and made of the fittest and most meete persons beinge capable of the same Eleccions, presentations, and Nominacions, freelye without anye Rewarde, Guyfte, or thinge given or taken for the same; And for true performance whereof, some Ellectors, Presentors and Nominators in the same, have or should take a Corporall Oathe to make their Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions accordinglye; Yet notwithstandinge it is sene and found by experience that the saide Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions be many tymes wrought and brought to passe with Monye, Guyftes and Rewardes, whereby the fyttest persons to be presented, elected or nominated, wanting Money or Friendes, are sildome or not at all preferred, contrarie to the good meaninge of the saide Founders, and the saide good Statutes and Ordynances of the saide Colledges, Churches, Scholes, Halles, Hospitalles and Socyeties, and to the great prejudice of

xiv† § 2. *Stubbes justified in complaining of Clothiers.*

Learning and the Common Wealthe and Estate of the Realme: For Remedye whereof, Be it enacted"—that all Elections effected by Bribery of any kind shall be void, and that the Queen or other Presenter shall appoint fresh persons to the void Offices. § 2 enacts that any one bribing to procure the resignation of a Fellowship or Office, shall lose the place, and that the Resigner accepting the bribe shall forfeit double its value.

§ 4 declares Simoniacal Presentations to Benefices, Dignities, &c. void; and that the Presentations shall devolve to the Crown, both Briber and Bribee paying a fine of double the amount of the Bribe.

§ 5 fines any one corruptly instituting a man to a Benefice, double the yearly value of it; declares the Institution void, and empowers the Patron to present some one else.

(II.) As to Cloth, the 35 Eliz. c. 10, A.D. 1592-3, recites the Queen's Proclamation of the year before "for the Reformatiō of thinsufficiencies growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Invençions and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceptes in Weaving, and all dymynshinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceptes in Tuckers," and then enacts that the Cloths shall be properly made, of good wool, and "without rackinge, stretching, streyning, or other Devise to increase the Lengh therof."

In 1597-8 "An Acte against the deceitfull stretching and tainting of Northerne Cloth," 39 Eliz. c. 20, is passt, because "the said Northern Clothes and Karsies doe yeerely and daylie growe worse and worse, and are made more light and muche more stretched and strayned . . . which great Enormities your faythfull Subjectes doe chiefflye impute to the great number of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Counties for the stretchinge and strayingne of the said Clothes and Karsies." So the Act forbids this stretching, and puts a penalty of £20 on any one who "shall have use or occupie any Tenter, of what sorte or kynde soever, or any manner of Wrinche, Rope, or other Engins to stretch or strayne any Clothes, Kersies, Dozens, Penystones, Rugges, Frises, Cottons, Kighley Whites, Plaine Grayes, or any other Clothes" made within the said Counties. (By the next-quoted Statute this Act is extended to all English Cloths.)

§ 2. *Stubbes's complaints of Clothiers and Tanners.* xv†

The abuse stretching over other Cloth Districts, and adulteration also prevailing, in 1601 "An Acte for the true workinge and making of Wollen Clothe" was past, saying that the former Acts "for the true makinge and workinge of Wollen Clothe" had been

"frustrated and deluded by strayingne, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtil sleightes and untruethes,¹ soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrincke rewey, purse, squallie, cocklinge, baudy, lighte, and notable faultie, to the great dislike of forraine Princes, and to the hynderance and losse of the buyer and wearer."

It is therefore enacted that

"no *persone* or *persons* shall put any Haire, Flocks, Thrummies or Yarne made of Lambes Wooll, or other deceivable thinge or things into or upon any broad Woollen Clothe, Half Clothe, Kersey, Frize, Dozen, Pennystone, or Cotton, Taunton Clothe, Bridgewater, Dunston Cotton . . . or other Clothe . . . upon paine to forfeit every suche Cloth. . . . And that no *persone* . . . shall . . . have use or occupye . . . any Tenter, Instrumente, Engine, or other Device . . . with any lower Barre, Pynne, Ringe, or other Engine or Device . . . wherebie . . . any rough and unwroughte Woollen Broad Clothe, Halfe Clothe, Kersey, Cotton, Dozen, Pennystone, Frize, Rugge . . . shall or may be stretched or strayed in breadthe," under a penalty of £20.

(III.) The Statute 1 James I. chapter 22 (A.D. 1603-4), not only confirms Stubbes's complaints about Leather-sellers, but also names another fault of theirs:—

§ x. "Much dammage hath redounded to the Common Wealthe by reason that divers Tanners for their private lucre have used to convert to Sole Leather suche Hides as are altogether insufficient for that use, which Hides they doe raise in the workemanshippe by divers Mixtures, therbie making the same to seeme verie stronge and substantiall Leather, whereas the same doeth in the wearinge proove hollowe, deceitfull, and altogether unprofitable for the Common wealthe,"—and enacts that all such raizd and converted Hides shall be forfeited.

¹ Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte againste deceitfull making of Cordage": the makers of 'Cables, Halsers and other kinde of Cordage' made em of 'oulde, caste, and overworne' stuff, tarrd em, and sold em as new, whereby not only Ships of the Queen and her Subjects "but also the Lyves of diverse of her saide Subjectes have bene loste, perished and caste awaye."

xvii† § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Tanners.*

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (1 Jac. 1, c. 22,¹ A.D. 1603-4. Record Statutes, vol. iv. Pt. 2, p. 1041):

§ xii. “. . . if any *person* or *persons* usinge, or which shall use, the Misterie or Facultie of Tanninge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter offer or put to sale any kinde of Leather which shalbe insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or which shall not then have beene, after the tanninge thereof, well and thorowlie dried, so that the same by the Triers of Leather lawfullie appointed accordinge to this present Acte for the tyme beinge shalbe founde to be insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried, as aforesaide, that then all and everie suche person and *persons* so offendinge shall forfeite and loose so much of his or their said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dryed as aforesaide . . .”

Then, as to what Stubbes says of the Tanners taking “vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned,” the Statute goes on in § xiii:

“And whereas divers Tanners, for greedines of gaine, doe overmuch hasten the tanning of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtile Practises, sometimes layinge their Leather in their Fattes set in their old Tanhils, where it may be tanned in the hott Woozes, takinge unkinde heate in the same Hill, and sometimes by putting of hot Woozes into their Tanne Fats where the same Hides or Leather lie, by which and other like Fraudulent Practises they make their Leather to seeme bothe faire and well, and sufficientlie tanned within a very short space.² For Reformation whereof, be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That after the saide Feaste of St. Bartholomew next comminge, no person or persons shall sett their Fattes in Tanhils or other Places where the Woozes or Leather that shall be put to tanne in the same, shall or may take any unkinde heates, or shall put any Leather into any hotte or warme Woozes, or shall tanne any Hide, Calve Skinne or Sheep Skinne, with any hote or warme Woozes whatsoever, upon paine that everie *person* so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such Offence, Tenne Poundes; And shall also, for everie such Offence, stand upon the Pillorie three severall Markett Dayes in the Market Towne next to the Place where the saide Offence shall be committed.”

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

² The right time is enacted by § ix: “Nor shall suffer the Hides for utter Sole Leather to lye in the Woozes any lesse tyme then Twelve Moneths at the leaste, nor the Hides for upper Leathers in the like Woozes any lesse time than Nyne Moneths at the leaste. . .”

§ 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Shoemakers.* xviii†

The Shoemakers, and their selling Horse hide for Ox-hide, &c. (p. 37, Stubbes), are dealt with in § XXIII. (p. 1043).

And forasmuch as Leather well tanned and curried, may, by the Negligence, Deceite, or evill Workmanshippe of the Cordwainer or Shoemaker, be used deceitfullie, to the hurte of the Occupier or Wearer thereof: Be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That no *person* or *persons* which, after the saide Feast of St. Bartholomew next *comminge*, shall occupie the Misterie or Occupation of a Cordwainer or Shoemaker, shall make or cause to be made any Bootes, Shoes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or any parte of them, of Englishe Leather, wet curried (other then Deere Skinnes, Calve Skinnes, or Goate Skinnes, made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanish Leather) but of Leather well and truelie tanned and curried, in manner and forme aforesaid, or of Leather well and truelie tanned onelie, and well and substantiallie sewed with good Threed well twisted and made, and sufficientlie waxed with waxe well rosened, and the stitches harde drawn with Hand Leathers, as hathe bene accustomed, without mixinge or minglinge Overleathers, that is to say, parte of the Overleathers beinge of Neates Leather, and parte of Calves Leather, nor shall put into anie *parte* of anie Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, any Leather made of a Sheepe Skinne, Bull Hide or Horse Hide, nor into the upper Leather of any Shooes, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or into the neither [nether] parte of any Bootes (the inner parte of the Shooe onlie excepted) any parte of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cutte, called the Wombes, Neckes, Shancke, Flancke, Powle, or Cheeke, nor shall put into the utter Sole any other Leather then the beste of the Oxe or Steere Hide, nor into the inner Sole any other Leather than the Wombes, Necke, Poll, or Cheeke, nor in the Treswels of the double soled Shooes, other then the Flancks of any the Hides aforesaide: nor shall make or put to sale in any yeere, betwene the laste of September and the twentieth of Aprill, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles, meete for any person to weare exceedinge the age of foure yeeres, wherein shall be any drie English Leather (other than Calve Skinnes or Goate Skinnes made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanishe Leather, or any parte thereof); nor shall shew, to the intent to put to sale, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles upon the Sunday; upon paine of forfeiture for everie paire of Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers and Pantofles made, solde, shewed or put to sale contrary to the true meaninge of this Acte, three shillinges and fourepence, and the juste and full value of the same."

(IV.) Against the evil of miscald 'Brokers'—really our Pawn-brokers and Marine-Store Dealers—buying stolen goods, and thus

xviii† § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Brokers.*

inciting folk to pilfer, which Stubbes condemns on p. 38-40, an Act was past twenty years later :—

1 James I, chap. 21 (A.D. 1603-4; p. 1038). "An Acte againste Brokers." This Act recites that "of large and ancient tyme by divers hundred yeeres . . . certaine Freemen of the Citie" of London had been appointed "to be Brokers within the saide Citie and Liberties of the same, and have taken their Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . . to use and demean themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant English and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contrivinge, makinge, and concluding, Bargaines and Contractes to be made betweene them concerning their Wares and Merchandizes to be bought and solde and contracted for within the Citie of London, and Moneys to be taken up by Exchange betweene such Merchant and Merchantes and Tradesmen, and these kinde of persons so presented, allowed, and sworne to be Brokers as aforesaide, have had and borne the name of Brokers, and bene knowne, called, and taken for Brokers, and dealinge in Brokerage or Brokerie, who never of any ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold stufte, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garmentes and Apparell, and all thinges that come to hand for Money, laide out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes, and to make open Shewes, and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hath [bene] and is used by a number of Citizens assuminge unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage, as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie, or Occupation, tearminge and naminge themselves Brokers, whereas in trueth they are not, abusinge the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker or Brokerage: And forasmuch as many Citizens Freemen of the Citie, beinge Men of Manuall Occupation, and Handicraftesmen and others inhabiting and remayninge neere the Citie and Suburbes of the same, have lefte and given over, and daylie doe leave and give over, their handie and manuall Occupations, and have and daylie doe set up a Trade of buyinge and selling, and taking to pawne of all kinde of worne Apparell, whether it be olde or little the worse for wearinge, Houshold Stufte and Goods of what kind soever the same be of, findinge therebie that the same is a more idle and easier kinde of Trade of livinge, and that there riseth and groweth [p. 1039] to them a more readie, more greate, more profitable and speedier Advantage and Gaine then by their former manuall Labours and Trades did or coulde bringe them: And Forasmuch as the said kinde of counterfeit Brokers, and Pawnetakers upon Usurie, or otherwise for readie Money, are growne of late to many Hundreds within the Citie of London, and other places next adjoyninge to the Citie and Liberties of the same, and are like to increase to farre greater Multitudes, being Friperers, and no Brokers, nor exercisinge of any honest and

§ 2. *Stubbes's complaints against Brokers.* xix†

lawfull Trade, and within the memorie of many yet livinge, such kinde of persons Tradesmen were verie fewe and of small number : And forasmuch as there are not any Garmentes, Apparell, Housholde Stuffle or other Goods of any kinde, whatsoever the same be of, either beinge stollen or robbed from any, or badlie or unlawfullie purloyned or come by, but these kinde of upstarte Brokers, under colour and pretence they be Freemen of the saide Citie of London, or inhabitinge in Westminster, where they pretende to have the like overt Market, as the Citie of London, and therebie presuminge to be lawfull for them to use and set up the same idle and needlesse Trades, being the verie meanes to uphold, maintaine, and embolden all kind of lewde and bad persons to robbe and steale, and unlawfullie to get and come by true Mens Goods, knowinge and findinge that no sooner the same Goods can be stollen or unlawfullie come by, but that they shall and may presentlie utter, vent, sell and pawne the same to such kinde of new upstart Brokers for readie Money: For Remedie whereof, and for the avoidinge of the saide Mischiefes and Inconveniencies, and for repressinge and abolishinge of the sayd idle and needlesse Trades, and upstart Brokers, and for the avoidinge of Theftes, Robberies and Felonies, and bad People, and for the repressinge of such kinde of Nourishers and Ayders of Theeves and bad People, and for the defence of honest and true Mens *properties* and *Interestes* in their Goods: Be it enacted . . . That no Sale, Exchange, Pawne or Morgage of any Jewell, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffle, or other Goods . . . that shall be wrongfullie or unjustlie purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen from any person or persons or Bodies Politicke, and which at any tyme hereafter shall be sold, uttered, delivered, exchanged, pawned, or done away within the Citie of London or Liberties thereof, or within the Citie of Westminster in the Countie of Middlesex, or within Southwarke in the Countie of Surrey, or within two miles of the saide Citie of London, to any Broker or Brokers, or Pawne takers, by any way or meanes whatsoever, directlie or indirectlie, shall worke or make any change or alteration of the *propertie* or interest, of and from any person or persons or Bodie Politicke from whome the same Jewels, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffle or Goods were or shalbe wrongfullie purloined, taken, robbed or stollen: Any Lawe, Usage of Custome to the contrarie notwithstandinge."

§ 2 enacts that Brokers and Pawntakers who refuse to produce Goods to the owner from whom they've been stolen, shall forfeit Double the Value of them.

§ 3, that the Act shall not affect those folk 'using and exercising the ancient Trade of Brokers betweene Merchant and Merchant.'

(V.) The evil of, and continued struggle of folk and lawmakers

against Regrating or Ingrating,—that is, buying-up all the get-at-able Corn or other produce, and then selling it out at a large profit—are so well known that confirmation of Stubbes's complaints is hardly needed; but as the Dearth of 1594-6 has appeared before in our *Stafford*, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the supposed date of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and otherwise, I give here short extracts from Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1596 relating to Regraters, and the duty of continuing Hospitality:—

“ BY THE QUEENE.

The Queenes Maiesties Proclamation, 1. For obseruation of former Orders against Ingrossers, & Regraters of Corne, 2. And to see the Markets furnished with Corne. 3. And also against the carying of Corne out of the Realme. 4. And a prohibition to men of hospitalitie from remoouing from their habitation in the time of dearth. 5. And finally a strait commandement to all Officers hauing charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.

THE Queenes Maiestie hauing had of late time consideration of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme,¹ iudging that the Rich owners of Corne would keepe their store from common Markets, thereby to increase the prices thereof, and so the multitude of her poore people hauing no graine growing of their owne, to susteine great lacke, caused speciall orders to be made and published to all parts of her Realme, in what sort the Iustices of peace in euery quarter should stay all Ingrossers, Forestallers, and Regraters of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers hauing Corne to furnish the Markets ratably and weekly with such quantities as vsually they had done before time, or reasonably might and ought to doe: By which orders, many other things were prescribed to be obserued for the staying of the dearth, and reliefe of the people: Yet neuerthelesse, her Maiestie is informed, that in some parts of her Realme the dearth doth not diminish, but rather increase for lacke of due execution of the sayd orders, and specially by the couetousnes of the Owners, forbearing to furnish the Markets, as reasonably they might do, and by secretly selling

¹ On July 31, 1596, in consequence of the scarcity of Corn, the Queen issued her Proclamation from Greenwich, forbidding Starch to be made of home-grown Corn, or even from Bran by the holders of the Patent for the manufacture of it from Bran.

In 1598 (May *4o.* 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

§ 2. *The Queen on Hospitality.* § 3 *Poor Relief.* xxii†

out of their houses to a kinde of people that commonly are called Badgers, at prices vnreasonable, who like wise do sell and regrate the same out of the Markets at very high and excessiue prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the obseruation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they haue any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countreyemen, being in need, to cause all and euery part of the sayd orders from point to point to be executed, and the offenders against the same to be seuerely punished, to the terrour of others. . .

Finally her Maiestie is particularly informed of some intentions of sundry persons, of abilitie to keepe hospitalitie in their Countreys, to leaue their said hospitalities, and to come to the Citie of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the reliefe of their poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie priuately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company; for withstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall haue any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their houtholds, nor to come to the said Citie, or other towns corporate: and all others that haue of late time broken vp their houtholds, to returne to their houses againe without delay. And whilest her Maiestie had thus determined, for reliefe of her people, to stay all good householders in their Countreys, there is charitable sort to helpe hospitalitie, her Maiestie hath had an instant occasion giuen her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme . . .

The obseruation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heauie indignation.

Giuen at her Maiesties Mannour of Richmond the second day of Nouember 1596, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of her Maiesties reigne.

God saue the Queene."

§ 3. On the subject of the Relief of the Poor, and Stubbes's reasonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's *History of the English Poor Law* (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reasonable demands I shoud not now include hanging a man who *can* work and won't; but before Stubbes's time, in 1547, the 1st of Edward VI, chapter 3, enacted that every idle person who ran away from work set him shoud be branded with the letter V, and be adjudgd a slave for 2 years to any person who should demand him; then, if he ran away again, he should be branded in the cheek with the letter S, and adjudgd a

slave for life ; and lastly, if he ran away a third time, he was to suffer death as a felon. This act was repeald in 1549-50, by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI, ch. 16 ; but in 1572-3, measures almost as harsh were re-enacted : beggars and vagabonds were to be grievously whipt, and burnt thro the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless any honest person would take them into service for a year. If he would, and the beggar ran away, then he was to be whipt, and burnt thro the ear ; for a second offence to be treated as a felon, unless some honest person would take him into his service for 2 years, and he continued in it ; while for a third offence he was adjudgd to suffer death, and loss of land and goods as a felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Stubbes was then, in 1583, only asking that the actual law should be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who woudn't work, should be hangd.

The same Act of 1572-3 orderd 'abiding places' to be provided for the aged and infirm poor, appointed Overseers to raise and apply taxes for their benefit, and sanctioned a rate on richer neighbours in aid of poor parishes who couldn't support their own poor. This legislation was developd by 18 Eliz. ch. 3, A.D. 1575-6, which enacted that a competent stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other stuff should be got, by taxation, to set the poor on work, and if they woudn't work, they were to be sent to 'houses of correction' and made to work.

After Stubbes wrote in 1583, came the 39 Eliz. chaps. 3 and 4, in 1597-8 ; 3 for the Relief of the Poor, and 4 for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars. Chap. 3 makes the appointment of Overseers in every parish compulsory, empowers them to tax inhabitants—and to levy a rate in aid on richer parishes—in orderto get material to support the idle poor at work, and provide for the sick and aged, and the care and apprenticing of children. This Act establishes the mutual responsibility of parents and children to maintain one another.

It also, by § 5 (vol. iv, Pt. 2, Record Com. Statutes, p. 897), empowers the Churchwardens and Overseers 'to erect, buyld, and sett upp in fit and convenyent Places of Habitacion . . . at the

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

generall Chardges of the Parishe . . . convenyent Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore ; and also to place Inmates or more Famylyes than one in one Cottage or Howse.'

Chap. 4 provides for the whipping of sturdy Beggars who won't work, and their committal to gaol, their banishment beyond seas, or their death, in case they won't give up their roguish kind of life.

'We are now arrived,' says Sir Geo. Nichols, i. 192, 'at the important period when by *The 43rd Elizabeth, cap. 2* (A.D. 1601), the principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was fully and finally established as an essential portion of our domestic policy.' This Act, 'the great turning-point of our Poor-Law Legislation, is still the foundation and text-book of English Poor Law' (i. 194). It carries out more effectually, and extends, the provisions of the prior Acts, and again sanctions the Rate in Aid. In 1610 the 7th of James I, chapter 4, provides for the building of Houses of Correction in every county ; but not till 1624 does the 21 James I—'An Act for the erecting of Hospitals and Working-houses for the Poor'—carry out what I take to be Stubbes's demand for an Almshouse in every parish ; while not till 1834 does the Poor Law Amendment Act provide for the Poor the proper Medical Relief which Stubbes cald for in 1583.

As to Education, Harrison (see my Part I. p. 77), Latimer before him (*Sermons*, Parker Soc. edn. i. 186, 290, 291, 349), and many others, but uttered the same complaints about the jobbing of Scholarships, Fellowships, &c. that Stubbes makes, page 19 ; and not yet has the jobbing of the nominations of Bluecoat Boys to Christ's Hospital been done away with.

The hardship to the poor of wholesale enclosure of Commons—another complaint of Stubbes's—has been long admitted, and is now partially stopt by the Law. That Stubbes was right in calling for proper examination and licensing of Doctors, the keeping out of tag, rag, and quacks (p. 53), no one will deny. And that he took a reasonable and moderate view of the religious topics disputed in his day, I think every one will admit. His Part II, then, supports the character that I drew of him from his Part I.

xxiv† § 4. *Stubbes's possible 2nd Marriage, and Bond.*

§ 4. Of Phillip Stubbes himself I have some fresh tidings ; of his family, none.

1. He may have married again in 1593, when he wrote his *Motiue to good Workes*. I have a melancholy interest in printing the late Col. Chester's letter to me on the point :—

124, *Southwark Park Road, London, S.E.*
18 Nov. '79.

“MY DEAR MR. FURNIVALL,

Did I ever send you the following Marriage from the Registers of St. Olave, Southwark ?

1593, April 3, Philip Stubbes and Elenor Powell—by License.

It has this moment met my eye in one of my volumes that has recently been indexed.

It would have been only 3 years after the death of your Author's wife Katharine Emmes.¹

Or, were there 'two Richmonds in the field' ?

A search for the License would, I fear, be hopeless, as those for that date issued from the Faculty and Vicar General's Offices are not in existence, and one from the Bp. of London would not have availed in Southwark.

Sincerely yours

JOS. L. CHESTER.

“The Powell Wills of the period might reveal the Connection.

The marrying *by license*, at that period, indicates that they were certainly not of the lower orders.”

2. Our Phillip Stubbes may be the man of that name at Benefield in Northampton, who in July 1586 executed a Bond of which Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, got hold in 1879. He writes on 13 Nov. 1879 :—

¹ Katharine Stubbes is alluded to in George Powell's '*Very Good Wife*, a Comedy. London. S. Briscoe, 1693,' p. 21, Act III. sc. i.

“*Well*. Death, fight now, or you'll die infamous, was your Mother a Whore ?

Squeez. Comparatively she might be in respect of some Holy Women, as the late Lady *Ramsey*, Mrs. *Katherine Stubbs*, and such, ha, ha, is that a Cause !”

§ 4. *Stubbes's possible Bond. Other Stubbeses.* xxv†

'I have now very little doubt that I have in my possession the Autograph of the Author of the "Anatomic," and it may besides furnish a clue to his family, and perhaps bring to light some particulars of his life hitherto unknown. The following is the reason of my forming this opinion: The Bond relates to a "messuage or tenement" in Congleton, Cheshire, which Phil. S. is granting to Will. S. to hold for ever, and the former binds himself to leave the latter in undisturbed possession. The Bond itself is in Latin, the Conditions in English—Now, coupling this with what the Author of the "*Anatomic*" says of knowing a man "for a dozen or sixteene yeares together" in Congleton (Part I. p. 136), whose death he relates as a warning to swearers, makes, I think, a very good case to show that they were one and the same person; and the house referred to in the Bond was in all probability where the Puritan spent a good many yeares of his life. He is described in the Bond as "Philippus Stubbes de Benefield al[ias] Beningfeilde in Com. Northt. generosus," and the other as "Willelmus Stubbes de Ratcliffe in Com. Midd. generosus"—

'I conjecture Phil. in the course of his rambles had settled for a time at Benefield, as he did afterwards at Burton-on-Trent. It is not stated whether Willm. was any relative, but it seems probable he was; perhaps brother. I enclose two extracts from the Chancery Proceedings relating to Willm., but I am not certain that the second extract refers to the same person. These I got the other day. I have made no searches at Congleton, Chester, or Benefield.'

‘CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

1 Nov. 1584. Bill filed by Robt. Wright, Citizen and Goldsmith of Lond. against William Stubbs of Ratcliff, Co. Middx., Gent.

23 Nov. 1598. Bill filed by William Stubbes of Radcliff, Co. Middx., Ropemaker (who about 4 yeares now last past inhabited and dwelt at Boston, Co. Linc., being unmarried and having a great family household by reason of his trade) against Thomas Stranrushe of the same town, Fuller.'

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

came from Congleton, and that a gentle family of the name was still in that neighbourhood. So I wrote there, and found that no Stubbes was known but a sweep. Still, Mr. J. P. Earwaker says in his *East Cheshire*, ii. 362: "In 1654 I find it stated in a MS. at Capesthorpe that "Nell, Nan, and Bess Stubbs, being mother and two daughters, were hanged [at Chester] for bewitching to death Mrs. Furnivall, wyfe to Mr. Anth. [a mistake for Ralph] Furnivall, daughter to Mr. J. Fellowes." Prof. Stubbs sent me this bit, and he finds that in 1595, William Stubbes of Congleton, gentleman, presented to the living of Gauseworth. The Congleton Records are, he says, full of Stubbeses; he has traced three generations of Congleton Jurors in the Town book—Ralph or Reynold, from 1540 onwards; John from 1565 or so; and then another Ralph at the beginning of James I's reign. He also found a Randall Stubbes in the first year of Elizabeth, who would do for our Phillip's father. He thinks the Astbury registers will most likely settle the matter. There is an account of some Stubbeses, he says, among the Rawlinson MSS. I paid for a search of the Chester Indexes, with the following result:

Chester Registry. List of Wills proved and Admons granted in the names of Stubbs and Stubbes from the earliest date of the Indexes, 1540 to 1630 both inclusive

- 1586 Will of Geoffrey Stubbs of Ludlow
- 1591 Will of Willam Stubbs of Gawsorth, County of Chester
- 1595 Admon of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester
- 1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1603 Admon of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester
- 1617 Admon of John Stubbs of Heaton, County of Chester
- 1621 Will of Nicholas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of Hulse
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1623 Will of George Stubbs of Knutsford, County of Chester
- 1624 Will of John Stubbs of Merton
- 1630 Will of Ann Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

None of these look likely.

4. *Stubbeses in Lincolnshire, Essex, &c.* xxviii†

Mr. Walter Rye felt sure that he'd find some traces of Phillip Stubbes at Donnington in Lincolnshire (where there's a town of that name as well as in Leicestershire): see Forewords to Part I. p. 59*),—but diligent search showd none, tho' the Will of a Richard Stubbes of Donnington in 1622 is in the Lincoln Consistory Court.

It is clear that our Phillip was not the son of Ralph Stubbes of St. Mary le Wigford in the City of Lincoln, whose will is dated 4 April 1558, prov'd 29 July 1559, and of whose estate a *de bonis non* grant was issued on Jan. 29, 1562-3. Ralph's will was registered twice over, being in 36 Chaynay and 5 Chare (Somerset House). It mentions his children John, Henry, Justinian, and Elizabeth Stubbes, &c. &c., of whom Justinian may well be the M.A. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, mentiond by Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, in the note on p. 53* of my Forewords to Part I. In the Chancery Proceedings temp. Eliz., S. s. 25, no. 31, Ralph Stubbes's executors claim £11 6s. 8d. of one Edmund, and in S. s. 23, £4 17s. 11½d. of Thos. Burton's executor.

The Essex Stubbeses yield no result either. There was a Philip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex, Will dated 19 June 1551, to whose estate the first Letters of Administration were granted on Sept. 25, 1555, and the second Letters on Oct. 31, 1561. He had an only son John, and a daughter Margaret. This John Stubbs of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex, and Cotton Hall, Suffolk, made his will dated in 1587, but his son Phillip was not then of age. The Will was prov'd in the Commissary Court of Essex and Hertfordshire on Sept. 10, 1596. The right of Administration to this Philip Stubbs, then late of Clacton Parva deceasd, was renounced by Elizabeth, his Relict, in March 1626; and in May 1627, Administration was granted to Edward Luckin of Tiltey, one of Philip Stubbes's Creditors.

In the Chancery Proceedings of the time of Elizabeth are notes of other Stubbeses:

- Richard Stubbe, and Anne his wife, Norfolk. G. g. 4, no. 59.
- John Stubbs of Norfolk. C. c. 14, no. 57.
- Richard Stubbs of Norfolk and Shropshire in vol. 3.

xxviii† § 4. *Divers Stubbeses in divers Parts.*

John Stubbs of Rutland, with sons William and Thomas, and a grandson Henry, 21 Eliz. 1579.

Wm. Stubbs of Radcliffe, Ropemaker, 23 Nov. 1598.—S. s. 5.

Alexander Stubbes of Codsall, Staffordshire yeoman. S. s. 6.

Richard Stubbs of Southwark, yeoman. S. s. 13.

Christopher Stubbs of Berkshire and Hampshire.

Edward Stubbs of Norfolk.

William Stubbs of Devonshire.

The name Stubbes occurs in a book dated 1626. John Gee. *New Shreds of the Old Snare*.—p. 121, "Factors employed for the conueying ouer of the said Women to the Nunneries. . . .

Master Peeters

Stubbes."

Then Mr. Ellacombe hoped that he'd hit on traces, in his parish, Bitton, Glo'stershire, of our Stubbes, and he sent me up his Register; but the only Stubbes entries in it show that the Rev. Henry Stubbes or Stubbe, when doing duty at Bitton—not being Vicar of it, had a daughter and a son baptized there:

"Mary daughter of Henry Stubbs, Clericus, was baptised February xith 1643."

"John the sonne of Mr. Henrie Stubbs, was babt. October xxvii." 1647.

There is no entry of the burial of any Stubbes from 1594 to 1643 (and a few years later).

Whether our Phillip Stubbes had anything to do with any of the folk above-named, I must leave to some future searcher to decide.

I have not tried to get up many Notes for this 2nd Part. Those to Part I. cost so much, that a second set, even were one possible, must not be indulged in. The text is reprinted from the copy of *The Display of Corruptions* in the Grenville Library, British Museum.

What have Books like the present one to do with Shakspeare? They help us to realize the England of his day, and the social evils that he must have seen.

3, *St. George's Square, N.W.*

July 18, 1882.

NOTES FOR PART II.

p. xxviii† Wills of John and Phillip Stubbes of Essex, and Ralph Stubbes of Lincoln :—

Jn. Stubbes, 1587.

(In Room 32) Will of John *Stubbes* of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex (and Cotton Hall, Suffolk), dated 1587, gives Cocks and appurtenances, and lease of Cotton Hall to his son Phillip (under age) when he attains 21. If he dies under 21, then to testator's wife Agnes for life, and then over. Provision for boy Phillip's maintenance, &c. Prov'd in Com. Court of Essex and Herts, 10 Sept. 1596. (Phillip livd. Admōn to him ab. 1622.—Grigson.)

19 *June, 1551.*

(P. C. C. Bucke, quire 25) *Will of Phillip Stubbes* of Little Clacton, Essex—most lands to wife Johane for life, part to son John on att. 21—if he doesn't, then to daughter Margret. If she dies under 18, then her share of personalty to son John. Evidently, only son John, and daughter Margret. No son Phillip.

25 Sept. 1555, authority to administer Ph. Stubbes's goods, granted to Rd. Blaxton, Ed. Assheman, and Edw^d. Shorte, the exōr Jn. Hockett having died.

31 Oct. 1561, Commission to Rd. Godfrey and Alice his wife to administer the goods not administerd.

Ralph Stubbes, Alderman of *Lincoln*, April 4, 1558 (of the parish of St. Mary's, Wygford, in the suburbs of the City of Lincoln). Will proved, July 29, 1559 :—

Gives all his property, less legacies and special bequests, to his 4 children, *John*, *Henry*, *Justynyan*, and *Elizabeth*. If any die without issue—they're evidently under age—his share is to go to the survivors.

Gives Christabell *Bartram* his sister, to her marriage, 20*£*; and if she die or she be maryed, then 16*£* to go to his 4 children, and 4*£* 'to my thre bretherne, *Henry Stubbes*, *John Stubbes* and *Thomas Stubbes*'.

Gives to his 'father *Bartrame* xij li. to bye the rest of the said house whiche he shulde purchase. And I wille . . . that John *Bartrame* shalhave the said house' in fee . . . (As to children's bringing-up) 'I will that my mother in lawe [*Margarete Smythe*] shall have the kepinge and bringyng vppe of my children duryng her lif, and after her death I will that John *Stubbes* and

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

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

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

HENRY STUBBE, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Gloucestershire,¹ was born in that county, became a student in Magdalen hall in the latter end of 1623, aged eighteen years; admitted bachelor of arts the 26th of January 1627, & master of arts the 8th of July 1630, took holy orders, and became a curate or vicar, sided with the puritans in the beinning of the rebellion, took the covenant, preached seditiously—took the engagement, and as a minister of the city of Wells was constituted one of the commissioners for the ejecting of such whom they then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. After his majesty's restoration, he lost what he had for want of conformity, retired to London, and lived there. He hath, among several things pertaining to divinity, written

Great Treaty of Peace, Exhortation of making Peace with God. Lond. 1676-77, oct.

Dissuasive from Conformity to the World. Lond. 1675, in oct.

God's Severity against Man's Iniquity. Printed with the *Dissuasive*.

God's Gracious Presence, the Sain't's great Privilege—a farewel Sermon to a Congregation in London, on 2 Thes. 3, 16. Printed also with the *Dissuasive*.

Conscience the best Friend upon Earth: or the happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience, very useful for this Age. London 1678, 8vo.; 1685 in twelves, and other things which I have not yet seen; among which is his *Answer to the Friendly Debate*, an. 1669 in octavo. When he died, I know not; sure I am that after his death, which was in London, his books were exposed to sale by way of auction the 29th of Nov. 1680.

[See a very amiable character of this writer in Calamy, who adds

1. *A Funeral Sermon for a Lady in Gloucestershire.*

2. *A Voice from Heaven; with his last Prayer.*

Granger, who mentions a small head of Stubbe, gives us the title of a third book omitted by Wood:

3. *Two Epistles to the professing Parents of baptized Children*, written a little before his death.

Calamy says that Stubbe was of Wadham college, which I cannot believe. He was certainly matriculated of Magdalen hall, April 16 [18, Col. Chester], 1624. See *Reg. Matric. Univ. Oxon.* PP. fol. 299, b.] He died on July 7, 1678, aged 73, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—(Col. Chester.)

Of this Henry Stubbes, Richard Baxter says in his *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, Part III. (written in 1670) p. 189 [After his *Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock, &c.*], § 66. In a short time I was called on, with a grieved heart,

¹ He was born, says Calamy [wrongly], at Upton in this county, upon an estate that was given to his grandfather by king James I, with whom he came from Scotland. *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 319.

Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbeses.* xxxi†

to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. *Stubbes* went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher, lohg a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London. I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God in solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me : but of him before.—*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 1696.

Part III. p. 95, § 205 (written 1670). But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know . . .

II. Old Mr. *Stubbs*, who joineth with him [Mr. *Turner*], is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at *Dursley* in *Gloucestershire*, an ancient grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of converting impenitent sinners to God : And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth [= presses out, excludes] the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity with a Spirit suitable thereunto. *Reliq. Baxt.* 1696.

Ant. Wood gives an account of another Henry Stubbes, whose father was a clergyman at Parterey in Lincolnshire, where he was born on Feb. 28, 163½. He was at Oxford, and ultimately turned Doctor. He was drowned on July 12, 1676, and buried in the Abbey Church at Bath. Him, Baxter mentions in the following passage of his *Reliq. Baxterianæ*, 1696 : *Life*, Part I. (written 1664), p. 75-6, "being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they impart to us the Blood of the King, I fully proved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it ; and that it was the Act of *Cromwell's* Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the *Vanists* as one sort. . . . Hereupon, Sir Henry *Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one *Stubbs* (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at *Oxford*) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a *Vanist* afterwards turned a Conformist ; since that, he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Bath."

Chaucer and Stubbes. In a short poem 'The | Laurel, | and the | Olive' : | Inscib'd to | George Bubb, Esq ; | By Geo. Stubbes, M.A. | Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxon. | London, | Printed for Egbert Sanger at the Post-Office at the | Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet .M.DCC.X. are some lines 'To the Author' ending thus :

So when revolving Years have run their Race,
Bright the same Fires in different Bosoms blaze ;
Known by his glorious Scars, and deathless Lines,
Again the *Hero*, and the *Poet* shines.
In gentler *Harrison*, soft *Waller* sighs,
And *Mira* wounds with *Sacharissa's* Eyes.

Achilles lives, and *Homer* still delights,
 Whilst *Addison* records, and *Churchill* fights.
 This happy Age, each Worthy shall renew,
 And all dissolv'd in pleasing Wonder, view }
 In ANN—*Philippa*, *Chaucer* shine in you. }

p. 6. *Papal Plots, Jesuits, &c.* Stubbes may allude specially to Campion's conspiracy two years before, of which Stowe—or Antony Munday—gives the following account in his *Annales* (ed. 1605, p. 1169), and a longer one in his additions to Holinshed's (or Reginald Wolfe's) Chronicle :—

[1581]. “On the 20. of Nouember, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Orton, Robert Iohnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the high bar at Westminster, where they were seuerally, & al together indicted vpon high treason, for that, contrary both to loue & duty, they forsooke their natie country, to liue beyond the seas under the Popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuers other places, where (*the Pope hauing with other princes practised the death and deprivation of our most gracious princesses, and utter subuersion of her state and kingdome,* to aduance his most abhominable religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in all causes whatsoever, being there, gaue their consent, to aide him in this most traiterous determination. And for this intent & purpose, they were sent ouer to seduce the harts of her maiesties louing subiects, & to conspire and practise her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie they were approoued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled & quartered.

The first of December, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine and Alexander Brian, seminarie priests, were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled & quartered. Looke more in my continuation of Reine Woolfes Chronicle.”

p. 9, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister Latimer hath said in a sermon made before King Edward the sixt. This is ‘The seconde Sermon of Master Hughe Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie, wythin hys graces Palayce at Westminster y^e. xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xlix.’ *Sign. E. 1.* “I must desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your grace would heare poor mens sutes your selfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is nowe, that mony is harde every wher: if he be ryche, he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other ar fayn to go home with weping teares, for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere mens sutes your selfe, I re quyre you in godes behalfe, & put it not to the hering of these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarse knowe them from an aunycnt Knyght of the countrye.

“I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desiryng me that I wyll speake that theyr matters maye be heard. . . . I am no soner in the garden

Notes on pp. 9—24. *Angel. Clothiers' Tricks.* xxxiii†

and haue red a whyle, but . . . some one or other . . . desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter myght be heard, & that [*Sign.* E. ii.] he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing . . . [E. ii. back]. I beseche your grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

“Heare them your selfe! Vieue your Iudges! And heare pore mens causes. And you proude Iudges, herken what God sayeth in hys holy boke. *Audite illos, ita parum ut magnum.* Heare theym, sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man—Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.* The iudgment is Goddes.

“Marcke thys sayinge, thou proude Iudge! The deuyl will [E. iii.] brynge thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Iudges, if they repente not and amende.

“They are worsse then the wicked Iudge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God nor the worlde. There was a certain wyddowe that was a suter to a Iudge, & she met hym in euery corner of the streete, cryinge: ‘I praye you heare me, I besech you heare me, I aske nothyng but ryght.’ When the Iudge saw hyr so importunate, ‘though I fear neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.’

“But our Iudges are worsse then thys Iudge was. For [*sign.* E. iii. back] they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunatenes, nor any thyng else. Yea, some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.”

p. 12, *an angel*, (for that is called a counsellers fee). The well-known lawyer’s ‘six and eightpence.’ Miss Rochfort Smith sends me the following Epigram, 594, from *Wits Recreations* :—

“Upon Anne’s marriage with a Lawyer.

Anne is an angel : what if so she be?

What is an angel but a lawyer’s fee?”

p. 19. *Colleges, &c, abused and peruerted.* See my Harrison’s *Description of England, 1577-87*, p. 77. On Education in Early England, see my Forewords to the *Babes Book, or Meals and Manners* : Early English Text Society.

p. 24, *stretching and thicking Cloth.* “I here saye, there is a certayne connyng come vp in myxyng of wares.
 Cloth makers are become Poticaryes, yea and amonge the Gospellers.
 “Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers should become poticaries.
 “Yea, and as I heare saye, in such a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busie the Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god. Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdcs *longe*, he wyl set hym on a racke, A pretti kind of and stretch hym tyll the senewes shrinke agayne, whyles he hath multiplynge. brought hym to xxvii. yardcs. When they haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a prety feate [*sign.* E. iii.] to thycke him againe. He Flocke powder. makes me a pouder for it, an playes the poticary : thei cal it floke

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

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

p. 24, *Dark Shops*. p. 49, *False Weights*. p. 22, *Merchants*. p. 47, *Farmers*. p. 29, *Gripping Landlords*. These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue their eares with false & flattering words, be they not Vsurers ?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight, and selle by another, be they not Vsurers ?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme, by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouderishing of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers ?

These *Farmers* that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, & Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therefore the next market day hoise vp the prises of all manner [p. 46] of victuall, be not these Vsurers ?

The *Land-Lordes* that doe sette out their liuings at those high rates, that their *Tenants* that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to giue a peece of Bread to the *Poore*, be they not Vsurers ? 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*. p. 45-6.

p. 27, *the commons . . . are inclosed, made seuerall*. Compare Shakspeare's phrase, in *Loues Labor's Lost*, II. i. 223, Qo. 1 :—

Bo. So you graunt pasture for me.

Lady.

Not so, gentle Beast,

My lippes are no Common, though seuerall they be.

Thomas Greene's Diary says, on 1615, Sept. 1. "Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe" Common. Leop. Shaksp. *Introd.*, p. cix. See p. 45* and 116 in *Stubbes*, Part I.

p. 28. *Enclosures of Commons*, &c. See Harrison, Part I., p. 306-7, and Latimer's 7th Sermon before Edw. VI, Sermon 14, Parker Soc., p. 248.

p. 28, *rich men's game eating up poor men's corn, grass, &c.* This goes on still, as every one in a game-preserving county knows. I heard Joseph Arch once say how his garden was cleared by Lord Warwick's rabbits, and how he in return took his own compensation in game.

p. 33, *Tailors*. "now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men, who were good and who were bad, but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were *Taylers* : would you heare my reason ? because I doe see the wisdom of women to be still ouer-reached by *Taylers*, that can euery day induce them to as many new-fangled fashions, as they please to inuent : and the wisdom of men againe, are as much ouer-reached by women, that canne intice their husbandes to surrender and giue way to all their newe-fangled follies : they are *Taylers* then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women that can besot the wisest men : so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion be good, that because *Iacke*, his youngest sonne, ouer-ruled his mother, and *Iackes* mother agayne ouerruled M. Maior himselfe,

and M. Maior by office ouerruled the Towne, *Ergo*, the whole Towne was ouerruled by *Iacke*, Ma. Maiors sonne : by the same consequence, I may likewise conclude, that *Taylers* are the wisest men : the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all *Fooles*, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole worlde with their newe inuentions : but are they women alone that are thus seduced by *Taylers*? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me, if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyes, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish

“The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the *Idole-maker*, then to the *Idole* it selfe ; now (vnder the correction of *Diuinitie*) I would but demaund, what are these *Puppet-making Taylers*, that are euery day inuenting of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call *Attyre-makers*, the first inuenters of these monstrous Periwys, and the finders out of many other like immodest Attyres : what are these, and all the rest of these *Fashion Mongers*, the inuenters of vanities, that are euery day whetting their wits to finde out those *Gaudes*, that are not only offensiue vnto God, but many wayes preiudiciall to the whole Common wealth : if you will not acknowledge these to be *Idolmakers*, yet you cannot deny them to be the *Deuils enginers*, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornise such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but *Idolles*, for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they haue eares, but they cannot heare the Iudgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie.” 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 23.

p. 35. *Ruffes*. See Part I, p. 52, 240-2.

p. 41, 42. *The Poor, and Beggars*. See my Harrison, Part I, p. 213, &c.

p. 51, *long hair*. In 1614, Barnabee Rych asks : “And from whence cometh this wearing, & this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men, in freziling and curling of their hayre, this gentlewoman-like starcht bands, so be-edged, and be-laced, fitter for *Mayd Marion* in a *Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage, that should be in a gentleman?”—*The Honestie of this Age*, p. 35. “There are certaine new inuented professions that within these fourtie or fiftie years, were not so much as heard of,” says Rich, p. 24, “& yet have become flourishing, namely, ‘Attyre-makers,’ Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainful trades are,” he says, p. 28, “the first is to keepe an *Ale house*, the 2. a *Tobacco House*, and the third to keepe a *Brothell House*.”

p. 57. *A marvellous strange coniunction*. This alludes to R. Harvey’s notorious tract address to his brother the author Gabriel Harvey, “An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Conjunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583,” 18 mo. *black letter*. *H. Bynneman*, 1583. The years 1588 and 1593 were to be “dangerous years” too. See my note in *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 151-4.

p. 82. *Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in every apple*. This is in “The fiftie Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche

he prached before the kыnges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palaice at Westminster the fyft daye of Aprill" [1549]. *Sign.* R. iii. "Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of mine came vnto hym, and brought hym xxx. Apples in a dysh, and the merye tale of the patrone that sold a gaue them hys man to carrye them to hys mayster. It is like he benefyce for a gaue one to his man for his labour to make vp the game, and so deyntye dyshe of Apples. ther was .xxxii.

"This man commeth to his mayster, and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge: 'Syr, suche a man hath sente you a [*R. iii. back*] dyshe of frute, and desyreth you to be good vnto hym for suche a benefyce.' 'Tushe, tushe,' quod he, 'thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde.' The man came to the preest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. 'Then,' quod the priest, 'desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for.' He cut one of them, and founde ten peces of golde in it [$\text{£}10 = 30$ Angels]. 'Mary,' quod he, 'thys is a good apple. The pryest standyng not farr of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, 'they are all one apples, I warrante you, Syr, they grewe all on one A graft of gold tree and haue all one taste.' 'Well, he is a good fellowe [*sign.* R. to get a benefyce wythal is iiiii.], let hym haue it,' quod the patrone, &c. Get you a grafte of worth a great thys tre, and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade deale of then all Sayncte Pauls learnyng. Well, let patrons take hede, learnyng. for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute.'" See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge flayd alive by Cambyses; the pudding-story, p. 140.

NOTES FOR PART I.

- p. 60*, note 2. The woodcut is at the back of the Dedication, p. 2*.
- p. 86*. See too the *Homily* against Idleness.
- p. 89*. Dice, wine, and women, wonne, drunke, & spent all,
And now he liues a vassall at each call.
1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. E. 2, back, 'On a ruind Gallant.'
- p. 95*. The cut of Irish Costumes is from the Additional MS. 28,330 in the British Museum: a Dutch 'Short Description of England, Scotland & Ireland,' 1574.
- p. 97*. There is no ornamental border round the original 1584 Title-page.
- p. 231. *Velure*, &c. See note p. 363-4, Dekker's Works, 1874, vol. iii.
- p. 232. Nash's *Anatomic of Abuses* was entered in the Stationers' Registers in advance, on Sept. 19, 1588.
- p. 236. *Farrrefetched and deare bought*. "we vse to say by manner of

Notes for Part I, pp. 248—375. *Football, &c.* xxxvii†

Prouerbe, 'things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.'" 1589. Puttenham, p. 193, ed. Arber.

p. 248. Andrew Boorde's cut is also alluded to in the Homily against Excess of Apparel; and by Dekker, p. 77* above.

p. 271, 273. *Women's face-painting.*

"Whers the Deuill? . . .

He's got into a boxe of Women's paint. . . .

Where pride is, thers the Diuell too."

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2.

p. 280. See the Homily against Whoredom and Adultery.

p. 284. See the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

p. 293. *Prisons.* See too in 1618, Geoffrey Mynshul's *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.*

p. 296. *Sunday Sports, &c.* See Humphrey Roberts's, 'An earnest Complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises practised on the Sabbath day,' 1572. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, p. 360-1.

p. 307, at foot: *beaten with a Brewers washing bittle, drunk.*

"these people

Are all brainde with a Brewers washing beetle."

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2, back.

p. 318. *Deaths at Football.* Coroner's inquest on one Gibbs kild in a game. "The Coroner, in summing up, advocated a return to the rules practised in football twenty years ago, for, *as now played, it was only worthy of a set of costermongers.*" See also the notice of the Mayor of Southampton prohibiting football under Association or Rugby rules, on the town's public lands.—*Echo*, Dec. 11, 1880. On Saturday . . . Mr. Joseph Hunter at Sheffield had his arm and three ribs broken; at Mexborough a young man named William Howitt had his arm and leg dislocated.—*Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1880.

p. 349. Insert *Abandon*, v. t. banish, 125. *Ames ace & the dice*, 37*. *Deuse ace*, 272; a man's genitals.

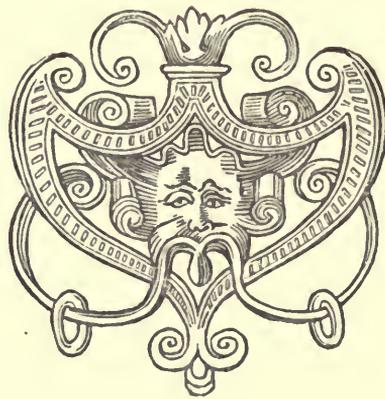
p. 352, col. 2. Insert *Breasts*: see Bare, and Naked.

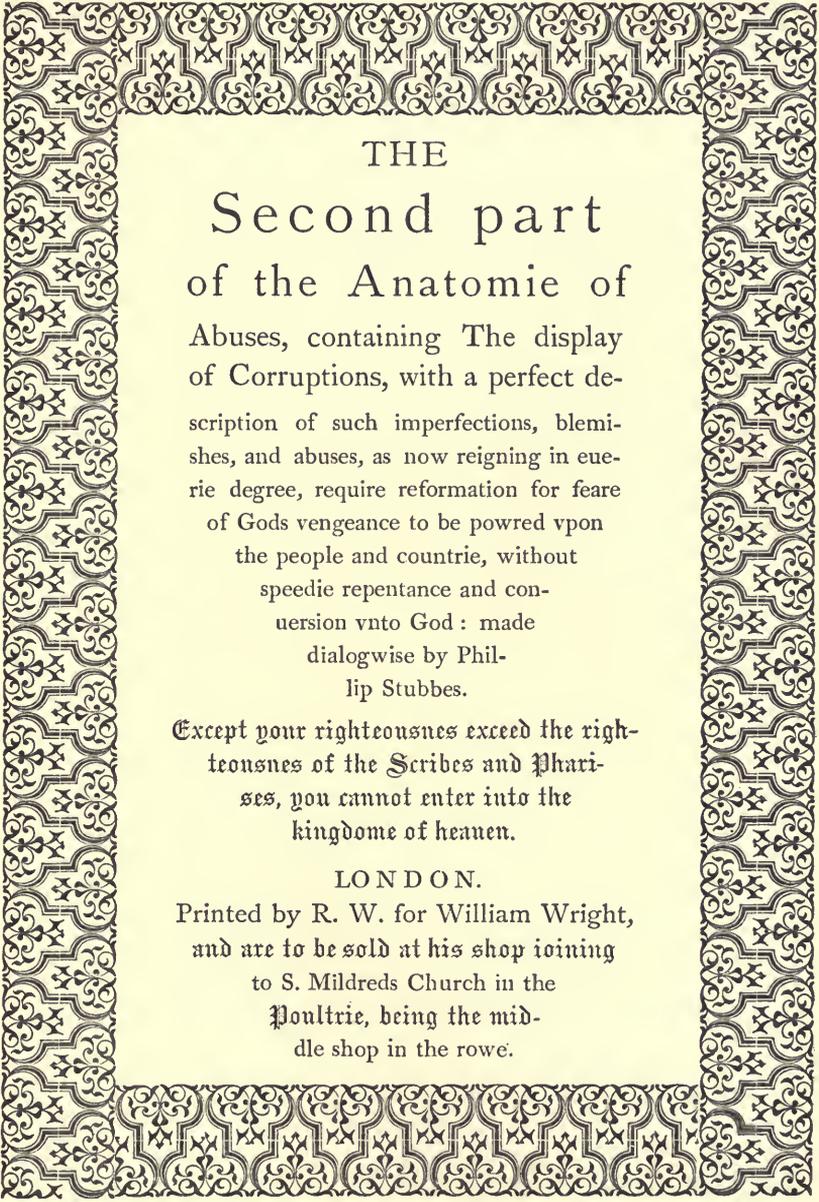
p. 356, col. 2. *Disgesture*, digestion. "Glut with gazing, surfet with seeing and relish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preseruatiues, not poyson, though harsh in *disgesture*. 1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. A. iij.

p. 362, col. 1. Insert *Honeymoon*, p. 376, n. 1.

p. 371, col. 2, to 'Spanish &c.' add 'boots, 242.'

p. 375, col. 1. Insert *Venetians* 250. 'Grecques; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.' 1611. Cotgrave; and *Venetian hose*, 56.





THE
Second part
of the Anatomie of

Abuses, containing The display
of Corruptions, with a perfect de-
scription of such imperfections, blemi-
shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-
rie degree, require reformation for feare
of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon
the people and countrie, without
speedie repentance and con-
uersion vnto God : made
dialogwise by Phil-
lip Stubbes.

Except your righteousnes exceed the righ-
teousnes of the Scribes and Phari-
ses, you cannot enter into the
kingdome of heauen.

LONDON.

Printed by R. W. for William Wright,
and are to be sold at his shop ioining
to S. Mildreds Church in the
Poultrie, being the mid-
dle shop in the rowe.

THE DISPLAY OF

corruptions, requiring refor-

mation for feare of Gods iudge-

ments to be powred vpon the people

and country without spee-

die amendement.

The speakers, THEODORVS and AMPHILOGVS.¹



OD bleffe you my friend, and well ouertaken.

Amphilogus. You are hartilie welcome, good fir,
with all my hart.

Theod. How farre purpose you to trauell this way
by the grace of God?

Amphil. As far as *Nodnol* if God permit.

Theod. What place is that, I pray you, and where is it scituate?

Stubbes is
going to London.

Amphil. It is a famous citie and the chiefest place in *Dnalgne*:
haue you not heard of it?

Theod. No truely. For I am a stranger, and newly come into
these countries, onely to see fashions, and to learne the state and con-
di²tion of those things whereof I am ignorant.

Amphil. What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be
so bold as to aske?

Theod. I am of the country and nation of the *Idumeans*, a cruell,
fierce, and seruile kind of people.

Amphil. I haue beene in those countries my selfe ere now, and
therefore it is maruell that you knowe me not.

He says he's
been in Idumea.

Theod. Me thinke I should knowe you, but yet I cannot call your
name to remembrance.

Amphil. My name is *Amphilogus*, somtime of your acquaintance,
though now you haue (through tract of time, which is *Omnium*

¹ *Amphilogus* is Stubbes. The side notes are all mine. Stubbes put notes to
his First Part only.

² B I, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.'

22

2 II. 1. *England the wickeded Country under the Sun.*

rerum edax, A deuourer of al things) forgot the fame. But notwithstanding that you haue forgot me, yet I remember you very well : is not your name Maister *Theodorus* ?

Theod. Yes truly, my name is *Theodorus* ; I neither can, nor yet will, euer denie the fame.

Amphil. What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence ?

Theod. Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation, to learne the toong, and to see (as I told you) the state generally of all things.

¹ *Amphil.* You are most hartily welcome, and I, hauing beene a traueler, borne in these countries, and knowing the state thereof in euerie respect, to congratulate your comming, will impart vnto you the substance and effect therof in as few words as I can.

Theod. I praie you then giue me leaue (vnder correction) to aske you such necessary questions, as are incident to my purpose, and which may serue for my better instruction in all the foresaide preniisses ?

Amphil. Go to then, aske on in the name of God, and I will addressse myself to satisfie your reasonable requests in anything I can.

Theod. What be the inhabitants of this countrie ? Be they a vertuous, godlie, and religious kinde of people, or otherwise cleane contrarie ?

Amphil. Surely they are, as all other countries and nations be for the most part, inclined to sinne, and wickednes, drinking vp iniquitie as it were water ; but yet I am perswaded that, albeit all flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of GOD, yet is there not any nation or countrey vnder the sunne, that for pride, whoredome, droonkennes, gluttonie, and all kinde of oppression, iniurie and mischiefe, may compare with this one country ²of *Dnalgne*, God be mercifull vnto it, and hasten his kingdome, that all wickednes may be done away.

Theod. Then, as in all other countries where euer I haue trauelled, so in this also is verified the old adage, namely, that the first age of the world was called *Aurea ætas*, the golden age, for that men liued godlie and in the feare of God ; the second age was called *Argentea ætas*, the siluer age, for that men began somewhat to decline, and fall from their former holinessse, and integritie of life, to sinne and wicked-

Stubbes will describe the state of England.
[¹ Sig. B 2]

No nation is so proud, drunken, and so full of mischief, as England is.

[² Sig. B 2, back]

1. The Golden Age.
2. The Silver.

nes: the thirde and last age, which is this that we are fallen into, is and may justlie be called *Ferrea* or *Plumbea ætas*, the yron or leaden age, in as much as now men are fallen from all godlineffe whatsoever, and are as it were wedded to iniquitie, committing sinne without any remorse, and running into all kinde of abhominacion and impietie, without restraint. All which things dulie in the good hart of a faithful christian considered & weied, may easily persuade a wise man to think their destruction to be at hand, except they repent.

3. The Iron or
Leaden Age, our
sinfull one.

Amphil. You say verie well. Therefore I would wish them to take heed to themselves, and to leaue their wickednes before the Lords wrath be gon out against them; for let them be ¹sure, that when the measure of their wickednesse is full, then will the Lord cut them off from the face of the earth, if they repent not, and truly turne to the Lord. The wise man saith, that a little before destruction come, the hart of man shall swell into pride, and wickednes. Our sauiour Christ saith, when men flatter themselves, and 'saie "peace, peace, al things are well, we neede not to feare anything," then, euen then, shall sudder destruction fall vpon them, as sorrow cometh vpon a woman traueiling with childe, and they shall not escape, because they would not knowe the Lord, nor the day of his visitation.' Which thing we see to be true through all the histories of the sacred Bible; for when the Sodomits and Gomorreans had filled vp the measures of their iniquitie, and faciate themselves in sinne, then came there fire and brimstone raining from heauen vpon them and their citie, and consumed them all, from the vpper face of the earth. When all the worlde in the daies of Noah, was giuen ouer to sinne, and wickednes, immediatelie came the floud of Gods vengeance, and destroyed them all, eight persons—to wit, Noah, his wife, his three sonnes and their wiues,—who serued the Lord in true simplicitie of hart, onelie excepted. The Hierosoltitanes ²when their sinne was ripe, were they not confounded, and put to the edge of the sword? When Pharaoh the king of Egypt his sinne was ripe, did not the Lord harden his hart to pursue the Israelits, and so drowned him and all his retinue in the read sea? Herod and Nabuchadnezer swelling in sinne, and rising vp against the maiestie of God in the malice of their harts, was not the one stroken dead in a moment, and eaten vp with worms, the other deposed from his kingdome, and constrained to eate

[¹ Sig. B 3]

But God 'll cut
the sinners off.

Destruction'll
follow Pride,

as it did with
Sodom and Go-
morrah,

in Noah's days,

[² Sig. B 3, back]

with Pharaoh,

Herod and
Nabuchad-
nezzar.

4 II. I. *England fertile. The 3 sorts of Englishmen.*

graffe with the beasts of the earth ; with the like examples, which, for the auoiding of prolixitie, I omit. By all which it appeareth, that when destruction is neereit, then are the people the securest, and the most indurate and frozen in the dregs of their sinne ; and being so, the sequele is either confusion in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I beseech the Lord, that both this country, and all others, may repent, & amende euerie one their wicked waies, to the glorie of God and their owne saluation.

Theod. Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie ?

Amphil. There is no nation or country in the world, that for store, and abundance of all things, may compare with the same ; for¹ of all things there is such plenty (God haue the praise thereof) as they may seeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In so much as if they were wise people (as they be wise inough, if they would vse their wisdome well) to keepe their owne substance within themselues, and not to transport it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne priuate gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whilest other countries should languish and want. But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

Theod. I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries ?

Amphil. It lieth inuironed with the ocean sea rounde about ; vpon the one side eastwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of Frauce : vpon the other side westward, vpon Irelande ; towards the septentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland ; and vpon the south side it respecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three sundrie sortes of people, Englishmen, Cornishmen, and welchmen, all which, if not in lawes and constitutions, yet in language, doe differ one from another. But as they doe differ in toong and speech, so are they subiect (and that *Patrio iure*, By iustice and law)² to one Prince, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegiance.

Theod. Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it selfe, or otherwise troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill dissentions ?

Amphil. The whole lande (God be praised therefore, and pre-serue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained !) is,

When Destruction is neereit, folk are securest.

England is a plentiful land,

¹ Sig. B 4]

but covetous wretches export its goods.

It has Englishmen, Welshmen, Cornishmen, whose speech differs from one another.

[² Sig. B 4, back]

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it selfe, but also abroad, for this foure or fiue and twenty yeeres. During all which time there hath beene neither wars, inuasions, insurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a fort of arch-traitours, who haue receiued but the same reward they deserued, and the fame that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receiue hereafter, if they practise the same which they haue done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioid since hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preserve hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

England has been at peace for 25 yeeres.

Theod. Are the other countries, lands, and nations about them (for as I gather by your former intimations, this country is scituate as it were in the centrie, or midst of ¹others) their friends, and well-willers, or their enemies?

[¹ Sig. B 5]

Amphil. It is an old saieng and true: *Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis est*: Of things vncerteine, a christian man ought to iudge and hope the best. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too true) that they are so far from being their friends (*Nisi verbo tenuis*, From mouth outward onely) that they haue vowed and sworne their destruction, if they could as easily atchiue it, as they secretly intend it. Which thing to be true, some of their late practises haue (yet to their owne confusion, Gods name be praised) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of sinne, that sonne of the diuell, that *Italian Antichrist of Rome*, interdicted, excommunicated, suspended, and accursed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he sent fourth his roring buls against hir Maiestie, excommunicating (as I haue said) hir Grace, and discharging hir Highnesse liege people and naturall subiects, from their allegiance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conspired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of hir Maiestie and Nobilitie, by con²juratation, necromancy, exorcismes, art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie besides, wherein the most part of them are skilfuller than in diuinity? And when these deuises would not take place, nor effect as they wished, then attempted they by other waies and meanes to ouerthrowe the estate, the Prince, nobles, people and country: sometime by secreet irruption, sometime

But it has lip-friends who hate it.

That son of the Devil, the Pope,

has conspired the Queen's death, [² Sig. B 5, back]

and tried to overthrow the land.

6 II. I. *Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.*

by open inuasion, infurrection, and rebellion, sometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimes by one meanes, sometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and subuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by sending into the realme a sort of cutthrotes, false traitors, and bloudthirstie Papists, who vnder the pretence of religious men (in whom for the most part there is as much religion as is in a dog) should not onely lurke in corners like howlets that abhorre the light, creepe into noble mens bosoms, thereby to withdrawe hir Maiesties subiects from their allegiance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take sword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselfe (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuouflye behaue themselues. And forsooth these goodlie fellowes, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the ¹diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preefts, and catholikes, vsurping to themselves a name neuer heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriued from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it preuaile them to be like vnto Iesus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themselues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, together with their corrupt liues and conuersations are directly contrarie to the doctrine, religion, life, and profession of Christ Iesus? There is nothing in the world more contradictorie one to another, than all their proceedings in generall are to Christ Iesus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promise to themselues such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, such as doth merite *Ex opere operato*, Eternal felicitie in the heauens. And thus they deceiue themselues, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them inough.

Theod. Surely that country had neede to take heed to it selfe, to feare, and stand in awe, ²having so manie enimies on euerie side. And about all things next vnto the seruing of God, to keepe themselues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soeuer they make them. The sweeter the *Syren* singeth, the dangerouiser is it to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice neuer meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

The Pope has sent here blood-thirsty Papists

to stir up rebellions.

[¹ Sig. B 6]
These Devil's agents are calld Jesuits,

but their every deed and word is directly contrary to Christ's.

They delude the world with their trash.

[² Sig. B 6, back

II. I. *Jesuits denounst, Queen Elizabeth praised.* 7

meaneth to sucke thy blood. The stiller the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true saying: *Sub melle iacet venenum*, Vnder honey lieth hid poison. *Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber*, vnder the pleafantest grasse, lurketh the venemouft adder. Take heed of those fellows that haue *Mel in ore, verba lactis*, sweet words and plausible speeches: for they haue *Fel in corde*, and *Fraudem factis*, Gall in their harts, & deceit in their deeds. So falleth it out with these ambidexters, these hollowe harted friends, where they intend destruction, then will they couer it with the cloke or garment of amity & friendship; therefore are they not to be trusted.

These Jesuits are ambidexters, hollow-hearted friends,

Amphil. You say the truth. For I am thus persuaded, that he who is false to God (as all ¹Papists with their complices and adherents are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

[¹ Sig. B 7]

never true to prince or country

Theod. Considering that this country of *Dnalgne* is enuied abroad with so many enimies, and infested within by so many seditious Papists, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can stand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wise politike prince, and good gouernors, either else it were vnpossible to preserue the same in such peace and tranquillitie, and that so long together. I pray you therefore by what prince is the same gouerned, and after what maner?

Amphil. The whole realme or country of *Dnalgne* is ruled and gouerned by a noble Queene, a chaste Maide, and pure Virgin, who for all respects may compare with any vnder the sunne. In so much as I doubt not to call hir sacred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or storehouse of all true virtue and godlines. For if you speake of wisdom, knowledge and vnderstanding, hir Grace is singular, yea, able at the first blush to discerne truth from falsehood, and falsehood from truth, in any matter, how ambiguous or obscure soener: so as it may iustly be called into question whether ²*Salomon* himselfe had greater light of wisdom instilled into his sacred breast, than hir Maiestie hath into hir highnes roiall minde. If you speake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vsuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath hir peere, or not. If you speake

England is governd by a noble Queen,

virtuous and godly, wise and understanding,

[¹ Sig. B 7, back]

learned in the tongues.

modest, gentle,
affable,

merciful,

religious, just,

more divine than
earthly.

The Lord pre-
serve her !
[¹ Sig. B 8]

The Queen's
Council are wise
and experient
men,

who make the
laws, which are
carried out by
Magistrates.

[² Sig. B 8, back]

of sobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentleness, it is woonderfull in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace, as she will not disdain to talke familiarlie to the meanest or poorest of hir Graces subjects vpon speciall occasions. If you speake of mercie, and compassion to euery one that hath offended, I stande in suspence whether hir like were euer borne. If you speake of religion, of zeale and feruencie to the truth, or if you speake of the vpriht execution or administration of iustice, all the world can beare witnes, that herein (as in all godlinesse else) hir Highnes is inferior to none that liueth at this day. So that hir Grace seemeth rather a diuine creature, than an earthly creature, a vessel of grace, mercie and compassion, whereinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of his superabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increase the fame in hir ¹Highnes roiall breast, and preferue hir Grace, to the end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiesties subiects, and confusion of all hir enemies whatsoever.

Theod. What is hir Maiesties Councill? It should seeme that they must needs be excellent men, hauing such a vertuous Ladie and Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

Amphil. The Councill are Honorable and noble personages indeed, of great grauitie, wisdome, and pollicie, of singular experience, modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in giuing counsell renowned, for the administration of iustice incomparable, finally, for all honorable and noble exploits inferior to none, or rather excelling all. So as their worthie deedes, through the golden trumpe of fame are blowne ouer all the worlde. The whole regiment of the Realme consisteth in the execution of good lawes, sanctions, statutes, and constitutions enacted and set forth by hir royall Maiestie and hir most honorable Council, and committed by the same to inferior officers, and maieftrates to be put in practise, by whose diligent execution thereof, iustice is maintained, vertue erected, iniurie repressed, and sinne seuerely punished, to the great glorie of God, and ²common tranquillitie of the Realme in euery condition.

Theod. Is the lande diuided into shires, counties, precincts, and feuerall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be maintained? And hath euery county, shire, and precinct, good lawes in the same for the deciding and appeasing of controuersies that happen

in the same, so that they neede not to seeke further for redresse than in their owne shire?

Amphil. The whole land indeede is diuided (as you say,) into shires, counties, and severall precincts, (which are in number, as I take it, 40). In euerie which shire or countie, be courts, lawe daies, and leets, as they call them, euerie moneth, or every quarter of a yeere, wherein any controuerfie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, so that none needs (except vpon some speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuerfie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dylie, so are there corruptions and abuses not a few crept into them. For sometimes you shall haue a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeere, yea, a twelue month, two or three yeeres together, yea, seauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can ¹be made. This deferring of iustice is as damnable before God, as the sentence of false iudgement is, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister *Latimer*, hath said in a sermon made before King *Edward* the sixt. Besides this deferring and delaieng of poore mens causes, I will not say how iudgement is perverted in the end. I reed them take heed to it that be the authors thereof. Therefore the reformed churches beyond the seas are worthie of commendations; for there the Iudges sit in the open gates, streets, and high waies, that euerie man that will, may speake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting of ²poore mens causes be they, as they will not suffer any matter, how weighty soeuer, to hang in sute aboue one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie seldome. But if the lawes within euerie particular countie or shire were dylie administrated without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not so lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to seeke iustice, when they might haue it neerer home: through the want whereof, besides that their sutes are like to hang in ballance peradventure seuen yeeres, ³they, hauing spent al, in the end fall to extreme beggerie; which inconuenience might easlie be remoued, if all matters and causes whatsoeuer were heard at home in their owne shire or countie with expedition. And to say the truth, what fooles

England is divided into shires and precincts, in each of which Law-Courts are held monthly or quarterly.

But abuses have crept in: causes are delayd, and that's as bad as false judgment, as *Latimer* said.

[¹ Sig. C 1]

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

[³ Sig. C 1, back] and perhaps wait for 7 years.

10 II. 1. *Englishmen are very fond of going to law.*

are they (yea, woorthie to be inaugured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might haue iustice at home in their owne country, and all matters of controuersie decided amongst their neighbors and friends at home, will yet go to lawe two or three hundred miles distant from them, and spend all that they haue to enrich a sort of greedie lawiers, when at the last a sort of ignorant men of their neighbors must make an end of it, whether they will or not. This, me thinke, if euerie good man would perpend in himselfe, he would neither go to lawe himself, nor yet giue occasion to others to doe the like.

They spend their all, too, on greedy lawyers.

Theod. I gather by your speeches that these people are very contentious and quarellous, either else they would neuer be so desirous of revenge, nor yet prosecute the lawe so seuerely for euerie trifle.

Englishmen are very contentious, and fond of going to law.

[¹ Sig. C 2]

Amphil. They are very contentious indeed. Infomuch as, if one giue neuer so small occasion to another, sute must straight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till ¹either both, or at least the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

Theod. But on the other side, if they shuld not go to lawe, then should they sustaine great wrong, and be iniured on euerie side.

The Law was made to do right and to still strife, but it's now perverted to contrary ends.

Amphil. Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iustice, for the appeasing of controuersies & debates, and for to giue to every man (*Quod suum est*) That which is his owne, but being now peruerted and abused to cleane contrarie ends (for now commonly the law is ended as a man is fr[e]inded) is it not better to suffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who saith: *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam.* 'Vengeance is mine, and I wil reward,' than for a trifle to go to lawe, and spende all that euer he hath, and yet come by no remedie neither? Our sauiour Christ biddeth vs, if any man will go to law with vs for our cote, to giue him our cloke also, and if any man will giue thee a blowe on the one cheeke, turne to him the other, whereby is ment, that if any man will iniurie vs, and doe vs wrong, we should not resist nor trouble our selues, but suffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

Christ teaches us to suffer wrong patiently, and let God revenge it.

[² Sig. C 2, back]

Amphil. Why? Is it not lawfull then for one Christian ² man, to go to lawe with another?

Amphil. The Apostle saith 'many things are lawfull which are not

II. I. *Going to law is right in certain cases.* I I

expedient,' and therefore, though it be after a fort lawfull, yet for euey trifle it is not lawfull, but for matters of importance it is. And yet not neither, if the matter might otherwise, by neighbors at home, be determined.

Theod. Yet some doubt whether it be lawfull or no for one Christian man to go to lawe with another for any worldly matter, bringing in the apostle Paule rebuking the Corinthians for going to lawe one with another.

St. Paul rebukes the Corinthians, who were Christians, for going to law before Heathens.

Amphil. The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen iudges, which tended to the great discredit and infamie of the Gospell. But certeine it is, though some anabaptists *Quibus veritas odio est*, and certeine other heritikes have taught the contrarie, yet it is certeine, that one christian man may go to lawe with an other for causes reasonable. For it being true, as it cannot be denied, that there is a certeine singularitie, interest, and proprietie in euey thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the same proprietie, but also to restore it againe,¹ being violate, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this prouiso, that it is better, if the matter may otherwise be appeased at home, not to attempt lawe, than to attempt it. But if any schismatikes (as alas the worlde is too full of them) should altogether deny the vse of the lawe, as not christian, besides that the manifest word of God in euey place would easilie conuince them, the examples and practises of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, together with the example of our sauour Christ himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it selfe, is the square, the leuell, and rule of equitie and iustice, and therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, may well be accused of extreeme folly. But if the lawes be wicked and antichristian, then ought not good christians to sue vnto them, but rather to sustaine all kind of wrong whatsoever.

But as it's Law's business to keep things straight, Christians may go to law.

[¹ Sig. C 3]

Law is the square and level of Equity.

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reason, that if the lawe be so necessarie, as without the which Christian kingdomes could not stand, then are lawiers necessarie also for the execution thereof.

²*Amphil.* They are most necessarie. And in my iudgement a man

[² Sig. C 3, b-ck]

Lawyers are necessary, and can serve God; but English ones don't, they've such cheveril consciences.

Lawyers take bribes, and beggar the poor, and

turn Law topsyturvy.

Their fee is an Angel, too.

[¹ Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are frightful.

A man is clapt in irons, thrown into a dungeon, with only a little straw fit for a

dog; and there he lies, lice-bit, ill-fed, till he looks like a ghost, or dies.

He stops there for 3 months, 3 years, perhaps his whole life.

can serve God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good conscience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have such chauerell consciences, that they can serve the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice partially, & they receive bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniured therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsie turuie, and therefore happy is he that hath least to doe with them.

Theod. The lawiers must needs be verie rich if they haue such large consciences.

Amphil. Rich, quoth you? They are rich indeede toward the deuill and the world, but towards God and heauen, they are poore enough. It is no meruaile if they be rich and get much, when they will not speake two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counsellors fee.) But how they handle the poore mens causes for it, God and their owne consciences can tell; and one day, I feare me, they shall feele to their perpetuall paine, except they repent and amend.

¹ *Theod.* How be iudgments executed there vpon offenders, transgressours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

Amphil. It greueth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are so inormous. For if a felone, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greuous offender foeuer, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is straightway committed to prison, and clapt vp in as many cold yrons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and darke places vnder the ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything else to helpe himselfe withall, saue a little straw or litter bad enough for a dog to lie in. And in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of² his bones. In the meane space hauing nothing to eate, but either bread and water or else some other modicum scarce able to suffice nature; and many times it hapneth, that for want of the same pittance they are macerate and shronke so low, as they either looke like ghosts, or else are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, sometimes halfe a yeere, a

² off.

II. 1. *Reprieves & Pardons are bought in England.* 13

tweluemonth, yea, sometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance ¹all their life, though they have deserued death, by their flagitious facts committed. Who seeth not that it were much better for them to die at once, than to suffer this extreme miserie? Yea, the sufferance of this extremitie is better vnto them, than the tast of present death it selfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond seas, there is notable order for this: for as soone [as] any fellow or malefactor whatsoever that hath deserued death is taken, he is brought before the magistrate, witnesse comes in, and giues euidence against him, and being found guilty, and conuict by iustice, is presently, without any further imprisonment, reparation or delay, condemned, and being condemned, is led presently to the place of execution, and so committed to the sword.

[¹ Sig. C 4, back]

The oversea Reformed Cities try culprits at once, and execute em.

Theod. What is the cause why they are kept so long before they go to execution in *Dnalgne*.

Amphil. Sometimes it commeth to passe by reason of (will doe all) otherwise called mony, and sometimes by freends, or both, for certeine it is, the one will not worke without the other. Hereby it commeth to passe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue ²committed neuer so heinous, or flagitious a deed, whether robbed, stollen, slaine, killed or murdered, or whatsoever it be, then letters walke, freends besfir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iustice conuicteth him, and good conscience executeth him, yet must he needes be repriued, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion forsooth, must be purchased, either for friendship or mony.

Will-do-all or money.
In England the delay's due to *Will-Do-All*, money.

[² Sig. C 5]

If a felon or murderer has friends and money, he's safe to get repriued or pardoned.

Theod. That is a great abuse, that he whom the lawe of God and of man doth condemne, should be pardoned. Can man pardon or remit him whom God doth condemne? Or shall man be more mercifull in euill, then the author of mercie himselfe? it is God that condemneth, who is he that can saue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be saued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murtherer, the adulterer, the exorcist, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or strenght of man to pardon him his life?

Amphil. Although it be wilfull and purposed murther, yet is the

14 II. I. *One law for the Rich, another for the Poor.*

The crime is set
down to chance
medley, accident.
[¹ Sig. C 5, back]

prince borne in hande that it was plaine chance medley (as they call it) meere casuall, and fortunate, and therefore¹ may easly be dispensed withall. Indeede, the wisdome of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he should flie to certeine cities of refuge, and so be saued, but if it were proued that he killed him wittingly, willingly, & prepensedly, then he should without al exception be put to death. And herein is great abuse, that two hauing committed one and the same fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be so that both haue committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience proueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shall be sure of his *Sursum collum*? But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, seeing a sort of poore men going to hanging, fell into a great laughter. And being demanded wherefore he laughed, he answered at the vanitie and follie of this blind word. For, saith he, I see great theeues lead little theeues to hanging. And to say the truth, before God, is not he a greater theeve that robbeth a man of his good name for euer, that taketh a mans house ouer his head, before his yeeres be expired, that wresteth from a man his goods, his lands and liuings whervpon he, his wife, children and familie should² liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessities sake onely, hauing not otherwise to releuee his neede? And is not he a great theeve that taketh great summes of mony of the poore (vnder the names of fees), and doth little or nothing for them? Though this be not theft before the world, nor punishabable by penall lawes, yet before God it is plaine theft, and punishabable with eternall torments in hel. Let them take heede to it.

Theod. Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

Amphil. Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogatiue, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either diuine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to saue him, but to execute iudgement and iustice without respect of persons to all indifferently. But in causes wherein Gods lawe doth not condemne him, the prince may pardon the offender, if there appeere likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be sure of this, to answer at the day of

If a Gentleman
and a Poor Man
commit the same
offence, the
Gentleman gets
pardond, and the
Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping
landlord or
lawyer, a bigger
chief than the
poor man who
steals from
hunger?

[² Sig. C 6]

No prince should
pardon him
whom God's law
condemns.

iudgement before the tribunall feate of GOD, for all the offences that the partie pardoned shall commit any time of his life after. For if the prince had cutte him off when the ¹lawe had passed on him, that euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I haue heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his subiectes that had committed murther, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the second time also, and yet filling up the measure of his iniquitie, killed the third, and being brought before the king, the king being very forie, asked why he had killed three men, to whom his iester standing by replied, saiong: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou hast killed the other two: for if thou hadst hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not benee killed, therefore thou hast killed them, and shalt answere for their blood." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp straightway, as he very well deserued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogatiue imperial may pardon offenders, but not such as Gods lawes and good conscience doe condemne, as I said before. The power of a prince is comprehended *In Rebus licitis in Deo*, but not *in Rebus illicitis contra Deum*: In things lawfull in God, not in things vnlawfull contrarie to God. No power or principalitie vpon the earth ¹whatsoeuer may dispense with the lawe of God, but what it setteth downe must stand inuiolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, constitution, statute, or sanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

Theod. How is iustice ministered there, sincerely and truely, so as the poore haue no cause iustly to complaine, or otherwise?

Amphil. If any haue cause to complaine (as alas too many haue) it is for want of due execution of the lawes, not for lacke of good lawes. For, God be praised, there be many good lawes, but indeed now and then through the negligence of the officers they are coldly executed. But if the lawes there in force were without parcialitie duly executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to speake my conscience there is great parcialitie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich

[¹ Sig. C 6, back]

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had killd 2 men.

[¹ Sig. C 7]

A prince can only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

There's great partiality in English magistrates and officers.

16 II. 1. *Lawyers suck marrow out of poor folks' bones.*

The rich man is
favoured against
the poor.

[¹ Sig. C 7, back]

Judges should go
by justice, not
by bribes.

Lawyers rob
their poor clients
by taking big
fees,

and fees from 3
people when they
can only do one's
work.

The fees for
warrants, &c.
are too high.

[² Sig. C 8]

The marrow's
suckt out of
poor men's bones.
Baillifs take
bribes to let de-
fendants get
away.

All officials
should act with
a single eye to
God's glory.

man and a poore man chance to haue to doe before them, the matter I warrant you shall quickly be ended, and, my life for yours, shall go vpon the rich mans side, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But ¹if two poore men of equall estate go to lawe together, then their sute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peradventure feuen yeeres, a dozen, yea twentie yeeres, before it be ended, till either the one or both be made beggers. For reformation whereof, I would wish iudges and officers to respect the cause, not the persons, the matter, not the gaine? and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be sent them to peruert true iudgement. And iustice being ministred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembring what the wise man saith: 'Gifts blinde the eies of the wise, and peruert iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take lesse fees of their clients. For is not this a plaine theft before God, to take ten, twentie, or fortie shillings of one poore man at one time, and so much of a great sort at once, and yet to speake neuer a word for the most part of it? And notwithstanding that they can be present but at one barre at once, yet will they take diuers fees of fundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant forth the warrants, the *Subpoenas*, the *Scire facias*, and diuers other writs, and those who keepe the seales of the same, I would wish to take lesse fees also. For is not ²this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing six or feuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the seale, for a little waxe, he must haue as much as the other. And thus they sucke out (as it were) euen the very marrowe out of poore mens bones. The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to returne a *Tarde venit*, or a *Non est inuentus*, when they haue either sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else, looking through their fingers, see him, & will not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peradventure his whole right of that which he sueth for. Thus let euery officer by what kind of name or title soeuer he be called, or in what kind of calling soeuer he be placed, doe all things with single eie, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iustice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

II. I. *No Subject may take Arms against his Prince.* 17

charged againſt the great daye of the Lorde, when all fleſh ſhall be conuented before the tribunall ſeate of G O D all naked as euer they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they be good or badde, and to receiue a rewarde according to their deeds. ¹By all which it appeareth, that if any for want of iuſtice haue cauſe to complaine, it is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and infaciable cormorants, who, for deſire of gaine, make hauocke of all things, yea, make ſhipwracke of bodies and ſoules to the deuill for euer, vnleſſe they repent.

[¹ Sig. C. 8, back.]

Theod. How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things indifferently without exception ?

Princes are to be obeyd in all things not contrary to God's law.

Amphil. In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good conſcience, which, if they be againſt God and true godlineſſe, then muſt we ſay with the apoſtles, *Melius eſt deo obedire, quam hominibus*, It is better to obey God than man.

Theod. If the prince than doe ſet forth a lawe contrarie to the lawe of God, and do conſtraine vs to doe that, that Gods word commandeth vs we ſhall not doe. In this or like caſe, may ſubieſts lawfully take armes, and riſe againſt their prince ?

Amphil. No, at no hand, vnleſt they will purchaſe to themſelues eternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not lawfull for the ſubieſts to riſe up in armes againſt their liege prince for any occaſion what²ſoeuer. For prooſe whereof we read that our ſauour Chriſt was, not onely obedient to the maigiſtrates, and ſuperior powers in all things, but alſo taught his apoſtles, diſciples, and in them all people and nations of the world, the very ſame doctrine. And therefore the apoſtle ſaith, *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſuperioribus ſubdita ſit* : Let euery ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that reſiſteth this power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth to himſelfe eternall damnation. Peter alſo giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be giuen to the ſuperior powers, and that praiers and interceſſions be made for kings and rulers, and giueth the reaſon why, namely, that we may lead *Vitam pacificam*, A peacable life vnder them.

But their ſubjects muſt'n't in any caſe take arms againſt them.

[² Sig. D. 1.]

If ſubjects do, they reſiſt God's ordinance.

Theod. Why? How than? If we ſhall not reſiſt them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

If princes order things against God's law, subjects must lay down goods and life, and

[¹ Sig. D. 1, back]

put their necks on the block, rather than disobey God.

Amphil. No, not so neither. In all things not contrarie to Gods word we must obey them, on paine of damnation. But in things contrarie to the word and truth of God, we are thus to doe. We must depose and lay fourth ourselues, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our ¹ conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serue our God) euen all that we haue of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selues, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, choosing rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apostles ment when they saide: It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlinesse is forbid, but that obedience to God is to be preferred before the obedience to man.

Theod. What if the prince be a tyrant, a wicked prince, and an vngodly, is he notwithstanding to be obeied?

Even if the prince is ungodly, he's sent by God,

Amphil. Yea, truely in the same order as I haue shewed before. For whether the prince be wicked, or godlye, hee is sent of GOD, bicause the Apottle saith: There is no power but of GOD. If the prince be a godlye prince, then is hee sent as a great blessing from GOD, and if hee be a tyrant, then is he raised of GOD for a scourge to the people for their sinnes. And therefore whether the prince be the one, or the other, he is to be obeied as before.

and is to be obeyd.
[² Sig. D. a]

Theod. And bee kings and rulers to ²bee beloued, and praied for of their subiects.

Every one is to love his prince as himself.

Amphil. That is without all doubt. For hee that hateth his prince in his hart, is a contemner of Gods ordinance, a traitour vnto GOD, and to his countrey: yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himselfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himselfe. For that an infinite number doe rest and depend vpon his Maiestie, which doe not so vpon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peradventure) of manye thousands.

Theod. This being so, then hath *Dnalgne* great cause to praye for their prince, by whose woorthye indeuour, and wise gouernement, the state of that realme is so peaceably maintained.

May every Englishman who won't love and pray for Queen Elizabeth, die straight off!

Amphil. They haue great cause indeede not onely to loue hir Maiestie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whofoeuer will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them away quickely from the face of the earth. For by hir Highnesse wife gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flourisheth, and aboundance ¹of al things floweth in the same, [¹ Sig. D. 2, back]
 the Lord God be praised therefore, and preferue hir noble Grace long to reigne amongst vs. Amen.

Theod. Let vs proceed a little further : I pray you how is the youth As to Education,
 of that country brought vp, in learning or otherwife ?

Amphil. The youth truely is well brought vp, both in good letters, nurture, and maners for the most part. For the better performance whereof, they haue excellent good schooles, both in cities, townes, and countries, wherein abundance of children are learnedly brought vp. But yet notwithstanding, some parents are much to be blamed in the education of their children, for the most keepe their sonnes to schoole but for a time, till they can write and read, and well if all that too, and very seldome or neuer doe they keepe them so long at their bookes, as vntill they atteine to any perfect knowledge indeed. So that by this means learning doth, and is like, greatly to decay. And if one aske them, why they keepe not their children to schoole till they prouue learned, they will answer, “ Bicause I see learning and learned men are little esteemed, and ne thinke the best of them can hardly live by the same. And therefore I will fet him to an occupation, which will be alwaies sure.” As herein they say ²true, for I cannot but lament the small preferment now adaias that learning getteth in the world amongst men, & the final account that is made of the same. This is the cause why learning doth, and will in time, greatly decay. For who is he, that hauing spent all his substance vpon learning, yea, his bodie, strength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himselfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is both so chargeable, and painfull to be come by ?

Theod. Be there not Vniuersities, colledges, and free schooles, where youth may bee brought vp in learning *Gratis* without any charges to their parents ? The free Colleges and Schools are abused and perverted

Amphil. There are such places indeed. But alas they are abused & peruerted to other ends than was intended by them at the first. For whereas those places had great liuings, rents, reuenues & possessions giuen to them, it was to this onely end and purpose, that those poore children whose parents were not able otherwise to main-

from poor children to rich ones.
[¹ Sig. D. 3, back]

Unless a father can bribe the Master,

his son 'll not get into College or School.

The places are jobs, not given to the needy.

In poor schools, Schoolmasters are so badly paid that pupils snort in palpable ignorance all their days.

[² Sig. D. 4]

Every Schoolmaster should be examined for character and knowledge,

and then pay no fees to teach.

taine them at learning, should be brought vp vpon the charges of the house, and not those whose parents are able to maintaine them of themselves. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were giuen to maintaine none but the poore only, now ¹ they maintaine none but the rich onely. For except one be able to giue the regent or prouost of the house, a peece of mony, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen, or a couple of fine geldings, or the like, though he be neuer so toward a youth, nor haue neuer so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot preuaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to insue. So that the places in the vniuersities and free schooles, seeme rather to be solde for mony and friendship, than giuen *gratis* to them that haue neede, as they ought to be.

Theod. Are there not many inferior scholes in the country besides, both for the instruction and catechising of youth?

Amphil. There are so, almost in euery parish. But alas, such small pittance is allowed the schoolmaisters, as they can neither buy the libraries, nor which is lesse, hardly maintaine themselves; which thing altogither disuadeth them from their bookes, and is occasion why many a one snorteth in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

Theod. Would you haue any man without exception, to take vpon him the office of a ²schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

Amphil. No, at no hand. First I would wish that euery one that is a schoolmaster, how learned or vnlearned soeuer, should be examined, as wel for his religion, and his sufficiencie in knowledge, as also for his integritie of life, & being found sound in them all, to be allowed & admitted to teach. For if euerie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconuenience follow. For papists and other schismatikes, apostataes, or else whatsoeuer, might thrust in themselves, & so corrupt the youth. Ignorant & vnlearned would take vpon them high learning & so delude their schoolers. And if his life should not be answerable to his profession, then should he peruert his audiorie also. Therefore in my iudgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted *gratis*,

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found sufficient in all respects, yet must he be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & yet will this serue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & comming into another he must pay as much there for y^e like license also, whereas peradventure he shall scarcely get ¹so much cleere in three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they haue such fat pasture. But if they would needes haue them to haue licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might haue them *gratis*, without mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull without. And if they be not woorthie it is pittie that mony should make them woorthie; and againe, if they be woorthie, it is pittie that without mony they cannot be so accepted.

Now he must pay 26s. or 30s. for a license for every diocese he teaches in.

[¹ Sig. D. 4, back]

Licenses should be given to fit men gratis.

Theod. What way were best to be taken for the good education of youth?

Amphil. It were good (if it might be brought to passe) that in every parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, hauing a reasonable stipend allowed him of the same parish for his paines, But now they teach and take paines for little or nothing, which vtterly discourageth them, and maketh manie a cold schooler in *Dualgne*, as experience daily teacheth.

Every Parish ought to have its Schoolmaster with a good stipend.

Theod. Be there men of all kinde of trades, occupations, and artes, as there be in other countries.

As to Tradesmen,

Amphil. Yea, truely: there are men of all sciences, trades, mysteries, faculties, occupa²tions, and artes whatsoeuer, and that as cunning as any be vnder the sunne. Yea, so expert they be, as if they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they seeke to excell and surpasse al other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiosity, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

English Artisans are as cleuer as any under the sun.

[² Sig. D. 5]

Theod. How liue the marchant men amongst them? are they rich and wealthy, or but poore?

Amphil. How should they be poore, gaining as they do, more then halfe in halfe in euerie thing they buy or sell? And which is more, fometimes they gaine double and triple; if I said quadruple, I lied not.

The Merchants are rich, making from 100 to 400 per cent.

22 II. I. *Merchants export goods wanted at home.*

Theod. I pray you how can that be so?

They buy up the whole stock of an article, hold it till it gets dear, and then sell it at their own price.

[¹ Sig. D. 5, back]

Amphil. I will tell you. They haue mony to lay foorth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingrosse, and to store themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandize till they waxe verie scarce, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and so consequently deere. And then will they sell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this ¹meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they haue a hundred flights in their budgets to rake in gaine withall.

Theod. I pray you, what be those?

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

Amphil. They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheefe, bacon, or else what marchandize foeuer they knowe will be vendible, and these they transport ouer seas, whereby they gaine infinit fummess of mony.

Theod. That is woonderful that they are so permitted: are there no lawes, nor prohibitions to the contrarie, that no wooll, corne or leather, shoulde be transported ouer seas?

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

[² Sig. D. 6]

Amphil. There are good lawes, and great restraints to the contrary, in so much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the foresaid things ouer without special licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or vnkowne, they wil conueigh them ouer, though their owne country want the fame. But to auoide all dangers, they purchase a licence & a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne ²private gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their desires, they demand license for the cariage ouer but of so much and so much, when in truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times, twenty times, yea, a hundred times, fise hundred times, yea, a thousande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince, impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enimies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to passe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if refraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to. They thus make things dear; and

many a blacke curse do they get from the poor for it!

Theod. Would you not haue licenses granted for the transporting ouer of such things for no cause?

Amphil. Yes. But first I would haue our owne people serued, that they wante not in any case. For it is very vnmcete to feede forren nations, and our owne country famish at home. But if it were so, that *Dnalgne* flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatsoeuer are necessaric for the vse and sustentation of man in this life, and other nations (prouided that they bee our freendes ¹ and of christian religion) wanted the same then would I wishe that some of our superfluitie might be erogate to them, to the supplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

We ought to feed our own folk first.

Then we may export our surplus to friendly lands.

[¹ Sig. D. 6, back]

Theod. These are marueilous sleights to get mony withall. But I pray you, haue they no more?

Amphil. They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to faile, they haue their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures, and what not, to deceiue the poore people withall, and to rake in mony. But the Wise man telleth them, that false ballances, counterfet weightes, and vntrue measures, are abomination to the Lord. And the Apostle telleth them, that God is the iust reuenger of all those that deceiue their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the sale of their wares, to sweare, to teare, and protest, that 'before God, before Iesus Christ, as God shall saue my soule, as God shall iudge me, as the Lord liueth, as God receiue me, as God helpe me, by God and by the world, by my faith and troth, by Iesus Christ,' and infinite the like othes, that such a thing cost them so much, & so much, and it is woorth ² this much and that much, when in truth they sweare as false, as the liuing Lord is true, as their owne consciences can beare them witnesse, and I feare me will condemne them at the day of the Lord, if they repent not. For if a thinge cost them ten shillings, they will not blush to aske twentie shillings for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske forty shillings for it, and so of all others, doubling, tripling, and quadrupling the price thereof, without either feare of God, or regard of good conscience.

Merchants use false weights and measures too.

And they swear by all that's holy that their wares cost so much, and are worth so much, lying loudly.

[² Sig. D. 7]

They'll not blush to ask 20s. for what cost 'em 10s. I having no fear of God.

Theod. What say you of the Drapers and cloth sellers? liue they in the same order that the other doe?

And the Drapers
are as bad.

They rack and
stretch their
cloth, so that it
won't keep out
rain.

[1 Sig. D. 7, back]
They have dark
shops, to take
buyers in.

They charge 100
per cent. profit,
and swear the
goods cost em all
the money.

The Clothmakers
are a bad lot
too.

They use bad
wool; get the
Fuller to thicken
it, and the
Clothier to shear
it low; then they
sell it for fine
cloth.

[Sig. D. 8]

They stretch it
too.

Our Goldsmiths

Amphil. Of Drapers I haue little to say, sauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they haue bought their cloth, they cause it to be tentered, racked, and so drawne out, as it shall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almost by halfe in halfe, or at leyst by a good large sife. Now the cloth being thus stretched forth in euery vaine, how is it possible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and shrinketh in, that it is shame to see it. Then haue they their shops and places where they¹ sell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpose to deceiue the buiers. But *Caueat emptor* (as the old saieng is) Let the buiers take heed. For *Technas machinant, & retia tendant pedibus*, as the saieng is: 'They meane deceit, and lay snares to intrap the feet of the simple.' And yet notwithstanding, they will be sure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it cost them. And will not sticke to sweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it cost them so much, and that they doe you no wrong. God giue them grace to haue an eie to their consciences, and to content themselues with reasonable gaines.

Theod. I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the first makers of the cloth, for the naughtinesse thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

Amphil. No doubt of that. For some put in naughty wool, and cause it to be spun & drawne into a very small thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very much, and with the Clothier also to sheare it very lowe, and with some liquide matter to lay downe the wooll so close, as you can hardly see any wale, and then selleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other some mixe good² wooll and naughty wooll together, and vsing it as before, they will sell it for principall good cloth, when it is no thing lesse. And then for their further aduantage, euery vaine, euery ioint, and euery thred must be so tentered and racked, as I warrant it for euer being good after. Now, it being thus tentered at his hands, and after at the Drapers handes, I pray you how should this cloth be ought, or endure long?

Theod. Be there Goldsmithes there any store also, as in some other countries there be?

Amphil. There are inow, and more than a good meanie. They are (for the most part) very rich and wealthe, or else they turne the fairest side outwards, as many doe in *Dnalgne*. They haue their shops and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, siluer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any monster or antike whatfoeuer, of golde, siluer, or what you will. They haue store of all kinde of plate whatfoeuer. But what? Is there no deceit in all these goodlye shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, besides that you shall paye almost halfe in halfe more than it is woorth (for they will persuade¹ ²you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashiou to so much, and I cannot tell what :) you shall also perhaps haue that golde which is naught, or else at least mixt with other droffie rubbage, and refuse mettall, which in comparison is good for nothing. And sometimes, or for the most part, you shal haue tinne, lead, and the like, mixt with siluer. And againe, in some things some will not sticke to sell you siluer gilt for gold, and well if no worse too now and then. But this happeneth very seldome, by reason of good orders, and constitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of deceit, and therefore they seldome dare offend therein, though now and then they chance to stumble in the darke.

Theod. Haue you good wines in *Dnalgne*?

Amphil. Indeede there are excellent wines as any be in the world, yet not made within the Realme, but comming from beyond seas: which when the vintners have once got into their clouches, and placed in their sellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshhead almost two, or at left, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with another, & infusing other liquor into them. So that it is almost vnpossible, to get a cup of pure wine of it selfe at the tauerne. But harsh, rough, stipticke, and hard³ wine, neither pleasant to the mouth, nor wholfome to the bodie. And notwithstanding that they gaine (welneare) one hogshhead in another, yet shall their measures, their gallons, pints, and quarts be so spare, and their prices so hie, that it is woonderful to see. And if a poore simple man go to drinke a pint of wine for the strengthing of his bodie, and for necessities sake onely, he shall be sure to haue that wine brought him, that is too bad, though his monie (I am sure) is as good as the rich mans. But

are very rich, and have shops and stalls loaded with gold and silver ornaments.

[¹ usade *orig.*]
[² Sig. D 8, back]

Goldsmiths mix gold with base alloy; and some sell silver-gilt for gold.

Vintners mix bad wine with good;

[³ Sig. E 1]

give short measure, and palm off bad wine on poor men.

26 *Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits.*

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & niceneffe, he shall haue of the best wine in the feller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abuses, which I omit.

Theod. Haue you anything to say of Butchers, and those that kill and sel meate to eate ?

Butchers are impudent enough to try and make 100 per cent profit!

Butchers let the blood soak into their meat.

[¹ Sig. E 1, back]

They puff lean meat up with air, and pin fat on it.

Some 'll also sell meat that has died in a ditch.

[² for for, orig.]

[³ Sig. E 2]

Meat is dear. Greedy grasiers keep up the price of beasts.

Amphil. Nothing but this: that they are not behind in their abuses, fallacies, and deceits. For whereas they pay a certeine price for a fat beefe, they are so impudent that they thinke their market is naught, except they may gaine halfe in halfe, or the best quarter at the least. And to the end their meate may be more saleable to the eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beasts, and suffer the blood to remaine within them still, for this cause that ¹it may incorporate it selfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in some places they buy all by waight) but also may seeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vse to blowe and puffe it vp with winde, to the end it may seeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie. Or if the meate it selfe be leane, and naught, then will they take the fat of other meate, and pin vpon the same very artificially, and all to delude the eies of the beholders. And though it be neuer so old meate, tough, and stale, yet will they sweare, protest, and take on woonderfully, that it is very new, fresh and tender. So that no more in them than in others, there is little conscience at all. There be some of them also now and then that will not sticke to sell meate which hath died (perchance) in a ditch, if it be worth the eating (which is most lamentable), and yet wil beare the world in hand that it is excellent meate, that it died kindly, and so fourth. So that hereby infinite diseases are caught, and manie times present death insueth to the eaters thereof.

Theod. Is meate deere or good cheape there for ² the most part ?

Amphil. It is commonly deere, seldom good ³cheape, and the reason is, bicause a sort of infaciabie cormorants, greedie grasiers I meane, who, hauing raked together infinite pasture, feed all themselves, and will not sell for anie reasonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needes sell deere, when as they buie deere.

II. I. *Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks.* 27

Theod. Why? would you haue no grafiers? then how coulede there bee anie meate fatted?

Amphil. Yes I would haue grafiers. But I would not haue a few rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, fo as the poore can haue no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely exceffiue deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to passe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, fo greatly are the poore hereby intralled, that they can hardly get a peece of ground to keepe fo much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore families. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as beasts eate vp graffe.

A few rich cobs get whole counties into their hands,

and stop poor folk keeping a cow.

Rich men eat up poor ones as beasts do grass.

Theod. Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclofures (as your words seeme to implie) for their better feeding?

¹*Amphil.* Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was any commons, heathes, moores, plaines, or free places of feeding for the poore and others, euen all in generall, now you shall haue all feuerall, inclofed, and appropriate to a few greedy gentlemen, who will neuer haue inough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were woont to be the onely staie of the poore, & whervpon eche might keepe cattle, both neate and sheepe, according to his estate, are now taken from them, wherby manie are constrained either to famish, or else to beg their breade from doore to doore. So that in proces of time, if these inclofures be suffered to continue, the state of the whole Realme will mightily decay, a few shall be enriched, & many a thousand poore people, both men, women, and children, in citie and country, vtterlie beggered. Oh it was a goodlie matter, when the poore man might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the same, both winter & fommer, freely without costing them ought; whereas now they are inclofed, made feuerall, and imploied to the priuate commoditie of a few ambitious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe fo much as a pig or a goose vpon ²the same.

[¹ Sig. E 2, back]

The gentry enclose the poor folk's commons,

and make em starve.

A good time it was when a poor man could keep a cow on the common!

Now he can't keep a goose.
[² Sig. E 3]

Theod. It is great pittie that such oppreffion of the poore should be borne withall or suffered in any of what degree soeuer.

Amphil. It is so. But what than? You shall haue some that, not for the benefit of graſing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and incloſures, but also some that for vaine glorie, worldly pompe, promotion & fooliſh pleaſure, will not ſticke to pull downe whole townes, ſubuert whole pariſhes, and turning foorth all a begging, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chaſes, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the ſame. And when they haue thus done, their bucks, their does, their ſtags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not fead *intra gyrum ſuum*, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, graſſe and all. So that it is hard if any poore mans corne ſcape their fangs within a dozen myles compaſſe, which is a pitifull and a lamentable caſe.

Theod. Would you not haue parkes, and chaſes for game?

Amphil. I diſallow them not. But I would not haue them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to ſtand to the preiudice of the whole country adioining. Therefore if they¹ will haue parkes and chaſes, Firſt let them ſee that they be of their owne proper lande, and then that they be no annoiance to the country about, and then let them haue them, in the name of God.

Theod. Be there any graſiers of ſheep there alſo?

Amphil. Two² manie, if it pleaſed God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer ſo little) title to any common, heath, moore or paſture, he will haue it, *quo iure, quae iniuria*, Either by hooke or crooke. And wheras before time there hath bin a whole pariſh or towne maintained vpon the ſame, now is there no bodie there dwelling, but a ſheepeheard and a dogge lolliſh vnder a buſh. Thus are whole pariſhes and townes made praies to rich graſiers. Yea, you ſhall haue ſome graſiers to keepe five hundred, a thouſand, five thouſand, ten thouſand, twentie thouſand ſheepe of his owne at one time: now iudge you what infinite commodities ariſeth hereof. Befides that, when they ſell their wooll (as though they gayned not inough otherwiſe), it is a worlde to ſee what ſubtilties, (I will not ſaie what falſities), they uſe in the ſale thereof. As firſt to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wooll³ together, to winde it vppe clooſelie that it ſhall not be ſeene within. And which is more, becauſe they ſell all by waight, they will not ſticke to uſe ſiniſter meanes to make it peaſe well in waight. Some lay it, after it

Then vain rich men pull down villages to make parks and warrens;

and their conies eat up poor men's corn.

Parks must not be made out of poor men's livelihoods.

[¹ Sig. E 3, back]

[² read Too]

Commons are inclosed; and instead of a village you've only a shepherd and a dog.

Some graſiers keep from 500 to 20,000 (?) ſheep.

[³ Sig. E 4]
They cheat in ſelling their wooll, mixing bad with good;

II. I. *Landlords rack Tenants. Incoming Fines.* 29

is clipped from the sheepes backe, in a moyft feller, vnderneath the grounde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the feller may infill into it, and fo may peafe the more. Otherfome will caft wette falt into it, which in time will liquifie, and caufe it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked fleights and legerdimeanes, whereof, for that I would rather giue them a tafte in hope of amendment, then a plaine description for feare of displeafing them, at this time I will omit to fpeake any more till further occafion be offered.

wetting it,
putting salt into
it, &c.

Theod. Is the lande there poffeffed in common, or elfe is their propertie in all things, and fo confequently landlords ?

Amphil. There is not onelie a propertie in lands there, but alfo in all things elfe, and fo landlords inow more than be good ones iwis.

Landlords

Theod. Doe they let out their lands, their farmes, and tenements, fo as the poore tenants may liue well vpon them ?

¹*Amphil.* Oh no. Nothing leffe. But rather the contrarie is moft true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a leafe to let : firft he caufeth a furueior to make ftriçt inquire what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere ; which being found out, and fignified to the owner, he racketh it, ffraineth it, and as it were fo fetteth it on the tenter hookes, fretching euery vaine, and ioint thereof, as no poore man can liue of it. And yet if he might haue it freely for this racked rent too, it were fomewhat well. But (out alas, and fie for fhame) that cannot be. For though he pay neuer fo great an annuall rent, yet muft he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threefcore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchafe thereof is hardly woorth fo much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing together, is forced to difburfe it at the firft dafh, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceffiuue fine, and the vnreasonable rent, he is fcarfe able to buy his dog alofe, liuing like a begger, or little better, all his life after. The time hath beene, and not long fince, when men feared God & loued their brethren, that one might haue had a houfe, with pafture ²lieng to it, yea good farmes, leafes and liuings for little or nothing. Or (as fome hold) for a Gods penie, as they called it. But howfoeuer it be, certeine it is, that that farme or

[¹ Sig. E 4, back]

get their farms
valued, and not
only rack the
rent higher,

but make the
tenant pay a fine
as an Incoming,

so that he's
hardly enough
left to buy his
dog a loaf.

[² Sig. E 5]

30 II. I. *Landlords should not grind their Tenants.*

Rents have risen
twentyfold of
late years.

lease, which one might haue had then for ten shillings, is now woorth ten pound. For twentie shillings, now is woorth twentie or three-score pound. For fortie shillings, is now woorth fortie pound, or a hundred pound and more.

Theod. Then I perceiue, they let not out their land after the old rent : doe they ?

Amphil. No. You may be sure of that, they loue nothing worfe. They cannot at any hand brooke or digest them that would counfel them to that.

Theod. Why ? Haue not landlords authoritie, and may they not make as much of their owne lands as they can ? They count that good policie, and I haue heard them say : Is it not lawfull for me to liue vpon mine owne, and to get as much for it as I can ?

Landlords
should think
that they've
only the use of
the land ; and so
they ought to
give the poor a
chance of living
by it.
[¹ Sig. E 5, back]

Amphil. They must first consider that the earth is the Lords (as the Pfalmograph faith : *Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius*, The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof) and all that dwelleth therein. And therefore being the Lords in propertie, it is theirs but in vse onely. And yet not so. But that they¹ ought to lay it foorth to the support of the poore, that all may liue iointly together, & maintaine y^e state of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wise, if a few rich cobs shuld haue al, & the poore none, it shuld come to passe, that the state of the common wealth would soone decay, & come to confusion. They ought also to consider how they came by their lands, whether by right or wrong. If by right, then are they bound by Gods lawe, and good conscience, to let forth the same so as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they posses them wrongfully, then ought they to surrender their tytle, and giue it to the right heire : but take them with that fault, & cut of their necks : No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reason requireth, being sure that the same measure which he measureth to others, shal be measured to him againe. Euery one must so deale with his owne, so let it out, & so liue, as others may liue by him, and not himself alone, for the earth is comon to al *Adams* children ; & though fortune haue given more abundance to some than to other some, yet dame nature hath brought foorth al alike, & will receiue them againe into hir wombe alike also. And therefore ought euerie christian to doe to others, as they would wish to

No man ought
to plunder his
fellow-man,

but do to him as
he'd be done by.

II. 1. *How Landlords pillage their poor tenants.* 31

be done to : which ¹lawe, if it were obserued well, would cut of all [¹ Sig. E 6] oppreffion whatfoeuer.

Theod. I pray you, how came noble men and gentlemen by their lands at the first?

Amphil. Cicero saith that in the beginning, before the world was impeopled, men comming into huge & wast places inhabitable, either toke to themfelues as much land as they would, or else wan it by y^e sword, bought it by purchase, had it by gift, or else received it from their forefathers, by lineal descent, or hereditary possession. Which saing of his must needs be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs also. Then seeing this is so, ought not euery good christian to set forth his lande, so as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himselfe : whofoeuer doth not this, eschewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling & shauing of his poore tenants, he is no perfect member of Christ, nor doth not as he would be done by.

Christian landlords are bound to let their land at moderate rents.

Theod. You talked before of fines, and incomes : what if a poore man be not able to paye them, what then?

Amphil. Then may he go sue y^e goose, for house gets he none, y^e deuill shal haue it before him, if he will giue him mony inough : no, if y^e fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer so gret) he shall haue a fig, affone as a house. If y^t a poore man haue got neuer fo litle a stock to liue vpon and to ²maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet shall he be constrained to sell the same, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, so that during y^e whole terme of his life, he shall hardly recouer the same againe. And then his lease being expired, out of doores goes he, for that he is not able to pay a great a fine or greater than before. Thus are many a one, with their wiues, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miserie.

[² Sig. E 6, back] Poor men have to sell all their stock to pay Fines to Landlords;

and at the end of their lease, out they go.

Theod. I thought one might haue had a farme or a lease for a reasonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paieng.

Amphil. One would thinke so. For, paieng as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it selfe : I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receiue such fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himselfe, I thinke, will not be so fraite laced, nor yet so nigard to his seruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas they will not let out a farme or a lease for one and twentie yeeres

The Devil himself is not so niggardly as some Landlords.

without a great fine, the deuill will giue them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paieng nothing for the same. And yet notwithstanding all this. There are some landlords, (nay lewdlords) that hauing racked their rents to the vttermoſt, exacted fines, & made all that euer they can of their farmes, will yet proceede further, and as men neuer content with inough, will haue their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promiſing them (before they haue it) that they ſhall pay no more rent yeerlie, till the ſame be runne vp. But when they haue it, they pay their yeerely rent notwithstanding, and neuer receiue any reſtitution for the other. And at euerie change forſooth they muſt take newe leaſes, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leaſes before are inſufficient, and of no effect. And ſometimes foure or fiue yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former leaſe be expired, ſhall they be conſtrained to renew their leaſes, and diſburſe great ſomes, or elſe haue their houſes taken ouer their heads. Befides, as though theſe pollages and pillages were not ill enough, if their leaſes be not warely and circumspectly made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe obſerued), they will finde ſuch meanes (or elſe it ſhal go verie hard) that the poore man ſhall forfeit his leaſe, before his leaſe be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, ² come on it what will.

Theod. Are the instruments, the writings, & conueiances in that land ſo intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for ſo I gather by your words?

Amphil. Yea, truly. For whereas in times paſt when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, fixe or ſeuen lines was ſufficient for the aſſurance of any peece of land whatſoeuer, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole ſkin of parchment, and ſometimes 2. or 3. ſkins will hardly ſerue. Wherin ſhalbe ſo many prouiſoes, particles, & claufes, & ſo many obſeruances, that it is hard for a poore ignorant man to keep halfe of them: and if he fail in one of the left, you knowe what followeth. In former time a mans bare word was ſufficient, now no instrument, band, nor obligation can be ſure inough. Fy vpon vs! what ſhal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet ſpeaketh, ſaieng: There is no faith, there is no truth nor righteouſnes left vpon the earth. God be mercifull vnto vs!

[¹ Sig. E 7]

Some cheat their tenants out of the firſt year or two's rent when paid in advance.

Landlords force tenants out of their Leases at heavy fines,

and make 'em forfeit their Leases too.

[² Sig. E 7, back]

Leases and Conueyances are alſo terribly long, and contain ſo many prouiſoes that a poor man can hardly keep em all.

II. I. *Landlords the cause of Dearness. Tailors.* 33

Theod. Seing that farms and leases are so deere, I am persuaded that euerie thing else is deere also: is it not so?

Amphil. Yea truly it cannot be chosen. And yet it is strange, that in abundance of althings there shuld be dearth of all things, as there is.

Theod. Who is it long of, can you tell?

¹*Amphil.* Truly of the landlords onlie in my simple judgment: for whenas they inhance the rents, & set their fines on tenter as they do, how should the poore man do? Must he not fel al his things a great deale the deerer? Else how shuld he either saue himselfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie: so that these greedy landlords are the very causes of al the derth in *Dnalgne*; for truly they are worfe than the caterpillers & locusts of Egypt, for they yet left some thing vndeouored, these nothing; they spoiled but for a time, these for euer: those by commandement from God, these by commission from the diuel.

[¹ Sig. E 8]
Landlords are the only cause of high prices.

Landlords are worse than the Locusts of Egypt.

Theod. How, I pray you, doe these iollie fellowes spend these wicked gotten goods?

Amphil. I shame to thinke, & I blush to tell you how. For, for the most part, they spend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennise plaieng, in rioting, feasting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercises. And not onlie vpon these things do they spend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but also in pride their *Summum gaudium*, & vpon their daunsing minions, that minifit ful gingerlie, God wot, tripping like gotes, that an egge would not brek vnder their feet. But herof inough, & more than perchance wil please their deinty humors.

They spend their ill-gotten gains in rioting, prophanities, and women.

Theod. Do they exceed in pride of apparell, or are they very temperate, & sober minded people?

As to Apparell,

²*Amphil.* They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the world in the excessse of apparell, but are farre woorsfer, if woorsfer can be. For the taylers doe nothing else but inuent new fashions, disguised shapes, and monstrous formes of apparell euerie day. Yea truly I thinke they studie more in one day for the inuention of new coies, and strange deuises in apparell, than they doe in seauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

[² Sig. E 8, back]

Tailors inuent new fashions every day,

Theod. Me thinke then by your reasons it seemeth, that Tailors

and are the
causers of all the
monstrous
English dress.

are the causers of all that monstrous kind of attire worne in *Dnalgne*, and so consequently are guiltie of all the euill committed by the same.

Amphil. You say very truly. For *Mali alicuius author, ipsius mali, & malorum omnium, quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo*, The author of any euill, is not onely guiltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would wish them to beware, and not *Communicare alienis peccatis*, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be sure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp sinne vpon sinne.

[Sig. F 1]

Tailors ask
one fourth too
much cloth, and
more lace, for
a coat.

For if a man ask them how much cloth, veluet, or silke wil make a cote, a dublet, a cloke, a gowne, hosen, or the like, they must needs haue so much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themselves. So play they with the lace also: for if tenne yards would serue, they must haue twentie; if twentie would serue, they must haue fortie; if fortie would serue, they must haue sixtie; if sixtie would serue, they must an hundred, and so forward. Besides that, it must be so drawne out, stretched, and pulled in in the fowing, as they

And they charge
too high for
making it.

get the best quarter of it that way too. Then must there as much go for the making, as halfe the garment is woorth. Besides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to desire them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will straightway conduct them to their fees, and whatsoever price hee setteth of the cloth, they persuade the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing so, nor so. And thus they betwixt them diuide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receiues his wages for his faithfull seruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue

They're in
league with the
Drafer, to cheat
their customers.

[2 Sig. F 1, back]

it very faire to the eie (therfore it is true: *Omne quod gliscit non est aurum*, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or else stretched & drawne out vpon the tenter, so as if they once come to wetting, they shrinke almost halfe in halfe, so as it is a shame to see them. Therefore I aduise euery one to see to his garments himselfe, and according to the old prouerbe: *Sit oculus ipsi coquus*, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare lest he be serued of the same sauce, as manie haue bene to their great hinderance.

II. I. *Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs.* 35

Theod. I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffles in *Dnalgne*: As to Ruffs,
do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see,
neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woofser and woofser, men wear bigger
ones than euer,
such as the
Devil himself
'ud be ashamed
to put on.
for they not only continue their great ruffles still, but also vse them
bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad,
now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and
detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare
the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching
houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to
trimme and dresse their ruffles to please the diuels eies withall. They haue
Starching
Houses for
Ruffs,

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in?
Now truly that passes ¹ of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing [¹ Sig. F 2]
in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch
bands and ruffles?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they
erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus,
archdiuels of great ruffles.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffles in, to trim and Trimming
Houses too
them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea, marry haue they, for either the same starching houses
(I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or else they haue
their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they
tricke vp these cartwheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the
direct way to the dungeon of hell. for these
Cartwheeles of
the Devil's
chariot.

Amphil. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffles
withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough
without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thiuke that they want any thing
that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith fir, no,
then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that
maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe.
And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instru-
ments for the purpose.

² *Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse [² Sig. F 2, back]
They've metal
Tools too,
kept as bright as siluer, yea, and some of siluer it selfe; and it is well,

if in proceſſe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion where-
 after they be made, I cannot reſemble to anything ſo well as to a
 ſquirt, or a ſquibbe, which little children uſed to ſquirt out water
 withall; and when they come to ſtarching, and ſetting of their ruffes
 then muſt this inſtrument be heated in the fire, the better to ſtiffen
 the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and ſtiffen any thing. And
 if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forſooth the deuill
 hath giuen it to name a putter, or elſe a putting ſticke, as I heare
 ſay. They haue alſo another inſtrument called a ſetting ſticke, either
 of wood or bone, and ſometimes of gold and ſiluer, made forked wiſe
 at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they ſet their ruffes. But
 becauſe this curſed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of
 ripeneſſe, I will therefore at this time ſay no more of it, vntil I here
 more.

Theod. What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and
 wel tanned, or but indifferently? I haue heard ſome complaine of it.

¹*Amphil.* There is of both ſorts, as of all things elſe; but as there
 is ſome naught (I can not denie) ſo is there otherſome as good as any
 is vnder the ſunne. And yet I muſt needes confeſſe, there is great
 abuſe in the tanners, makers, carriers, and dreſſers of the ſame: for
 you ſhall haue ſome leather ſcarcely halfe tanned, ſo that within two
 or three daies or a week wearing (eſpecially if it come in any weat)
 wil ſtraight-way become browne as a hare backe, and which is more,
 fleete and run abroad like a diſhclout, and which is moſt of all, will
 holde out no water, or very little. And the ſaieng is (*Erubefco dicere*,
 I ſhame to ſpeake it) that to the ende they may ſaue lyme and barke,
 and make the ſpeedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their
 hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make ſale of them. And as
 herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, ſo in the ſurpriſing of
 their hides, they are worthie of reprehention. For that which they
 buy for ten ſhillings, they will hardly ſell for twentie ſhillings; that
 which they buy for twentie ſhillings they will not willingly ſell for
 fortie ſhillings. And thus by this meanes, they make ſhooes unrea-
 ſonable deere.

Theod. Then the fault is not in the ſhoomakers onely, that ſhooes
 be ſo deere?

²*Amphil.* There is fault inough in them alſo. For whereas the

like a Squirt or
 Squib,

calld *Putters*
 or *Putting-Sticks*.
Setting-Sticks
 they haue too,
 for their curſed
 Ruffes.

[¹ Sig. F 3]

Some *Leather*
 is only half
 tand,

and won't
 keep out water.

[² Sig. F 3, back]

others inhanse the price of their hides exceffiually, these felowes racke it very vnconcionably. And yet if the shooes were good, though deere, it were fomwhat tollerable ; but when they shall be both naught, and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you aske the shoemakers in whom the fault doth consist, they will answere you frait, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault in the tanner, so there is more, or as much in the shoemaker. For first of all the shoemaker liquoreth his leather, with waterish liquor, kithen stufte, and all kinde of baggage mingled together. And as though that were not ill inough, they saie they vse to put salt in the liquor, wherewithall they greafe the leather of purpofe, to the ende that the leather shal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie likelie they doe so, or some such like thing, for surelie almost none of their leather will holde out water, nor scarfelie durt neither. Besides this, it is a worlde to see how lowfely they shall be sowed, with hotte alles, and burning threedes, euerie stich an inch or two from another, so as with-in two or three daies you shall haue them seamerent and all too betorne. And yet as though this were not ¹ill inoughe, they adde more. Sometimes they will sell you calues leather for cow leather, horse hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten sheepe skins for good substantial & dureable stufte. And yet shall a man pay for these as well as for better stufte. And to the ende they may seeme gaudie to the eie, they must be stitched finelie, pincked, cutte, karued, rafed, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reason, for else would they neuer be sold. The inwarde soole of the shooe commonlie shall be no better than a cattles skinne, the heeles of the shooes shall be little better. And if the sooles be naught (as they be indeede yet must they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make them seeme thicke and excellent stufte, whereas indeede they are nothing less. And to make the sooles stiffe, and harde, they must be parched before the fire, and then they are most excellent sooles, And such as will neuer be worne, no, I thinke not in halfe a coople of daies, which is a woonderfull thing. Oh, farewell former worlde, for I haue hearde my Father saie, and I thinke it most certeinly true, that a paire of shooes in those daies woulde haue kept a man as drie as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe, ²yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very last day, and would haue

Shoemakers

liquor their leather,

and salt it, so that it won't keep out water.

They sow with hot awls and rotten thread

[¹ Sig. F 4]

They sell you horse-hide for ox-hide,

and use cat-skin for inside soles.

They parch the soles too.

Why, in my Father's days, a pair of shoes 'ud keep the wet out, and last a year.

[² Sig. F 4, back]

38 II. I. *Of Brokery. Rascally Brokers of clothes, etc.*

Now, they'll hardly last a month.

ferued a man almost a whole yeere together, with a little repairing. But now five or six paire, halfe a score, yea, twentie paire of shooes will scarcely serue some a yeere, such excellent stuffe are they made of. But let all shoemakers, tanners, and the rest, take heed, for at the day of iudgement they shal render accounts for this their doing. And here-of hitherto.

Theod. Be there any Brokers, or such kind of fellows in your country?

Amphil. If it be a thing that is good, it is a doubt whether it be there, or no, but if it bee naught (as brokerie is) then past peradventure it is there.

Brokers are

Theod. What maner of fellows are those Brokers, for truly their profession, and the vse thereof, is vnknowne to me, saue onely that I haue heard of some of their dealings?

jolly fellows

Amphil. Seeing that you are ignorant of this goodly mysterie, and high profession of brokerie, and also so desirous to knowe the truth of them, I will in few words (as briefly as I can) declare vnto you the substance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellows forsooth, and such as in the beginning of their occupation, haue either iust nothing, or else very little¹ at all, who, when they haue attempted, and assaid by all kind of meanes and waies to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thriue, or which is lesse, not so much as maintaine their poore estate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and stealing, and of these they buy for little or nothing, whatsoever they shal haue filched from any. And thus by this meanes in proceffe of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great substance and wealth.

[¹ Sig. F 5]

who, not being able to live by anything else,

make friends with thieves, and buy every-thing these steal,

Theod. Will they buy any thing whatsoever commeth to hand?

Amphil. Yea, all things indifferently without any exception. All is good fish with them that comes to net. They will refuse nothing, whatsoever it be, nor whom-soeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspicious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath benee purloined by sinister meanes from some one or other. And can you
for half its value: blame them For why? They haue it for halfe it is worth.

II. I. *Dunghill Brokers bring men to the Gallows.* 39

Amphil. What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and sell?

¹*Amphil.* I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they buy remnants of filks, veluets, fatins, damasks, grograins, taffeties, lase, either of filke, gold, siluer, or any thing else that is worth ought Otherfome buy cloakes, hofen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, flockings, & the like. And these goodly merchandize, as they haue them good cheape, so they will sell them againe to their no small gaines.

[Sig. F 5, back]
drapers' and
haberdashers'
goods chiefly.

Theod. If this be true, that they will receive all, and buy all that comes to hand, than it must needs be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steale whatsoever they can lay their hands vpon, feing they may haue such good vent for y^e fame. Is it not?

Amphil. You say very true. And therefore I am perswaded that this dunghill trade of brokerie newly sprong vp, & coined in the deuils minting house, the shoppe of all mischief, hath made many a theefe more than euer would haue bin, & hath brought many a one to a shamefull end at Tiburne, & else where. Yea, I haue hard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they haue gone to execution, declaime & crie out against brookers. For, said they, 'if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not haue received our stollen goods, we woulde neuer ²haue stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not bin hanged.'

This dunghill
Brokery's made
many thieves,
and brought
many a man to
the Gallows.

[² Sig. F 6]

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reasons, that brokers are in effect necessary to the goods feloniously stollen, & are worthy of the same punishment that the others that stole them are worthy of?

Brokers ought
to be hung with
Thieves.

Amphil. They are so, if before they buy them they know precisely that they are stollen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to perseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buieng of their wares doth argue that they doe. This maketh many a tailer to aske more cloth, more filk, veluet, & lace, than he needeth, & all to the ende the broker may haue his share; for, be they neuer so litle scraps or shreds or short ends of lace, or smal peces of veluet, fatan, filk or y^e like, the broker will giue mony for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many seruants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters,

Brokers' willing-
ness to buy

makes Tailors
cheat, and

servants pilfer.

Brokers are seed-
beds of villainy.

some a yard or two of veluet, fatin, taffety, lace, filk, & what not, some hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & some one thing, some another: this hindereth the merchant man, is difcomodious to y^e tailor, & beneficial vnto none, but to themfelues: & therefore, as they be the feminaries of wickednes, so I besech God, they may be sup-
planted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[¹ Sig. F 6, back]

¹ *Theod.* What woulde you haue them to do, that they may exercife their trade, with good conscience, both before God, and the world?

To deal honestly,
Brokers, should
buy only goods
honestly come-
by,

Amphil. I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would doe, they might vse their trade in the feare of G O D, both with good conscience before the Lord, with honestie before the world, and finallie to the lesse detriment of the common wealth. First, let them be sure, that the goods which they buy be truely and iustly come by of the fellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceiued, Let them examine the matter strictly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion not to buy it, vntill they haue gone themfelues to the right owners of the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good conscience buy it, let them give reason for it, else not. And if euerie brooker would deale thus, their would not so many false knaues bring them such lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

and should
find out the
owners them-
selves.

Theod. You saide before (except I be deceiued) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the same is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so ²feloniously stollen, & so are worthie of the same punishment, that the principals are woorthie of. I pray you, what punishment is inflicted vpon accessaries in *Dnalgne*.

[² Sig. F 7]

Amphil. Accessaries are punishable by the lawes of *Dnalgne* with the same punishment that the principals are to be punished withall (for so the lawe standeth); but in the execution thereof, we see the cleane contrarie practised. For when as a theefe, or a fellow stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiuer, who, though he knowe it to be stolen, yet with alacritie admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himfelse accessorie, and guiltie of the felonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peraduenture) hanged vp, the other that

Brokers get out
of the claws of
Justice.

is the accessorie is not once spoken of, nor none can saie 'blacke is his eie.' But howfoeuer it be, I cannot be otherwise perswaded, but that the receiuers and accessories are a great deale more woorthie of death (by the penall lawes) than he who stealeth the thing it selfe, whatfoeuer it be. Bicause if they had [not] any to receiue their stolen goods, they would not steale at all. And therefore are the receiuers (in my simple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if they know before they receiue it, that it is stolen) then they that commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill comitted, they are to be punished rather than the perpetrators of the fact it selfe. But for want of due punishment to be executed as well vpon the one as vpon the other, we see greuous crimes, and flagitious facts without all remorse, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes there are, both for the repreffing of these, and al other enormities whatfoeuer, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the cause why all wickednes and mischief dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleasure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Theod. What hospitalitie is there kept, or reliefe for the poore?

Amphil. Very smal. For as for the poore tenants and commons, they are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to giue any thing to the poore, their rents are so raised, & their fines so inhanfed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am perswaded) more releefe to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their dores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe sumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the poore hath the left part thereof, or rather iust nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut againt them, where they, standing³ frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatfoeuer, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea sometimes halfe a day, and then shal they haue but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they haue anything too; in steed whereof they are sometimes sent to prison, clapt in irons, maniced, stocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

³ ?=suffering, putting up with; or is 'in' left out?

But Receivers
deserve hanging
more than the
Thieves they
tempt.

[¹ Sig. F 7, back]

Against these,
and like evils, we
have good Lawes,
but they're not
put in force.

As to Hospi-
tality, the poor
can't afford it,

tho in fact they
help other poor
more than the
rich do.

[² Sig. F 8]

Gentlemen keep
grand houses, but
make poor folk
stand for hours
in the cold for a
few scraps.

Theod. Then it seemeth that the poore are simplie provided for ?

Of Beggers

Amphil. They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would haue all kind of beggers indifferently without any exception to be fed and nourished vpon the sweat of other mens browes.

Theod. Doe you make a difference of beggers then ? Are there two sorts of them ?

we have two kinds, the Strong, (who won't work ;

[¹ Sig. F 8, back]

Drones, who ought to be put in prison till they *do* work ;)

and the old, sick, and diseasd.

Amphil. Yea, there are two sorts. One sort is of stout, strong, lustie, couragious, and valiant beggers, which are able to worke, and will not. These at no hand are not to be relieued (for *qui non operatur non manducet*, ¹saith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to liue vpon other mens labours. For he that releeueth these, maintaineth them in their idlenesse, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that liue vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweate of their faces. If such fellows as these will not worke, but liue vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other sort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, fore, or diseased : these I would wish should be looked vnto : and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releuee.

Theod. What order would you haue obserued in these respects ?

The Sturdy Beggars who can work, and won't,

I'd just hang.

[² Sig. G 1]

The aged and sick ones I'd have kept in their own parish, and rate richer parishes for em.

Amphil. The former sort of sturdie valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to haue any releefe giuen them. And if they would not worke, to punish them ; if that will not serue, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a prouiso, that being content to worke, they might haue maisters provided them, with reasonable wages, for many would faine ²worke, and can get none ; and than if they will not worke, to Tiburne with them. The other sort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepite, blind, sicke, fore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I woulde wish that they should be maintained, euerie one in his owne parish, at the costs and charges of the same. And if the parish be not able to maintain so manie, then that there should be collections & contributions made in other parishes to supplie their want, and so the former poore people

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and confitution, there are infinite of the forefaid perfons that die, fome in ditches, fome in holes, fome in caues and dens, fome in fields, fome in one place, fome in another, rather like dogs than chriſtian people. For notwithstanding that they be neuer ſo impotent, blind, lame, ſick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to ſeeke their releefe at euery mans doore, except they wil ſterue or famiſh at home, ſuch unmercifulnes is in *Dnalgne*. Yea, in ſuch troups doe they flocke, and in ſuch ſwarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you ſhall ſee numbers of them at euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity enough ¹they driue them from citie to citie, from pariſh to pariſh, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, from ſhire to ſhire, and from country to country, like flocks of ſheep. Here they dare not tarrie for this Iuſtice, nor there for that Iuſtice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a paſport, wheras a man woulde thinke their old age, their hoare haire, their blindneſſe, lameneſſe, and other infirmitie, ſhoulde bee paſports good enough for them to go abroad withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that euery pariſh ſhould maintaine their poore, were taken, then ſhould they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwiſe want their daily releefe.

Theod. Are there no hospitals, ſpittles, lazar houſes, almes houſes, nor the like, for the releefe of theſe poore people?

Amphil. Yes there are ſome ſuch in cities, townes, and ſome other places, wherein manie poore are releued, but not the hundred part of thoſe that want. For the ſupplie wherof would God there might be in euerie pariſh an almes houſe erected, that the poore (ſuch as are poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieued. For vntill the true poore indeed be better prouided for, let them neuer thinke to pleaſe God. Is it not great pity when a man can paſſe ²no waie almoſt neither citie nor country, but ſhall haue both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, ſicke, fore, & diſeaſed, hanging vpon his ſleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were eſtabliſhed, then ſhould none at al need to go abroad, but al ſhuld haue ſufficient at home. The reformed churches beyond ſeas, and euen the French, Duch, & Italian churches in *Dnalgne* are worthie of great com-

Now, many die in the fields like dogs.

They get no relief except by wandering about and begging.

You see poor aged and sick Beggars at every door; and they're driven from town to town like flocks of sheep.

[¹ Sig. G 1, back]

Not a hundredth part can be relievd in our Hospitals.

We want an Almshouse in every Parish,

[² Sig. G 2]

and then the poor 'ud get enough at home.

44 II. I. *Our Husbandmen are skilful, but rack-rented.*

mendations herin, & shal rise vp at the day of iudgment to our condemnation except we repent & amend our vnmercifulnesse towards the poore. These good churches, folowing the counfel of the almighty who biddeth that there be no begger amongst vs, suffer neuer a one of their countrymen, nor yet any other dwelling in their parish, to beg or aske almes without his parish, nor yet in his parish neither; but by mutual contributions and collections maintaine them, & minister to their necessities in all things, Which thing G O D grant the churches of *Dnalgne* may once begin to practife amongst themselves, that God may be glorified, and the poore members of Christ Iesus releued and maintained.

The Reformd Churches abroad and the forin ones here, set us a good example in this.

Our Husbandmen, or Farmers, are as skilld as any in the world.

Theod. Be there husbandmen there & such others as manure and till the ground, for the further increase of fruits, to the maintenance of the commonwealth?

[¹ Sig. G 2, back]

¹ *Amphil.* There are of such indeed good store, and as excellent men in that kinde of exercise, as any be vpon the earth. They know exactly, I warrant you, the times and seasons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be sowed, and what ground is best for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant also, howe to culture & dresse the same; and if it be barren, what kind of dung is best to fatten the same againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie soile, and what corne it will bring. They know also when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring forth good corne, how long not, when it ought to rest, when not, with all things else incident to the same.

Theod. I thinke they haue good farmes and tenements, that are able to furnish their ground in this sort, for otherwise they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horses, their seruants, and other necessaries, belonging thereto: haue they not so?

But many haue very poor farmes,

and others only houses with no land,
[² Sig. G 3]

Amphil. No truely haue they not. For some haue such fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring forth no corne at all (in a manner) or if it doe, verie little, and that not without great cost bestowed vpon it. Othersome haue houses with no lande belonging to ²them at all, and yet notwithstanding shall pay a good round some for the same also. And no marueile, for landlords and gentlemen take all the lands and lyuelode wherevpon there poore tenants shoulde liue, into their owne hands, and suffer not the poore husband-

men to haue so much ground as will fide them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to keepe one cow, horfe, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they haue any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndooing for euer. But if landlords would consider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, but onely in title, interest and propertie (hauing their souereigntie, or chieftie thereof) and the poores in vse and possession, and if they would remember that the poore ought to liue vpon the earth as well as they, than would they not vse such tirannie, such exactions, such pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compassion.

or hardly enough
to keep a cow on.

Landlords are
so grasping.

Theod. There being such store of husbandmen, and the same so expert in their agriculture as your words import they be, it must needs follow, that there is great plentie of corne, and all kinde of other graine, and the same verie good cheape : is it not so ?

We've lots of
Corn,

¹*Amphil.* There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no nation vnder the sunne like vnto it ; but as I told you before, thorowe the infatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne priuate commoditie, transport ouer seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometimes very scarce. Other-wise there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you say it is good cheape, it is nothing lesse², as euerie daies successe proueth true.

[¹ Sig. G 3, back]

but the
export of it
often makes it
scarce.

Theod. How can that be, that there being such store of corne, yet should be deare also.

Its dearness
comes from

Amphil. I will tell you. It commeth to passe three manner of waies. Firft, for that landlords racke their rents so extreemely, and aduance their fines so vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to sell euerie thing deere, otherwise he should not be able to pay his landlord his due, whereas if he had his farme good cheape, he might afforde to sell good cheape. The second cause is (as I haue said), for that the same is carried and conueighed ouer Seas. The third cause is, thorow a sorte of ingraters, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and hauing mo³ney at will, buy vp either all, or the most part, and carieng it into their celles, and garners at home, keepe it till time of the yeere that corne is scarce, and so consequentlie deere.

x. Rack-rents,

2. Export ouer
seas,

3. Ingraters or
Forestallers
buying it up,
[³ Sig. G 4]
and keeping it
till it gets
scarce and deare.

² It's any thing but that. It's deare.

And when there is want of it, then they fell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it deerer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you see, by this meanes, these hellifhe ingrattours, and forestallers make corne and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe iudge you what a horrible abuse is this, for one man to buy vppe all things, and that not for anie neede or want in himselfe, but to fell it againe, deerer then they bought it, thereby to inriche himselfe with the impouering of many a thousande.

Theod. Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconueniences doe followe it ?

Amphil. There be great penalties, and forfaitures ordained, as well for the repressinge of this, as of any other outragious abuse ; but they playe with this as with all other good lawes, they inuente quirckes and quiddities, shiftes, and put offes ynough ¹ to blinde the eies of the magistrates, and to deliuer themfelues (trimly, trimly) from the danger and penaltie of the lawe. For they will say that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to fell againe. And then when they doe fell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not serue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and so to fell it againe when hee seeth tyme ; but who hath the commoditie, iudge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and fell it againe as couertly ; and thus they buy and fell their owne foules for corruptible monie, which in the last day shall beare witnesse against them, and consume them : yea, as Saint Iames saith : The monie which they have vniustlie got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rise vp in iudgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and deuoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as subtil and as politike as they would seeme to be) take heed vnto themfelues, and beware : for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceiue their iudgements, yet let them be sure that they can not deceiue the iudgement of the Lord, but he ² that made the eies shall surely see, and he who knoweth the secrets of all harts, shall one day declare the same to their perpetuall confusion, except they repent.

Theod. What be these husbandmen ? honest, plaine dealing and

These hellish
Ingraters make
everything dear.

We have laws
against Fore-
stallers, but
they invent put-
offs to dodge
the Law.

[¹ Sig. G 4, back]

They buy only
for their fami-
lies ; they grow
all their corn ;

they get a man
to buy for
em, &c.

But these jolly
fellows

can't take-in
God. He'll ex-
pose em.
[² Sig. G 5]

Husbandmen,

II. I. *Our Husbandmen can teach the Fox to cheat.* 47

simple persons, and such as in whom there is no abuse ; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie persons ?

Amphil. They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men in outward appeerance, yea, such as if you sawe them, and heard them talke, you would thinke they had no gall, or that there were nothing in them in the world. But if you looke into their dailie exercifes, practises, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtile in their kind, as the deuill is in his, if it be possible. For the simplest of them all, if he make a bargaine with another, he wil be sure to make it so as he himselfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer so wise, circumspect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cosoned at their hands), such subtiltie, such policie, and such craftie conueiance, they practise vnder the garment of simplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, inso much as they count him a wise man, a worldly ¹fellow, and such a one as will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their ²*Columbina simplicitas*, (Nay rather, *Vulpina, et serpentina astutia*) which Christ would haue al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But so farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, than a continuall practise of fraud, and deceit, as for example : You shall haue some that, sending corne to the market to be sould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to seeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the sacke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good still,) but in the midst shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, sprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I haue knowne other some, that hauing a barren cow, and being desirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe from another melch cowe, and so folde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas shee was nothing lesse.³ With infinite the lyke sleights, which for breuities sake I omit.

Theod. I perceiue then it is good for a man to be warie, that deales with these simple ⁴fooles ?

² *Orig.* there.

³ Anything but that. See p. 45 ; p. 54, l. 2.

tho they look so simple,

are as crafty as the Devil himself.

It's almost their business to cheat.

[¹ Sig. G 5, back]

Nearly their whole life is a fraud.

They'll put musty corn in the middle of a sack.

They'll sell a barren cow with another cow's calf as if it were hers.

[⁴ Sig. G 6]

The Fox may go
to school to em.

They tell lies
about the animals
they want to sell.

Every seller
ought to tell the
buyer the faults
of the things he
sells.

[¹ Sig. G 6, back]

We should do to
others as we
wish they'd do
to us.

But we can't live
without husband-
men ;

[² Sig. G 7]

Amphil. It were good so indeede, else he may chauce to cough himselfe a dawfe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his craftes, may go to schoole to these felowes, to learne the rudiments of deceit and craft. Such skilfull Doctors are they herein. If they sell you a cow, an oxe, a horse, or a mare, they will set the price on him, I warrant you, and with-all will protest and take on woonderfullie, that hee is but this olde, and that olde, this yoongue, and that yoongue. And which is woorst of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the same, which is a playne, and a maifest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrante.

Theod. Would you haue euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those thinges they sell? then should he sell but a little.

Amphil. Every true christian ought to do so, or else, besides that he doth not to others, as he would wish to be done to (for this is the chaine wherwith every christian is bound to another,) he also breketh the cords of charity, & commiteth ¹ most horrible cofonage, and wilful presumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymestone for euer. And seing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let *the* deceiuer aske of himselfe when he goeth about to deceiue, these questions: Would I be coofoned? Would I be vndone and spoiled? Would I count him an honest man, or a good christian, that would supplant me in bargaining? Oh no. No more ought I to doe to others, that which I would not should be done to my selfe. Besides this, consider that the apostle faith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceiue their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like consideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, dissimulation, coofonage, and guile, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

Theod. Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could liue without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

Amphil. No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, esquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principalitie vpon the earth (how great a mo²narch focuer)

II. I. *Chandlers' tricks, and their bad Candles.* 49

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husbandmen. And therefore they are not only to be beloued of vs, but also to be preferred and to be made much of amongst vs, without whose industrie and labour no man could liue long vpon the face of the earth. For this cause we read the vse of husbandry to be commended vnto vs in fundry places of holy scripture ; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and affimiled to the husbandman for diuers purposes and respects. And when Adam our first parent was expulsed paradife, he was by God himselfe inioined to manure, to dresse and till the ground ; whereby we may see both the antiquitie, auncientie, and excellencie of husbandrie, euen from the verie beginning of all things. And therefore doubtles is it to be had in reuerence and estimation of all men. But hereof inough.

their labour is needfull for our life.

Adam was bidden by God to till the ground.

Theod. Be there any Chandlers there as in other places ?

Chandlers

Amphil. Yea, that there are inow, I warrant you, and more than deale inffly in euerie respect.

Theod. What do they sell for the most part ?

Amphil. Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheefe, fagots, pots, pannes, candles, and a ¹thoufand other trinkets besides.

sell cheese, pots, pans, and other trinkets.

[¹ Sig. G 7, back

Theod. What be the abuses which they commit, I pray you ?

Amphil. Abuses, quoth you ? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But seeing you would to faine knowe, I will giue you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheefe, and other things, which is naught, bicause they may haue it for a little monie, and then sell it for verie good : this, manie a poore prentise and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either sell it wonderfull deere, or else keepe it till it be past the best, and yet vtter it for as much and more than it cost them. Besides this, that they keepe their butter & cheefe till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it smell that no man can eate it, they haue also their false waights & counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And notwithstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not sell one, be it neuer so litle, vnder a penie, gaining aboue the one halfe in the other. And as for the stufte whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should make them of good liquor and sweet, they make them of all kind of kitchen stufte, & other stinking baggage, so that they shal waste &

They buy bad goods cheap, and sell em dear.

They haue false waights and measures.

They make their candles of stinking baggage,

50 II. I. *Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.*

[¹ Sig. G 8]

and their wicks
of rope-ends.

consume ¹away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall neuer burne cleere, nor giue good light, but run ouer, and about the candle-
sticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are of hurds, rope ends, & such other good stuffe. Besides all this, they haue sleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft, to the end it may waste & consume the faster, with legions of the like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs!

Barbers :

Theod. What say you of the barbers and trimmers of men? are they so neate, and so fine fellows as they are said to be?

There are no
finer fellows
under the sun!

Amphil. There are no finer fellows vnder the sunne, nor experter in their noble science of barbing than they be. And therefore in the fulnes of their ouerflowing knowledge (oh ingenious heads, and worthie to be dignified with the diademe of follie and vain curiositie) they haue inuented such strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, shauings and washings, that you would wonder to see. They haue one maner of cut called the French cut, another the Spanish cut, one the Dutch cut, another the Italian, one the newe cut, another the old, one of the brauado fashion, another of the meane fashion. One a gentlemans cut, another the common

Our Barbers
have all kinds of
cuts of beards.

[² Sig. G 8, back]

They ask you
whether you'll
be trimd to look
fierce or pleasant.

cut, one ²cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite the like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They haue also other kinds of cuts innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimed, they will aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleafant & demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lie.) Then, when they haue done al their feats, it is a world to consider, how their mowchatowes must be preferued and laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to another, and turned vp like two hornes towards the forehead. Besides that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping & snapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to tawe out mony, you may be sure. And when they come to washing, oh how gingerly they behaue themselues therein. For then shall your mouth be bossed with the lather, or some that riseth of the balles (for they haue their sweete balles wherewith-all they vse to washe); your eyes closed must be anointed therewith also. Then snap go the fingers, ful brauely, god wot. Thus this tragedy ended, ³ comes me

Your Mous-
tachios are
twisted up like
hornes; the scis-
sors go snip snap,

your face is
washt with sweet
balls;

snap go the
fingers;
[³ Sig. H 1]

warme clothes, to wipe and dry him withall; next, the eares must be picked, and closed together againe artificially forfooth. The haire of the nostrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold. The last action in this tragedie is the paiement of monie. And leaft these cunning barbers might seeme vnconscionable in asking much for their paines, they are of such a shamefast modestie, as they will aske nothing at all, but standing to the curtesie and liberalitie of the giuer, they will receiue all that comes, how much soeuer it be, not giuing anie againe, I warrant you: for take a barber with that fault, and strike off his head. No, no, such fellowes are *Raræ aues in terris, nigriſque ſimilimi cygnis*, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geafon as blacke fwans. You shall haue also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall bee all to besprinkled: your musicke againe, and pleasant harmonie, shall found in your eares, and all to tickle the same with vaine delight. And in the end your cloke shall be brushed, and 'God be with you Gentleman!'

warm cloths are brought, your nostril-hairs cut,

and then you're to pay 'What you please, Sir.'

You have fragrant waters, and music;

your cloak brushed, and good-bye!

Theod. All these curious conceits, in my iudgement are rather done for to allure and prouoke the minds of men to be bountifull and 'liberall towards them, than for any good else, which they bring either to the bodie or health of man?

[^t Sig. H 1, back]

Amphil. True it is that you say, and therefore you must needs think they are maisters of their science that can inuent al these knacks to get money withall. But yet I must needs say (these nisties set apart), barbers are verie necessarie, for otherwise men should grow verie ougglishom and deformed, and their haire would in proceſſe of time ouergrowe their faces, rather like monsters, than comlie sober christians. And if it be said that any man may cut off the haire one of another, I answer, they may so, but yet not in such comelie and decent maner as these barbers exercisid therein can doe, and besides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be obserued. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beaſtlineſſe of some ruffians (for they are no sober christians) that will haue their haire to growe ouer their faces like monsters, and sauage people, nay rather like mad men than otherwise, hanging downe ouer their shoulders, as womens haire doth: which indeed is an ornament to them, being giuen them as a signe of subiection, but in man it is a shame and reproch, as

Barbers are necessary. Without em men ud look like monsters.

I wonder at the beaſtlineſſe of some ruffians letting their hair grow so long.

the Apostle proueth. And thus much of barbers and their science.

[¹ Sig. H 2]

Theod. Haue you furgeans, and phyicians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their mysterie; and not onelie skilfull, but also conscionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

Surgeons and Physicians

Amphil. There are both furgeans and phyicians, good store. And as they be manie, so are they verie vconscionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, so farre from godlinesse and good conscience in all things are they, as if a poore man that hath not monie to giue them at their pleasure, stande in need of their helpe, they will either not come at him, or if they doe, they will so handle him, as it were better for him to be hanged, than to sustaine the paines that they will put him to. But for the most part, neither of them both will come at him, but rather contemne him, and reiect him as a thing of naught, yea, as much will they doe for the diuell himselfe, as for a poore man, if hee haue not money. And againe, as long as moneye runneth, they will applye gentle and easie potions, medicines, and salues, bearing their patient in hand, that he shall recouer without ²all doubt, with what disease, maladie, or fore foeuer he be infected, wheras in truth they can do nothing lesse. But *Deficiente pecunia*, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corrosiues, and pinching plaistures to greeue their patient withal, therby to straine out what liquor of life (that is, what monie or goods) they are able to giue. And thus they abuse their gifts, to the dishonor of God, the hurt of their felow brethren, and their owne damnation, except they repent.

'll only work for money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a poor man without money.

[² Sig. H 2, back]

As soon as that fails, they give you the nastiest stuff they can.

Theod. Are furgeans and phisitians then necessarie in a common wealth, as you feeme to inferre?

Amphil. *Salomon* faith the Phisition (by the which worde he vnderstandeth both the phisition and the furgeon, bicause the one is coofin germaine to the other) is to be honored for necessitie. And if for necessitie, then must it needes follow, that the same is most necessarie in a common wealth. But as the good, learned, and discreet phisitians and furgeans, are necessarie, and may doe much good, so the vnlearned, and naughtie (as the world is to full of them) may and doe much hurt dailie, as experience teacheth.

We've many ill-taught doctors.

II. I. *Every Ignoramus is allowd to practise Physic.* 53

Theod. You say truth. But are all indifferently suffered to practise the same noble misteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any choyse or exception at all?

[¹ Sig. H 3]

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie foeuer, is suffered to exercise the misterie of phisick, and surgerie, and to minister both the one, and the other, to the diseased, and infirmed persons; but to their woe, you may be sure. Yea, you shall haue some that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, presuming vpon experience forsooth (for that is their greatest skill) will arrogate great knowledge to themselues, and more than the learnedst doctor vpon the earth will doe. And yet notwithstanding, can doe in manner nothing at all. But if they chance at any time to doe any good (as *forte luscus capiat leporem* somtime by chance a blind man may catch a hare) it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs. And yet shall this exploit of theirs be founded fourth with a trumpet, which indeede may hardly be blowne vp with an oten pipe, for any praife it deserueth. This bringeth the laudable sciences of phisick and surgerie, into hatred, obloquy, & contempt, maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly discrediteth it amon[g]st men. For when as any sick, infirmed, or diseased, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgean, or else when the medicine or salue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogether, whereas in truth the whole blame consisteth in the ignorance of the practitioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euery one that lust, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For euery man, though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y^e lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body, the poores, arteries, temperament, or constitution, no, nor yet so much as the naturall complexion, qualitie, or disposition of the same, will yet notwithstanding take vpon him the habite, the title, y^e name, and profession, of a phisition or surgean. This we see verified in a sort of vagarants, who run stragling (I wil not saie roging) ouer the countries,

Any man, tag and rag, can practise both phisic and surgery.

If any person makes a cure, he puffs it everywhere.

[² Sig. H 3, back]

If any doctor loses a patient, then the Science is accus'd.

Any Ignorant

can set up as a Surgeon or Physician. Vagrant Quacks make a lot of money.

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing lesse in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coosoning shift is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they haue got, they leaue their ¹cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heeles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciencies of phisicke and surgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

Theod. If phisicke be good, would you not haue euery man to practise it that will, without restraint?

Amphil. Phisicke is good, and yet would I not haue euerie ignorant doul't that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the same. For that maketh it to take so little effect, and so smally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant doul't, & especially women, that haue as much knowledg in phisick or surgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but smatterers in the same noble sciencies (nor yet al that), should be restrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from priuate exercise thereof either for their owne singuler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it *gratis*) not making an occupation of it, but rather for desire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than woulde I wyshe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisicke and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in ²either of the vniuersities; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, discretion, and sufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compaffion, and loue to their brethren; and being found sufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licensed, vnder hand and seale authentike, by those that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be *Officiperda*, Iacke out of office, make him a *Quondam*, and let him go to plow and cart, rather than to robbe the poore (as manie of them doe) yea, to murder and kil them without reprehension. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and such as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, so I would wish, that either they might be allowed anual stipends, for their better succouring of the poore diseased, or else

[¹ Sig. H 4]

I'd let no stupid
Dolt or Woman
practise medicine
or surgery except
gratis.

I'd have all doc-
tors Graduates,
[² Sig. H 4, back]
examind for
character as well
as learning,

and then licenst
to practise;
and if they did
wrong, out with
em!

I'd pay em

II. I. *Doctors' and Apothecaries' tricks. Astrologers.* 55

might be constrained to take lesse of their poor patients than they doe. For now they ruffle it out in filckes and veluets, with their men attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) smarteth for it. Yea, so vnreasonable, and so vnconfcionable are they, as some of them will not set one foot out of his owne doores, without ¹twentie shillings, fortie shillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, and some more, some lesse. And hauing this importable fee, If they minister anything to the partie diseafed, than besides, must they haue twenty shillings, for that that stands them not in twentie pins; fortie shillings, twentie nobles, for that that cost them not twentie pence, & so foreward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and such as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his iudgements by speedy repentance. Befids these abuses, there are other some, that if they owe euill will to any, man or woman being sicke, or if they hope for any preferment by their deaths, will not make any conscience of it, to giue them such medicines, such potions, and drinckes, as will soone make a hand of them; and this shall be done inuisible in a clowde, Vnder the presence of phisicke, forsooth; and if he die, why it was not the medicine that killed him (no it were *Blasphemia in sanctos ruminare*, blasphemie to thinke it of these holie fathers) but it was death, that cruell tyger, that spareth none. And to such corruption are they grown, that for mony I am persuaded they can make away with any whom they haue acceffe vnto. Therefore I aduise euery man to be careful to whom ²he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewise in league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuses also, as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & simples together, as also in selling chalke for cheese, one thing for another, & the like, so as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and good of it selfe, but druggie baggage, and such counterfait stuffe as is starke naught. But of them inough.

Let vs speake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaine glorious, called astronomers, and astrologers, the corruptions and abuses of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of speaking any further concerning the abuses, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporalitie, till occasion of more matter hereafter shall be offered.

good stipends to attend the poor.

[¹ Sig. H 5]

Now, their charges are tremendously high.

Doctors sometimes make away with patients.

[² Sig. H 5, back]

Apothecaries

sell druggie baggage.

*Astronomers,
Astrologers,*

Theod. These names of astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are so vnquoth and strange to my eares, that I knowe not what to make of them. Wherefore I pray you shewe me as neere as you can, the meaning of them, and what kinde of marchants the professors thereof be?

and *Prognosticators* are fantastical fellows.
[¹ Sig. H 6]

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and go poking about into God's secrets

[² Sig. H 6, back]

Christ

Amphil. The astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators (and all others of the same societie, and brotherhoode, by what name or title soe¹uer they be called) are a certeine kinde of curious phantastically and vaine glorious fellows, who *secreta dei temere remantes*, Searching the secrets of God rashly, which he would haue kept close from vs, and onely knowne to himselfe, take vpon them, & that vpon these grounds (forsooth), namely, the obseruation of times & seasons, the aspects & coniunctions of the signes and planets, with their occurrens, to presage, to diuine, and prognosticate, what shall come or happen afterwards, as though they fate in Gods lap, knew his secrets, & had the world and the disposment thereof in their own hands. It is an olde saieng, and verie true, *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos*, Those things that are aboue our reach, conserne vs not, and therefore we ought not to enter into the bowels & secrets of the Lord—(for as the wise man saith, *Qui scrutatur abscondita dei, obruetur gloria eius*, hee that seacheth out the hidden things of GOD, shall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorye of the same,—but to content our selues with so much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his sacred worde, committing the euent, the successe, and disposment of all things else to his sacrede Maiestie, the GOD of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour so busely by speculations, by astronomie, ²astrologie, and the like curious arts to iudge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the same (but *Dum par- turiant montes nascetur ridiculus mus*, whilst the mountains doe trauell, a feely moufe will be brought forth) Christ our sauiour saith, *non est vestrum nosse tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipse pater in sua ipsius constituit potestate*, It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the Lord God hath referued to himselfe. And how much our sauiour Christ disliketh this vaine curiositie, of astronomically & astrologically speculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehension or commination in the 16. of Matthew, thundred out against the people of the Iewes, who were, as it seemeth, too much addicted

to the same. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them dissembling hypocrites, in that they obserued and marked with such serious attention and diligence, the elemental signes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the signes and tokens of the sonne of GOD Christ Iesus, the true Messias, and sauour of the world.

rebukes em,
and calls em
hypocrites.

Theod. Vppon what grounds, certainties, rules, and principles doth this curious science consist?

¹*Amphil.* It standeth vpon nothing else, but meere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, gheffes, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects, and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certeine ground, knowledge, or truth, either of the word of God, or of natural reason. But to argue the vntruth and the vncerteintie of this foolish curious science, we need not to go farre for examples and arguments. For the contrariety that euer hath beene in all ages amongst the verie doctors and maisters themselues, but most specially of late, doth approoue the same to be most fantastically, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous strange coniunction (as they said) of two superiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped together in one truth, nor yet agreed together, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it should be: but in all things shewed themselues like themselues, that is, plaine contradictorie one to another. Infomuch as they writ in defence of their errors, and confutation of the contrarie, one against another, shamefully to behold. By which more than presumptuous audacitie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexi²tie and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and kingdoms (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not so, yet the strangest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Wheras, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as some of them set downe) these woonders and portents should haue happened, there was no alteration nor change of any thing seene or heard of, the element being as faire, as bright, as calme, and as pleafant, and euerie thing as silent, and in as perfect order and forme, as euer they were since the beginning of the world.

[¹ Sig. H 7]

Their science is
founded only
on guesses and
star-gazing.

On April 28, 1583
(see *Holinshed*,
1587, iii. 1356), or
some other day
that they couldn't
agree on,

[² Sig. H 7, back]

the foolish star-
tooters foretold
fearful events,

and yet every-
thing passed off
quietly as usual.

By all which appeereth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious science. I woonder where these fellows fate, whether vpon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they saw these coniun&tions. Or with what eies they could see that, that no man else could see. But peraduenture they haue *Argus* eies, and can see all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they haue dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituation, the houses, aspects, and locall places of the signes and planets, of the funne, moone, and starres, with the number ¹ thereof also, which indeed are innumerable. I woonder what spirite tolde them which planets were higher than other, and which lower than other, which be good and which be euill, which be moist and which be drie, which bee colde, and which be hote, which be gentle and affable, and which bee cruell and terrible, which giue good fortune, and which giue euill, which be good to take iourneies in hand, or to attempt any great thing, and which bee naught, which bee good for a man to take a wife in, that she may be amiable and gentle, and which be contrarie, which be dangerous to take diseases in, or to fall sicke, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they haue learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of GOD, they neuer fetched them, the same being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious searching of Gods secrets, and the succeffe of things by such fallible and vncerteine accidents.

Theod. Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from GOD the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

²*Amphil.* It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures, as the sun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe giue both good things and euill, blessing and curfing, good succeffe, and euill succeffe, yea, life and death, at their pleasure (as these brainefick fooles hold they doe) and that they rule, gouerne, and dispose al things whatsoeuer, yea, both the bodies and soules of man (for so some shame not to say) who, hearing this, I say, would not fall from God, and worship the creatures that giue such blessings vnto man? What can be a neerer way to withdrawe the people, not onelie from God, but also to hale them to idolatrie, and wholly to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for euer.

[¹ Sig. H 8]

Where did these
astrologing
fellows learn all
their fooleries?
Not in the book
of God, I know.

[² Sig. H 8, back]
For if the Planets
give good and
euill,
and rule men,

men 'll turn from
God, and worship
the stars.

II. I. *God, and not the Stars, rules Men & their Fates.* 59

But, say they, though we giue authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we giue vnto God the cheefest froke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the instrumentall, or secundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, subtitutes, or infrumentes whereby he ruleth and worketh all things. Is this any thing else, than to saie with certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule¹ and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what blasphemie can be greater? is not this a flatte deniall of the prouidence of God, which scripture so much setteth forth and commendeth vnto vs? Shall we thinke that God made all things, and now as one wearie of his worke, committeth the gouernemente of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauour Christ, *Pater et ego operamur*, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, so he worketh still in ruling them by his power, gouerneing them by his wisdome, and preferuing them by hys prouidence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they haue proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will saye as they say. In the meane time I say & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to saye or affirme that creatures haue the gouernement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, must not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be lesfer, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but blessed be our God, who, as he knoweth our² frailtie (hauing therefore compassion of our infirmities) so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or else whersoouer, according to the good pleasure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genesis, besides infinit the like places in holie scriptures, we read that the sun, the moone, the stars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being made subiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet notwithstanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their subiect, vassal bondslaue? This is preposterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topsie turuie, vpside downe. It is time these phantasticall

To pretend that Planets are God's deputies, is blasphemous nonsense too.

[¹ Sig. I. 1.]

God works and rules still, as he did at the Creation.

[² Sig. I. 1. back.]

God made the stars for the use of man. Who made them his lords?

These fantastical fellows turn God into a Jack out of office.

fellowes were looked to in time, that wil go about to dithronize the mightie God Jehoua of his regall throne of maiestie and glorie, makin gan *Officiperda* of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) *E cælis*, Out of the heauens, downe to the earth, giuing him no power nor authoritie at all.

Theod. Haue the signes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth?

Amphil. Yes, they haue their power, their operation, force, strength and effect in those things whereto G O D hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasfing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of ¹all natural things, And also they haue their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of bloud, receiuing of purgations & the like. But to say they worke these effects of their own proper force & strength, or that they rule or dispose the spirits & soules of man, is vtterly false, & at no hand true. And yet notwithstanding, so far infatuated are these busie heded afronomers, & curious serching astrologers, that they attribute euery part of mans body to one particular signe & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that signe, or planet. And therefore to Aries they haue assigned the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[inus] the shoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the breft, stomake and lungs. To Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. To Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighes. To Capr[icornus] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pisc[es] the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both *Interne* & *externe*, within & without, is ruled and gouerned by the xii. signes, by starres, and planets, & not by God only. For the confirmation of which fained vntruth, they pretend the xii. moneths in the yere to be ruled & gouerned by the xii. signes in the element, and the feuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the feuen planets ²also. Besides this, they haue their particular houres, times and seasons, wherein they chiefly worke their effects, and haue greatest strength. So that by their reasons, no moneth in the yere, nor day in the weeke, no, nor houre in the day nor night, but it is ruled and gouerned by the influence and constel-

[¹ Sig. I. a.]

The busy-headed astronomers assign every kind of man to a particular Sign,

and every month too.

The 7 Days they put to the 7 Planets.

[² Sig. I. a. back]

II. I. *If the Stars give Life & Death, they're Gods.* 61

lation of the starres and planets, and nothing is effected or brought to passe, but what they will, and intend.

Theod. Are the signes and planets, liuing creatures and reasonable, or insensible creatures, and things without life?

But these Signs
and Planets

Amphil. They are no liuing or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuersie, but meerey insensible, and without life. And being without life and reason, how is it possible that they should bring life or death (as these fellows hold) sicknesse or health, prosperitie or aduersitie, heate or cold, faire weather or foule, beautie or deformitie, long life or short, or any thing else? And if they be not able to giue these things, how much lesse able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and dispose all thinge[s] in heauen, earth, the aire, or else wherfoeuer, to ouerthrowe monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althings after their owne desire and will? Will they

are without life
and reason.

How then can
they rule the
World and Men?

haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If that were true, why should God be praised either for his mercie, or feared for his iustice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, signes, and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If blessing come by the influence of starres and planets, then let men praise them, and not God, for the same. And if curses proceed from the starres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things else, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celestiall bodies, then let them be honoured with diuine worship. If these effects issued from creatures, then why should the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked person be punished, whereas he might say, it was not I, it was *Planetarum iniuria*, The force of the planets that compelled me to sinne*? Or why should the godlie man be praised for dooing well, whereas he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? *In Summa*, why should not planets and starres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they coulde worke these effects? They that attribute thus much to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but also strenhthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perseuere in their cursed ido²latricie still. Nay, do they not rather shake hands with them, that as they worship the

[¹ Sig. I. 3.]

If blessings and
curses come from
the Stars,

they should be
worshipt as Gods.

But this robs
God of his
honour.

[² Sig. I. 3. back]

* Cp. Edmund in *Lear*, I. ii. 134-5: "Drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence."

62 II. I. *Absurdity of man's Fate depending on Stars.*

sunne, the moone, the starres, fire, water, and other creatures, for their God, so doe these worship the same, though not for their chiefe Gods, yet for their second gods, whereby they commit most filthie idolatrie, and are gilty of most hainous transgression. Indeede, I confesse they haue effects and operations, but yet are they not the efficient causes of any thing either good or bad. Otherwise than thus, that it pleaseth the maiestie of God to worke by them, as by his instruments, whatsoeuer is his good wyll and pleasure, and not after any other fort.

I confess that Stars have effect; but yet they're not Efficient Causes.

Theod. I haue heard of some of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forfooth, is it possible, suppose you?

Amphil. No, at no hand. For if it were so, that all things were, and man himselve, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forsaken of God to beleuee it?) And that they knew the minds, the purposes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and destiny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horse. I would faine learne of these starre 'gaisers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the constellations, and influence of stars, whether all the people that were euer borne since the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the same, were al borne vnder one planet or star? For they had all one fortune, all sinned in *Adam*, & all were in the iustice of God condemned to euerlasting fire. I would know also whether all the Sodomits and Gomorreans being consumed with fire & brimstone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one destinie, and all one end. Whether all the whole world in the daies of *Noah*, was borne vnder one and the same star, or planet, for they had all one destenie, being ouerwhelmed with an vniuersall deluge. Whether the whole host of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, were borne all vnder one star or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destinie, and one kind of death. Whether all the host of *Pharao* were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all sustained one kinde of death, and had all one destinie. Whether *Esau*, and *Iacob* were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

Let these star-gazers show me, if they can,

[Sig. I. 4.]

that all the sinners in Sodom and Gomorrah, who had one fate, were born under one star;

why Esau and Jacob, who were born under one star, had different ends:

positions and ends. Finally I would learne of them, whither none that euer liued since the ¹first beginning of the worlde, nor any that shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the same houre, and vnder the same planet & constellation, that Christ Iesus was borne in. If they say there haue not beene any borne in the same houre that Christ Iesus was borne in, common reason, and daily experience would disprooue them, for there is not one minute of an houre wherein there are not infinite children borne into the world. And if they say that there are that haue beene borne in the same houre, and vnder the same starre and planet, than must it needes follow (if man should necessarily be ruled, gouerned, disposed & affected according to the naturall disposition, and inclination of the planets & stars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the same howre, and vnder the same planet or star that Iesus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iesus himselfe; and so should we haue had manie christs before this time. But God bleffe all his children from once thinking of any such impietie, and blasphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned or destined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the liuing God, who doeth ²whatsoeuer pleaseth him in heauen & in earth. This being so, twise vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, infortunate for their children to be borne in, or that some be more fortunate and happie than other-some. And thrise cursed be those wicked deuils, that taught them those lessons. What? Doe they thinke that the Lorde is a sleepe those houres; or being wake, hath no power to rule? Hath he not made all things pure and good? Then cannot the good creatures of God make vs euil, or incline vs to sinne. But it is the malice of the deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickednes of our owne harts, that draweth vs to euill, and so to shamefull destinies, and infamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were truely perswaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any shamefull end, to saie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destiny," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no such ends. But rather to glorifie our heauenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conuersation, whilst we liue vpon the face of the earth. Certain

[¹ Sig. I. 4, back]why the children
born when Christ
was, were not
like him.Man is not
swayed by Stars,
but by the living
God.[² Sig. I 5]It's the Devil
and our own
wickedness, and
not planets, that
make us sin.
(Cf. Edmund in
Leare I. ii.)

The God sees
that some men
will come to a
bad end, he
doesn't fore-or-
dain them to it.
[¹ Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and

He'll preserve
you.

Some say that
the 12 Signs of
the Zodiac and
the 7 Planets and
their Aspects fix
men's natures
and fates.
[² Sig. I 6]

But what a
drunken reason
they give for it!

Because a Bull
is a yoke-beast
here, *therefore* a
man borne under
him shall be a
bond-slave!

it is, that God by his prouidence, & prescience, doth foresee that such a man through his wickednes shall come to such an ende, yet did not the Lord foreordeine, or foreappoint him to the same, ¹but rather dehorteth him from committing that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is finne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither fate, destiny, birth-star, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoever, let euery one endeavour himselfe to serue his GOD truelie, in singleness and purenesse of heart, and himselfe to liue well and vprightlie, Walking in the lawes, and commandements of the Lord; and I warrant him for euer coming to anie euill end or destiny. That God whom he hath serued, will keepe him as he kept *Sidrach*, *Misaae*, and *Abednago*, from the rage of the fire, *Sufanna* from the stake, *Daniel* from y^e chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

Theod. I haue hea[r]d some that woulde take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a seruant or a lord, a theefe or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he should haue prosperous successe in: how shoulde they doe this?

Amphil. I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they saye) certeine signes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them so, when they were there, and sawe them, or how they knew the shape ²and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pifces, with their planets, and aspects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now say they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a signe in the *Nusquam region*, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie so? Marke their droonken reason. Forsooth because the rame is a fruitfull beast vpon earth, and yeldeth to his mafter two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a signe (say these liars) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondslave all his daies. And why so? Mary, say they, because the bull on earth is a beast vsed to the yoke, and to much flauerie & drudgery. He that is borne vnder Leo (which is a signe quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shall be strong, courageous, & feared of

II. I. *Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men.* 65

al men, & shal be lord & ruler ouer many, And why so? Bicaufe the lion is a strong & mightie beaft, & is lord & king ouer all other beafts. He that is borne vnder Scorpio, shal be a murtherer, a robber, a theefe, and a wicked perfon. Why so? Forsooth bicaufe the Scorpio is a serpent full of poyson & malice vpon earth. ¹He that is borne vnder Gemini shall be rich, and haue manie children, bicaufe Gemini is a signe of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shall be beloued of women, shall be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, bicaufe maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shall be crabbed and angrie, bicaufe the crab fish is so inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shall be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and measures, bicaufe Libra is a signe of a paire of ballance. He that is borne vnder Sagittarius, shal be a good shooter, bicaufe Sagittarius is a signe like to a shooter. He that is borne vnder Capricornus shall be a slouely, ill faouered, and vncleane fellowe, bicaufe the goate is a beaft filthie, stinking and vncleane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pifces shall be fortunate by water, bicaufe watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupftantiall reasons and well reasond arguments, and as strong to prooue their purpose, as a castell of paper to resist the enimie. Thus you may see they haue no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heauens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of ²earthly creatures. Iesu God, what cunning felowes are these, that can knowe the nature of heauenly bodies, and celestiall creatures, by these terrestriall bodies and earthly creatures? These are profound fellowes indeed, and by all likelihood, haue dwelt long in the clouds, that are so perfect in euery thing there, and can iudge of future accidents with such singular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to say no more of them, till further occasion be offered, beseeching the Lorde God to giue them grace to search for the truth of the worde of God, letting all such curious searchings of Gods secrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all secrets whatsoever.

[¹ Sig. I 6, back]

He that's borne under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, because the goat's a stinking beast!

[² Sig. I 7]

These Astrologer fellows must have livd long in the clouds to know so much about heauenly bodies.

Theod. If you condemne astronomie, and astrologie altogether, as you seeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognosticators, and such as make almanacks for euerie yeere : doe you so?

Prognosticators and Almanac-makers I condemn too,

66 II. I. *Against Prognosticators & Almanac-makers.*

Amphil. I neither condemne astronomie nor astrologie, nor yet the makers of prognostications, or almanacks for the yeere. But I cndemne the abuse in them both, and wish they were reduced to the same perfection that they ought, and to be vsed to the same endes and purposes which they were ordeined for. ¹The sunne, the moone, the starres, and the celestially bodies whatsoever, created by the Lord not onelie to fructifie and increase the earth by their influence, but also to shine and giue light to man in this life, and to diuide the light from darknesse, the day from the night, winter from sommer, and to distinguish one season and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, so much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vsed. But when we go about to enter into Gods secrets, and to diuine of things to come, by coniectures, and gesses, then make we the same wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that they take vpon them to foreshew what things shall be plentiful, and what scarce, what deere, what good cheape. When shal be faire weather, when foule, and the like, whereas indeede the knowledge of these things are hid in the secrets of GOD, and are beyond their reach, therefore ought they not to meddle with them. But if they would keepe them within their compasse, as namely to shew the times and seasons of the yere, festiualls, vigils, to distinguish winter from sommer, spring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the eclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden num²ber, circle of the sunne, leape yeere, and other the like necessarie points, then were their profession laudable, and greatly for the commoditie of the commonwealth. And thus much with their patience be it spoken briefly hereof.

Here ende the abuses of the
Temporalitie.

[¹ Sig. I 7, back]

when they pretend to pry into God's secrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentiful and what scarce.

Let Almanac-makers keep to their proper business,

[² Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be useful folk.



THE CORRPTIONS AND ABUSES OF THE SPIRITUALITIE.

Theodorus.



Having now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be so bold, I would request you somewhat to say concerning the corruptions and abuses of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. For I am fully persuaded, that the one being so corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

As to the corruptions of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie,

¹*Amphil.* I am verie loth to enter into that felde, the view whereof offereth such store of matter to intreat of, as if I shoulde enter the same, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to begin. Besides, you knowe the olde prouerbe, *Non bonum est ludere cum sanctis*, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare of thunderbolts, to insue. But for that, he is not onely a false prophet, and a traitor to the truth, that teacheth false doctrine, but as well he that knoweth the truth, and either for feare of death, or desire of life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely the author of any euill or mischief is gilty of offence before God, But also he that might by ² discouerie thereof preuent the same, and yet either will not, or for feare of death dares not. And for that as the olde prouerbe saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, he that concealeth the truth, seemeth to consent to errors, for these and the like causes, I will laye downe vnto you some such corruptions and abuses, as seeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting in the meane time to speake peticularly of all (for that they be innumerable) vntill I see how these fewe will be brouked of them.

[¹ Sig. I 8, back]

let the meddler with them look out for thunderbolts.

But I'll tell you some of our worst Abuses in the Church.

68 II. 2. *All Churches are markt off into Parishes.*

For it is a point of good physicke, you knowe, to see how the former
¹meate receiued into the stomacke, will be digested, and concocted,
before we receiue anye more into the same.

[¹ Sig. K. r.]

Theod. You say very well. Giue me leaue then (by your
patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke conuenient for
my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the
truth, may praise God in you, and also haue iust occasion to giue
you thanks for the same.

Amphil. Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe
the best I can, to resolute you in anything that you shall demand.

All our churches
and congrega-
tions

Theod. Then this shall be my first demand. Be the churches,
congregations, & assemblies there, distincted into particulars, as into
parishes and precincts, one exempt from another, or are they dispersed
here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of
place at all?

are divided into
parishes,

Amphil. Euerie particular church, congregation, assemblie, or con-
uenticle, is diuided one from another, and distincted into parishes and
precincts, which feuerall precincts and parishes are so circumscribed
and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne
of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liueth. So that
euerie shepheard knoweth ²his flocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And
agaينه, euerie flocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his
pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple iudgement.

[² Sig. K. r. back]
so that every
flock knows its
pastor.

Theod. Doe you allow then of this partition of churches, and of
one particular congregation from another?

In early days,,

Amphil. Yea trulie. It is not amisse, but a verie good order, for
thereby euerie pastor doth knowe his owne flock, euerie shepheard his
owne sheepe, which without this diuision could not be. Besides that,
we read that euen in the apostles daies (who writ to particular
churches themselues, as to the Rom. Corint. Thes. Phil, &c.) in the
daies of Christ, & in the times of the prophets before Christ, churches,
assemblies, and congregations were euer distincted one from another, &
diuided into feuerall flocks, companies, and charges. So that although
they had not the name of this word 'parish' amongst them, yet had
the thing ment thereby, in effect.

assemblies were
always separate.

Theod. Then it followeth by your reason, that there are infinite
churches in *Dnalgne*; and I haue learned out of the book of God

II. 2. *Of Churches, The Church, and their Rulers.* 69

that there is but one true church, and faithful spouse of Christ vpon the earth. How reconcile you these two places?

Amphil. Verie well. For although there be ¹infinite particular churches, congregations, and assemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and place, is notwithstanding one church before God, being members of the mystical body of Christ Iesus, & fellow members one of another, so as they can neuer be diuided, neither from themselues, nor from their head, Christ.

Theod. Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuersall church of Christ vpon earth? Christ Iesus, the pope, or the prince?

Amphil. Christ Iesus, whose the bodie is, must needs be, & is the onely true head of the vniuersall church. Then next vnder him euerie christian prince in his kingdom. And as for the pope, he is head ouer the malignant church, the church of the deuil, and not of Christ Iesus. No, he is so far from being head ouer the vniuersal church of Christ, that he is no true member of the same, but rather the childe of perdition, the first borne of fatan, a diuell incarnate, and that man of sin (euen Antichrist himselve) that must be destroyed with the breath of Gods mouth.

Theod. By whom be these particular churches and congregations gouerned & ruled?

Amphil. By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

Theod. Do you shut out the prince then from gouerning the church?

²*Amphil.* No, God forbid. For take away *Brachium seculare*, The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogether. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and brainesicke papists haue most deuilishly denied the same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogether. The papists seing themselues conuincid by the manifest worde of G O D, denye not their authority absolutely; but that their authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forsooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themselues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

[¹ Sig. K. 2.]

But these separate churches all make up One true Church,

whose Head is Christ; under Him each King in his kingdom;

(The Pope's the head of the Devil's Church)

and under them Bishops, Pastors, &c.,

[² Sig. K. 2. back] and temporal Magistrates.

The Anabaptists deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny its extending to Church Government.

magistrates¹, contrarie to the expresse word of our sauour Christ, and his apostles, who saith *Omnis anima subdita sit potestatibus supereminentibus!* Let every soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And therefore they are to be obeyed as the ministers of God of all whatsoeuer.

But every King is supreme head over the Church in his realm.
[² Sig. K. 3]

Theod. Well than I gather thus much, that every king, prince, or potentate, is supreme head next vnder God, over the church of GOD dispersed through his kingdomes, and dominions: is not this true?

The Pope is a mere greasy priest, like other oild shavelings are.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore that antichrist of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and vsurping to be supreme head over all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greasie priest, & smered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled shauelings haue, nor so much neither, and yet that authoritie is but over the malignant church of antichrist, and not of Christ Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that stumbling blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monstrous hidra, so as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe.

Theod. Seeing you say that euerie prince is supreme head over the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therefore assign you to the prince to execute in the church.

A King has to see good Pastors elected, proper rites establisht, and Church censures executed.

Amphil. It is the office and dutie of a prince, not onely to see elected, sent forth, & called, good, able, & sufficient pastours, for the instruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, constitutions & rites be established, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the sacraments truely ministred, excommunication, discipline and ecclesiasticall censures orderly³ executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be said that these things are to be executed of the ecclesiasticall persons onely, I answere, true it is; but if the ecclesiasticall magistrate be negligent, secure, slouthfull, and carelesse about the execution hereof (as who feeth not some be) than ought the prince to shew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Besides this, it is the office of the prince to see all kind of sinne, as well in the church men themselues, as in all others of the church, seuerely punished.

[³ Sig. K. 3. back]

The King should see sin punisht

¹ *Orig.* migistrates.

II. 2. *Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops.* 71

And though I grant the prince to haue the foueraigntie and primacie ouer the church of G O D, within his dominions, yet my meaning is not, that it is lawfull for the prince to preach the word, to minister the sacramentes, or to execute the sentence of excommunication, and other ecclesiasticall discipline and censures of the church, but (as before) to see them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For faith the apostle, *nemo sumat sibi honorem, nisi qui legitime vocatus fuerit, vt fuit Aaron.* And againe, *vnusquisque in ea uocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum?* But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatsoever coulde, nor ought not, to meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they vassals of most christian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not bene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble soeuer, his lackeys, his pages, his horsekeepers, and compelled them to hold his stirups, to leade his horse, and to prostrate themselves before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praised, this great antichrist is discouered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as euery childe iustlie laugheth him to scorne.

and the Church's orders carried out.

[¹ Sig. K. 4.]

The Antichrist of Rome formerly had kings as lackeys,

but his shame is laid open now.

Theod. You said before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

Amphil. The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of great grauitie, learning, and iudgement (for the most part) constituted by the Prince ouer a whole country or prouince, which they call their dioces. These graue fathers hauing authoritie aboue all other of the ministerie, in their dioces, do substitute vnder them in euerie particular church a minister, or ministers according to the necessitie of the same. And thus doeth euery bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the whole realme. So that no church, how small soeuer, but it hath the truth of Gods word, and of his sacraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

The Bishops are graue and learned men, set over Dioceses.

[² Sig. K 4, back]

Theod. Are those preaching prelates, that the bishops do place in euerie congregation, or else reading ministers?

Amphil. It were to be wished that all were preaching prelates, and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praised therefore.

All our ministers don't preach, some read only.

Theod. Be any, readers onlie, and not preachers: that is a great

72 11. 2. *Some Ministers are mere Readers, not Preachers.*

abuse. For I am persuaded that he that cannot preach, ought not to supplie a place in the church of God to read onlie: how say you?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say, bicause all ought to be preachers, that therefore readers are not necessarie. But indeed I am of this iudgement with you, that whofo can but read onelie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explaine the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduersarie, nor to deliuer the true sense and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof. For God commandeth that the pastors be learned, saieing: *Labia sacerdotum custodiant veritatem, and edificant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum,* Let the lips of the priests preferue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore those that haue not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not sent of God, neither are they Christs vicegerents or pastors to instruct his flocke. To such, the Lord saith: They rule, but not by me; they run, but I sent them not; they crie, thus saith the Lord, whereas hee neuer spake it. These are those idoll shepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom speaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke against sinne. And therefore I beseech the Lord to remooue them, and place able and sufficient pastors ouer his church, that GOD may be glorified, and the church edified in the truth.

But Readers

ought not to be Pastors.

[¹ Sig. K 5]

They are not Christ's Vicegerents.

only dumb dogs.

But bare Reading is better than nothing.

Theod. Bare reading, I must needs say, is bare feeding: but what then? Better it is to haue bare feeding than none at all.

[² Sig. K 5, back]

If you can't get at a kernel at first, don't throw away the whole nut.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore are not they more scrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wise, that bicause they cannot haue preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessarie? This is as though a man should despise meane fare, bicause he cannot come by better, whereas I thinke it is ²better to haue meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, bicause he cannot come by the carnell at the first, will therefore cast awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as saith the apostle) that all could prophesie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truth, but bicause that al haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught? And therefore a sort of nouatians lately sprong vp, haue greatly faulted herein, in that they hold that no reading ministers only ought to be permitted in the church of God, as though

(as I say) because a man can not haue daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a dumbe reading ministerie only, so I will not condemne it for necessities sake, when otherwise euery place cannot be sufficiently furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Keep your Reading Ministers till you can get Preaching ones.

Theod. But it is thought that there are inow able men in the vniuersities and elsewhere to furnish euery particular church with a preaching minister?

Amphil. Truly I thinke there are so, if they were fought for & preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not fought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, somtimes by friendship, somtime by mony¹(for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and somtimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their bookes. Whereby learning greatlie decayeth, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if speedie remedie be not had herein.

We've enough learned men, but, alas they don't get Preferment.

¹ Sig. K 6]

Theod. As farre as I can gather by your speeches, there is both a reading and a preaching ministerie: whether doe you prefer before the other?

Amphil. I preferre the preaching ministerie before a reading ministerie only: and yet the reading ministerie, if the other can not be had, is not therefore euill, or not necessarie.

Theod. But tell me this. If there might a preaching ministerie be gotten, ought not the reading ministerie to giue place to the same?

Amphil. Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to seeke for the learned sort, and as it were to sue and make instance to them, and finding them worthy, as well for their life as doctrine, to call them lawfully according to the prescript of Gods word, & so to sende them forth into the Lords haruest. And where the foresaide dumbe ministerie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes² the word of God should flourish, ignorance (mauger the head of satan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one incouraged to go to their bookes, whereas now they practise nothing lesse, and all by reason that by their learning they haue no promotion nor preferment at all.

Bishops ought to seek out learned Ministers.

[² Sig. K 6, back]

Preaching
Ministers
preach mainly
in their own
parishes,

but sometimes
out of them,
and rightly so,

[¹ Sig. K 7]
notwithstanding
the Brownists,

for the Apostles
went from place
to place
preaching.

Eviis of
Pluralities.

[² Sig. K 7, Lack]

Theod. Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flockes and charges, or else indifferently abroad else where?

Amphil. They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghost hath made them ouerfeers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of iudgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they sometimes helpe their felowe brethren to breake the bread of life to their charges also. Wherein me thinke they do not amisse. For if a watch man appointed by a whole citie, or towne to giue warning when the enimie commeth, seeing an other citie or towne to be in danger, giueth sufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuereth them both, I say, that in so doing, hee doth well, and according to charitie. And yet ¹notwithstanding, diuers new phangled felows sprong vp of late, as the Brownists, and there adherents, haue spoken verie blasphemoullie hereof, teaching in their railing pamphletes, that those who are lecturers or preach els wher than in their owne cures are accursed before god. Than the which, what can be more absurdlie, or vntuely spoken? For if they grant (as they cannot deny) that the word of God is good, then cannot the declaration of that which is good in one place, be hurtfull in another. And read we not that the apostles themselues went from place to place, preaching the word to euerie congregation? Christ Iesus did the same, & also taught vs, that he came not to preach to one citie onely, but to many?

Theod. Doe the reading ministers onely continue and read altogether in their owne charges, or not?

Amphil. The reading ministers, after they be hired of the parishes (for they are mercenaries) they read commonly in their owne charges, and cures, and except (which is a horrible abuse) that they haue two or three cures to serue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles distant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible expediti²on, though none vnderstand them, and as fewe be edified by them.

Theod. Be these reading ministers well prouided for, so as they want nothing, or not?

II. 2. *Bad Pay and Pluralism of Reading Ministers.* 75

Amphil. No truly. For if the other preaching ministers be not well provided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therefore they haue, som of them ten pound a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some fixe pound, some fiue pound, some foure pound, some fortie shillings; yea, and table themselues also of the same. And sometimes failing of this too, they runne roging like vagarents vp & downe the countries like maisterlesse men, to seeke their maintenance. Whereby some fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great slander of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and scandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading misters be too well provided for, for some of them haue two or three, yea foure or fiue benefices apeece, being resident but at one of them at once, and peradventure at neuer a one, but roist it out else-where, purchasing a dispensation for their discontinuance, and then may no man say: *Domine, cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you so? For hee hath ¹plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading Ministers' pay runs from £10 to £2 a year, and keep themselves.

Some have 3 or 4 benefices apiece,

[¹ Sig. K 8]

Theod. That is an horrible abuse, that one man should haue two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apeece as some haue: may anie man haue so manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good conscience?

Amphil. As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, so is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent soeuer, to haue mo benefices, mo flockes, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perswaded that it is more tollerable (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wiues or mo, than for a man to haue two benefices at once, or mo. For by possibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wiues (yet to haue mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apostles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able sufficientlie to discharge his dutie in the instruction of one church, or congregation, much lesse of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as some haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor ²manie pastours, nor one man diuerse men, so one sheepeheard or pastour cannot, nor ought not, to haue diuers charges, and flocks at once. Is it possible for any shepheard though he were neuer so cunning a man, to keepe two or

which is worse than having 2 or 3 wives.

[² Sig. K 8, back]

One Pastor cannot take charge of

three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due season, dooing the dutie of a good shepheard in euerie respect, they being distant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, sixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much lesse is there any man able to discharge the dutie of a good pastor ouer so manie flocks, churches, and congregations so farre distant in place, wheras the simplest flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therefore I aduise al benefice mongers, *that* haue mo charges then one, to take heede to themselues, and to leaue them in time, for the blood of al those within their cures, or charges, that die ghostlie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall be powred vpon their¹ heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

more flocks
and churches
than one.

If he tries to,
he must be
non-resident
in one parish.

[² Sig. L. 1.]

Theod. If they haue so many benefices a peece, and some so farre distant from another, then it is not possible that they can be resident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in dispute, whether they may not as well be ab²sent, or present: what is your iudgment of that?

Amphil. To doubt whether the pastor ought to be resident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the soule should be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully perswaded of, that as the soule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the same, so the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the soule of man. And as necessarie as the one is to the bodie, so (and much more) necessarie is the other both to soule and bodie. Now certein it is, these things cannot be applied without the presence of the preacher or pastor; and therefore is his absence from his flocke a dangerous and a perilous thing, and as it were a taking away of their life and light from them, which commeth by the preaching of Gods word vnto them.

This takes
away the
Word preachd,
which is the
Life.

Theod. But they say, though they be not present by themselues, yet be they present by their substitutes and deputies: is not that a sufficient discharge for them before God?

Amphil. I grant they are present by their deputies and substitutes, but if a man shoulde looke into a great sort of them, he should finde them such as are fitter to feed hogs, than christian soules. For as for

Ministers'
Substitutes
are mainly like
Hogherds.

¹ *Orig.* their their.

II. 2. *Ministers' ignorant tippling hired Deputies.* 77

some of them, are they ¹not such as can scarcely read true english? [¹ Sig. L. 1. back]

And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not such as can scarce tell what it meaneth? The truth of Gods word they cannot easily preach nor expound. The aduersarie they cannot reffell: barke against sinne they dare not, bicause their liues are licentious. They will read you their seruice faire and cleanly (as the doting papists did their blasphemous masses out of their porteffes), and when they haue done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon sabboth day, festiuall day, or other; no day is amiss to them. And all the weeke after, yea all the yeere (if I said all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) they will not sticke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and swilling till the signe be in Capricornus. Infomuch as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt woormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpose. By these mercenaries their deputies, and the like, I grant they are present in all their flocks, but so as it were better or as good they were absent, for any good they doe, but rather hurt by their euill example of life. The residence of these their deputies is no discharge for them ²before the tribunall seate of God: for notwithstanding the same, let them be sure to answer for the blood of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of iudgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, least afterward it be too late.

Tho they can read the Service, yet after it,

and on week-days, they'll swill all day at the Alehouse.

[² Sig. L. 2.]

Theod. But I heare say, that what is wanting either in their deputies, or in themselves for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter sermons themselves, or else (if they be not able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well?

Pluralists may preach once a quarter, but that's no more good

Amphil. It is as though a man euery quarter of a yeere once, should take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwithstanding should looke for increase of the same: were not he a foolish husbandman that would do thus? And euen so he is no lesse vnwise, that plowing but one furrow, that is, preaching but one poore sermon in a quarter of a yeere (& perchance but one in a whole yeere, nay in 7. yeeres) will notwithstanding loke for gret increase of the same. Now the cause why this ground bringeth not forth fruit is, for that it

than if a man plowd one furrow euery quarter.

[¹ Sig. L. 2. back]
Our churches
don't bring forth
fruit because
they're not tilled
with preaching.

God's Word
should be
preacht night
and day with-
out ceasing.

[² Sig. L. 3.]

Woe to Minis-
ters who won't
preach it!

'Ho there's a
law against
Pluralism,

is not plowed, furowed, & tilled al together as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit ¹is, for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and because the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, *that* it, sinking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal life. If the strongest mans body that liueth vpon the earth should be nourished with nothing for a whole quarter of a yeeres space, but onely with two or three drops of aqua vite, aqua angelica, or the like, euery day, and at euery quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perswaded that his bodie notwithstanding would soone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen so falleth out in this case. For although our soules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearring the word read as it were with aqua vite, or sweet necter, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & sumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the same. And therefore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in season and out of season, and that without ceasing, or intermission. And if that saieng of the prophet be ²true (as without all controuerfie it is most true) that he is accursed, *Qui fecerit opus domini negligenter*, That doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently, then must it needs be, that those who hauing cure of soules, and doe seldome, or neuer preach, are within the compassè of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule said of himselfe, *Vae mihi nisi euangelizauero*, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; and doe they thinke that the same wo is not proper to them if they preach not? Haue they a greater priuiledge than the blessed apostle faint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therefore, as they tender the saluation of their owne soules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to shew themselues painefull laborers in the Lords haruest.

Theod. As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a restraint, that none shall haue no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

II. 2. *Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities.* 79

Amphil. They make the lawes (as it were) slipmens hooven, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie thing they lust. But bicause they will auoide the lawes, they purchase a dispensation, a licence, a commiffion, a pluralitie, a qualification, and I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots so manie, how manie soeuer, and that with as good a conscience as *Iudas* receiued the mony for the which he sold Christ Iesus the Sauour of the world. Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble personages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that these licenses shall go for good payment at the daie of iudgement. I thinke not. For sure I am that no license of man can dispense with vs, to doe that thing which is against Gods worde (as these totquots is) and therefore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring them to account for it in his good time: GOD grant they may looke to it!

Theod. In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of these ecclesiastical promotions and benefices consist? in the churches themselves, or in whom else?

Amphil. Indeede you saie well. For who shoulde haue the patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the churches themselves, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, *Proprio iure*, They doe appertaine? For doe not the benefices consist either in tithes, or contributions, or both? Nowe, who giueth both the one and the other? Doe not the Churches? Then by good reason ought they to haue the gifture and bestowing of them, and the right and interest thereof ought to remaine in the power of the church, and not in anie other priuate man whatsoever.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would not haue anie priuate or singuler man of what degree soeuer, to haue the patronage, the right, or gifture of anie ecclesiastical liuing, but the churches themselves: is not that your meaning?

Amphil. Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

Theod. Why so, I beseech you?

it's avoided by buying a dispensation,
[¹ Sig. L. 3.back]

getting a chaplaincy to a Nobleman, &c.

But God 'll be down on these folk.

The Patronage of Benefices ought to be in the Churches' hands.
[² Sig. L. 4.]

Every parish Church ought to have the patronage of its own Living.

80 II. 2. *Every Congregation should own its Patronage.*

It wouldn't
abuse it as pri-
vate Patrons do.

[¹ Sig. L. 4. back]

Private Patrons
often cheat their
Pastors of half
their income.

And they move
their cattle and
sheep so as to
avoid paying
tithes on em.

[² Sig. L. 5]

Amphil. Because one man may easily be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vpon such as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not so. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing else but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the Gentelman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, ¹ giueth not the whole liuing himselfe, *ergo* hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the same. Thirdly, the whole church will not giue the same for simonic; one priuate man may be induced to doe it. Fourthlie, the church will keepe no part of the liuing backe from the pastor, if he doe his dutie, nor imploie it to ther owne vse; the singularitie of one man may easilie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fattest morsels to themselues, and giue scarcely the crums to their pastors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will scarcely giue their pastor foure score. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue fortie pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they giue ten pound, imploieing the better halfe to their owne priuate gaine. Now if this be not sacrilege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their substance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what sacrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are some, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, against the time that their sheepe, kine, and other cattell should bring fourth increase, will driue them thither, so that the fruit falling in the other parish, he shall not need to pay tithes for the same to his owne pastor ² where he dwelleth. And against the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, shall demand his tithes thereof, they will haue fetched home their cattell, so that by these sinister kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence sute against him, he answereth, they fell not in his parish: if the other doe the same, he pleadeth that he is not of his parish, nor oweth him ought. But indeed they wil pay for their ground in the other parish a little herbage (as they call it), a thing of nothing, to stop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore pastors are deteined from their right, and almost beggered in most places that I haue come in.

Theod. How came temporall men by the right of their patronages, and how fell they into their clowches, can you tell?

II. 2. *How Laymen got their Church Patronage.* 81

Amphil. I will tell you, as farre as euer I could coniecture, how they fel into their hands. In the beginning, when Antichrist the pope exercis'd his vsurped authoritie, and challenged the title of supreme head ouer the vniuersall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomsoever would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was giuen to blinde superstition, as to instaurate ab¹beies, priories, nunries, with other sumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, crosses, images, and the like fooleries) or else giue ground for the same to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretended right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the same. Other some thinke (to whome I willinglie subscribe) that the Churches (consisting of simple and ignorant men for the most part) abusing the same benefices, and bestowing them vpon vnmeete persons, the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and giuen the right patronage and possession of the same to the temporalitie, to the ende they might bestowe them better. But as they were taken from the churches for some causes, so ought they to be remooued and giuen againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and foulded for simonie, euen as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for mony.

Theod. Are there no lawes for the restrainte of simonie, being for horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

Amphil. Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loofe the patronage of the same, and the ²ecclesiasticall person, that giueth it, to loofe the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclesiasticall promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? Yes, I warrant you. For though they giue two hundred, or three hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloofely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admissiō, they are sworne whether they came by it by simonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for it or no, therefore, to auoide the guilte of periurie, they, the pastors themselues, will not giue anie monie, but their friendes shall doe it for them; and than may they sweare (with as good a conscience as euer Iudas betraied Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

Laymen get their Church Patronage by the Pope having

given it to all men who'd build churches or give ground for em;

[¹ Sig. L 5, back]

and by the King having taken the patronage from congregations, and given it to individuals.

We have lawes against *Simony*,

[² Sig. L 6]

but they're easily evaded.

Simony is avoided by pastors getting friends to pay money for them.

82 II. 2. *Abuses of Private Patronage of Livings.*

Or they buy a
worthless thing
for £100.

[¹ Sig. I. 6, back]

Private
Patronages
should be
abolisht.

Poor Pastors
haven't money
to buy books.

[² Sig. L 7]

Pagans take
better care of
their Priests.

by it freely, as of gifte. Or if this waie fayle them, than must they giue the patrones a hundred pounce, or two hundred pounds vpon some bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they sweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vpon such and such a bargaine, ¹ without some of these practises, or without such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, thogh he be neuer so learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with such golden apples, it will ferue him better then all Saint Paules learning. For these and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enioy them, nay, that make hauocke of them, and either to rest in the right of the Prince (as they ought) or else in the right of the churches, who will not be corrupted, it were a great deale better than nowe they bee. For now the poore pastours are so handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookes withall, nor, which is lesse, not to maintaine themselues vpon, thogh but meanelye, but are manye times constrained either to wander abroad to seeke their liuings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great discredite of the gospell of Christ, and offence of the godlie. This argueth flatly that we loue not Christ Iesus, who make so little of his messengers, and ambassadors. He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiueth ² me, and maketh much of me, saith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priests, then we doe for the true preachers of the gospell, and disclofers of the secrets of God. For when the Egyptians were fore pooled of Pharao, the priests, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all necessarie maintenance whatsoeuer. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatsoeuer we get of them is won, it is our own good, whereas in truth, what we withdrawe from them (prouided that they be diligent preachers of the gospell) we withdraw it from God, and ferrie it to the deuil. But hereof more shal be spoken (Christ willing) hereafter, when we come to this question, whether it be lawful for preachers and ministers of the Gospell, to receiue wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

Theod. By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, belonging to him, by y^e law of God, or of man?

Ministers can claim Tithes

Amphil. God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciall commandement that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be giuen to the priests, to the end that they might attend vpon the diuine seruice of God and not ¹busie themselues in worldly affaires, which ordinance or sanction being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadowes, types & figures ceased, & toke their end) And therefore cannot a preacher of the Gospell claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positieue lawes of Christian princes which are to be obeyed in all things (not directly against true godlinesse) vpon paine of damnation.

[¹ Sig. L 7, back]

by the positive law of Christian kings,

Theod. Are tithes then due to be paid by the positieue lawe of man, and not by the law of God?

Amphil. Yea truly, by the positieue lawe of man: which godlie constitution is now no lesse to be obeyed vnder the Gospell (being commanded by a christian prince) than the diuine institution was to be obeyed vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the positieue lawes of man, yet are the same grounded vpon the word of God, as commanded as well by God as by man. And therefore he that breaketh this ordinance (being an excellent policie) violateth the commandements of God, and breketh the constitution of his liege prince to his damnation, except he repent.

grounded on the word of God.

Theod. Must euerie one pay his tithes truely to euery pastor, whether he be ought or ²naught, learned or vnlearned, without any exception; or may he deteine it with good conscience from him that is an vnfit and vnable minister?

[² Sig. L 8]

Amphil. If he be a good pastor, and diligent in his calling, and withal able to discharge the dutie of a faithful shepheard ouer his flock, then ought he to haue al tithes paid him whatsoeuer with the better; and if any should withhold the left mite from him, he sinneth against the maieftie of God most greuously. And although he be a wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in small measure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might seeme to withstande authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing

Even tho a Minister's a wicked man, his tithes should be paid him,

84 II. 2. *Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.*

themselves to praier, and suing to them that haue the authoritie for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the dutie of a faithfull paitor. Notwithstanding I know some are of opinion that if any man giue either tithes, or anie dutie else, to their pastor being an vnfit and an vnable person, he is partaker with him of his sinne, he communicateth with other mens offences, and he maintaineth him in his idleneffe, sloth, ignorance, ¹ and securitie, and therefore offendeth greuously. But I am of opinion that euery man ought to pay their dutie (for else he might seeme, as I said, to resist the power) & if he be not able to discharge his dutie, to pray for his remoouing, and to make instance to them that are in authoritie appointed for the redresse of such inormities, for his displacing, and so not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authoritie grounded vpon the word for the same.

[¹ Sig. L 8, back]

but his parishioners should try to get him removed.

Theod. May a pastor that hath a charge and a flocke assigned him to watch ouer (hauing a maintainable liuing allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

Amphil. Hee may sometimes, obtaining licence for some reasonable cause of his owne flocke, preach the word of God abroad in other places, but then he ought to doe it *gratis*, contenting himselfe with the liuing allowed him at home of his owne parish. Notwithstanding, if the other churches where he shall have preached, will voluntarily impart any thing to the supplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receiue the same, but he may not compell, nor constraime them to giue it him whether they will or not, against their wils, as manie impudently doe.

An endowd Minister may not

force men to pay him for preaching in other places.

[² Sig. M. 1.]

Theod. Then I perceiue if it be not law²full for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a stipend appointed him, to receiue monie vpon constraint of strangers for preaching the worde abroad in other places, then is it not lawfull for him to take monie in his cure for preaching funerall sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do. What say you to this?

Amphil. There are manie woorthie of great blame in this respect. For though they receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound a yeere, of some one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and sometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the same. And if a

Ministers may not take fees for sermons

II. 2. *Preachers not to take fees for Funeral Sermons.* 85

man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the left. And therefore the papists and aduerfaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our fermons 'roiall fermons, angell fermons, and noble fermons.' You call, say they, our blessed masse 'a polling masse;' but, say they, your preachings are more polling. For we say they would haue sold a masse for a grote; you will not sell a fermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus these fellowes are a slander to the Gospel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I should hire a¹ man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or lesse, to teach my children nurture or knowledge, if he for the execution therof should aske me more for the same than we agreed for, were not this man a naughtie, exacting, and fraudulent felowe? Nay, if I compound with him to teach them in the best maner he is able for so much, and he doth it not, and yet receiue my monie, haue not I good lawe against him? If he should say vnto me, I will not doe it except you giue me more, were not this a very vnreasonable man? For, hauing his monie that was couenant, is hee not bound both by lawe and conscience to teach them to the vttermoſt of his power? Or if he shall not doe it, and yet take my monie, is not he a theefe and robber? Is this true in a priuate man, & not in an ecclesiasticall person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the same? Shall he now denie to preach the same word except he haue more monie? Or is he not bound in conscience to preach the same night and day without ceasing? And if he doe not, is he not a deceiuer, a theefe, & a robber? The pastor therefore, hauing taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and hauing his stipend appointed for the same, is bound to preach the worde of² God to all his flocke indifferently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then especially) or at any other time whensoever, without taking or requiring of any more monie, than the stipend he was hired for. For if he take any more, it is plaine theft before God, and one day shall be answered for: let them be sure of it.

Theod. You condemne not funerall fermons then, so that they be good, doe you?

Amphil. No, God forbid. Why should not godlie fermons be as

at Burials,
Weddings, &c.

Those that do
are a slander to
the Gospel.

[¹ Sig. M. 1. back]

They get their
salary, and yet
won't preach
without more
pay.

[² Sig. M. 2.]

I think godly
Sermons at
Funerals are
very needful,
and do great
good.

wholsome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue such liuely spectacles before our eies, of our mortality, miserie, and end, as they be at all other times? Yea truely at that present I thinke godlie sermons verie necessarie to put the people in remembrance of their mortalitie, of their great miserie, and frailtie, of their fatall end, of the immortalitie of the soule, of the generall resurrection at the last day, and of the ioie, felicitie, and beatitude of the life to come, with the like godlie instructions, that they may the better prepare themselues to the same when God shall call them hence to himselfe. And although of late some phantasticall spirites haue taught that the vse of them is naught, in that they ¹stand in place of popish diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be easilie drawne to assent vnto them, for that I see them in that respect a great deale more curious than godlie wise.

[¹Sig. M. 2. back]

Ministers
ought to have
Stipends, so as
to be free from
worldly business,
and keep their
families.

Theod. Is it lawfull, thinke you, for ministers, and preachers of the Gospell, to receiue stipends, and wages for their preaching?

Amphil. Why not? Otherwise how should they bee able to keepe themselues free from worldly occupations, and trauels of this life (as they ought) to applie their studies for the discharge of their duties, to maintaine themselues, their family, and household; or how should they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore? all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good conscience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogether, the ordinarie meane to saluation in Christ. This caused the apostle to enter disputation of this point, where he proueth by inuincible arguments, that a preacher or minister of the Gospell of Christ Iesus, may (*Salua conscientia*, With a good conscience) receiue wages and stipends for his peines susteined in the affaires of the Gospell, and that for the causes abouesaid. Therefore saith this apostle: *Boni ²tritueranti non ligabis os*, Thou shalt not muffle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth fourth the corne. Whereby is ment, that he that laboreth and taketh paines in any good exercise, ought not to be denied of his meed for his paines. Againe he saith: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And still insisting in the same argument, hee saith: *Qui euangelium prædicant, ex euangelio uiuant*, They that preach the Gospell, let them liue vpon the Gospell. And yet further prosecuting the same more at

[²Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says
that Ministers
who preach the
Gospel should
live by it.

II. 2. *Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks.* 87

large, he saith: *Quis militat*, etc. 'Who goeth on warfare at any time of his owne charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit? Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flock?' By al which reasons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospel ought to liue of the Gospell. But as euerie pastor that hath a peculiar flocke assigned him, may, with the testimonie of a good conscience, receiue wages and maintenance of his flocke, for his paines taken amongst them: so may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or salarie of any other flocke adioining, if so be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amongst them. To them that are thus prouided for, Christ our ¹fauour saith: *Gratis accepistis, gratis date*, Freely you haue receiued, freely giue againe. But if any haue not a special flocke or charge assigned him, then may he with good conscience receiue the beneuolencie, the friendly contributions and rewards, of the churches to whom he hath preached. And this is probable, both by the word of God, and the examples of the apostles themselues.

But benefist Ministers may not take extra pay.

[¹ Sig. M. 3. back]

Theod. What say you of preachers, and lecturers, that haue no peculiar flockes, nor charges appointed them; are they necessarie, and may they receiue wages, with a good conscience, of the flockes and charges where they preach the word of God?

Amphil. Firſt you aske me whether preachers and lecturers that haue no peculiar flocks nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, be necessarie. Whereto I answere. That considering the state & condition of the church at this day, they are most necessarie. But if it were so, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euery one ought to preach, else is he not sent by the Lord) then were they not so necessarie; but considering that most churches are planted and fraught with single reading ministers, they are vrie behouefull to helpe to supplie the defect of the others, that ²through the good industrie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of GOD may bee instructed and nourished with the worde of GOD to eternall life. Then you aske mee whether these lecturers and preachers may receiue wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good conscience, whereto I answere, that they may. But yet I am persuaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flocks of their owne, to the end that they, receiuing sufficient maintenance of them, might

Unbenefist preachers are now necessary,

as most Churches have only Readers.

[² Sig. M. 4.]

Unbenefist clergy may take pay for Preaching.

(if they were at anie time disposed to bestowe any spirituall graces abroad) doe it *Gratis*, frankly and freely, without any charges to the poore churches of Iesus Christ.

Theod. But what if the pastors liuing be not maintaineable nor sufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

Amphil. I am persuaded no. For if his liuing be too little, then ought the church to mend it; but if the church, either for want of zeale will not, or through extreame pouertie cannot, increase his liuing, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath sent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth the children of GOD¹ to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they haue meate, drinke, and cloth, it is inough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (saith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into diuers temptations, and snares of the diuell, which drowne men in perdition and destruccion. Therefore if it be sufficient to yeelde him meate, drinke, cloth, and other necessaries, he is bound to content himselfe with the same. Which if he doe (for the zeale he beareth to his flocke), I doubt not but the Lord will open the harts of his flock towards him, and both make them able and willing to support his necessities. For if hee deliuer vnto them spirituall things, doubtlesse the Lord will moue them to giue vnto him temporall things. And therefore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peradventure, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promised.

Theod. Doe you allow of that vagarant ministerie, which is in manie countries, but most specially in *Dnalgne* sprong up of late, to the discredite of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and offence of the brethren?

Amphil. Allow of it, quoth you? No, God forbid! But I rather deplore it with all my hart, ²knowing that it is most directly against the word of God, the example of the primitiue age and all good reformed churches thorough the world. Is it not a pitifull case that two hundred, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, yea possible ten thousand, shall be called into the ministerie, in one countrie, not a quarter of them knowing where to haue any liuing or

But benefit
ones may not,
even if their
Livings are
very poor.

[¹ Sig. M. 4. back]

They must be
content with em,

and wait till
the Lord opens
men's hearts to
give them more.

[² leaf M 5]
The present
Vagrant
Ministers,

charge? And what do they then? Runne stragling and rousing ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to shire, and from one place to another, till they haue spent al that euer they haue, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great dishonour of God, and slander of the word.

roaming all
ouer the country,
I condemne.

Theod. Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not hauing flocks and charges prouided for them before.

Amphil. It is a great abuse indeed. For if pastor come of *Pasco*, to feed, if he be not a shepheard that hath no flock, and if he be not a feeder, that giueth no sustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no shepheards, nor no watchmen sent from the Lord, that haue neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For ¹he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular flocke readie to receiue him, is so far from being a lawfull shepheard, by reason of his former admission, that he is rather made a pastor by the church that hireth him to be their watchman and guide, than of him that first called him into that function. And therefore woulde I wish that bishops and others to whome it doth (*Ex officio*) apperteine to call, and admit pastors, and teachers in the church of G O D, to bee verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they haue had sufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the slander of the Gospell.

[¹ leaf M 5, back]

Bishops
should stop

these men
running about
like masterless
dogs.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would haue none called into the ministerie, before there be a place void for him: is not that your meaning?

No one should
be ordaind till
a place is
ready for him.

Amphil. That is my meaning indeed.

Theod. But are you able to prouue your assumption out of the word of God, or else I will giue but smal credit to you in such matters of controuersie as this is?

Amphil. I haue not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to ² prouue by the worde of G O D. And yet I grant *Errare possum* (for *Hominis est labi, & decipi*, Man may bee deceiued and fall) but

Bible examples
prove this.
[² leaf M 6]

Hereticus esse nolo, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, so foone as I shall be conuincd by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or assertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being persuaded as I am, giue me leaue, I beseech you (vnder correction) to speake what I thinke. But now to the purpose. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles recorded by the Evangelist Saint *Luke*, wee read that *Matthias* succeeding *Iudas* the traitour in the administration of the apostleship, was not chosen nor elected (notwithstanding that the apostles by the reuelation of the Spirit of G O D, knew that he should fall from the same in the end) vntill the place was voide, and emptie. In the sixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles wee reade also of seuen deacons, which were chosen for the dailie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (desitute of their seruice) had need of them, nor before there ¹were places readie to receiue them, wherein they might exercise their function, and calling. Then if the apostles would not choose not so much as deacons, which is an office in the church of God farre inferiour to the office of the pastor, or preacher, before places were void and readie to receiue them, much lesse would they, or did they choose or call any pastor into the church of God, before the church stood in need of him, and before there be a place readie to receiue him. Besides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be pastors and preachers of the word, before such time as there were places void for them. Common reason, me thinke, and daily experience, should teach us this truth sufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is desitute of a pastor, it were better to place there one able person, than to make two or three hundred or mo vnable fellowes, and they, for want of liuing, to runne stragling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old saieing is: Hungrie dogs eate sluttish puddings.

Theod. What order would you have obserued in this?

²*Amphil.* Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being desitute of a pastor, should present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth apperteine, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or lesse, as they conueniently can,

Matthias
wasn't elected

till Judas's place
was empty.

The Apostles
wouldn't choose
Deacons until
[¹ leaf M 6, back]
places were
ready for em.

Common sense
says, better
wait and get one
able man than
have 200 unfit
ones struggling
about after
places.

[² leaf M 7]

Any congrega-
tion wanting
a Pastor, should
propose 2 or 3
tried men to
the Bishop,

11. 2. *How Ministers should be appointed to Churches.* 91

whose liues and conuerfations they haue had fufficient triall of, whose foundneffe in religion, integritie of life, and godly zeale to the truth they are not ignorant of. Then the bishops and others to whom it doth apperteine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their fufficiencie in learning, foundneffe in doctrine, and dexteritie in teaching, and finding them furnished with fufficient gifts for fuch an honorable calling, to admit them, to lay their hands vpon them, and to fend them fourth (the chiefest of them) to that congregation or church fo defitute. Which order, if it were ftrictly obserued and kept (as it ought to be) then should not fo manie run abroad in the countries to feeke liuings, then should not churches bee pestered with insufficient ministers. Then should not the bishops be fo deceiued in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how should the bishop choofe but be deceiued in him, whom he neuer fawe before, whose conuerfation he knoweth not, whose difpofition hee is ignorant of, and ¹whose qualities and properties in generall, he fufpecteth not?

and he should ordain the best for that Church.

[¹ leaf M 7, back]

Whereas if this order were established, that euerie church defitute of a paffor should present certeine able men, whose conuerfation and integritie of life in euerie refpect they perfectly knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in iudging of their conuerfations, who haue been either altogether, or for the most part conuerfant among them) then (as I fay,) should not the bishop be deceiued in any, nor yet any church scandalized with the wicked liues of their paffors (or rather depaffors) as they be. For now it is though fufficient for the certieintie of his conuerfation, if he either haue letters dimifforie from one bishop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the conuerfation of the man) or elfe letters commendatorie from any gentleman, or other, especially if they be of any reputation. If he can get thefe things, he is likely to fpeede, I warrant him. Which thing is scarce well, in my iudgement. For you knowe one priuate man or two, or three, or foure may, peradventure either write vpon affection, or elfe bee corrupted with bribes or gifts, whereas the whole church cannot, nor would not. Therefore is the other the furer way.

Now, a Bishop gets but small proof of a candidate's fitness.

²*Theod.* How prouue you that the churches that are defitute of a paffor, ought to present him whom they would haue admitted, to the bishop, and not the bishop to intrude vpon the church whom he will?

[² leaf M 8]
Bishops ought not to intrude their nominees on churches,

92 II. 2. *Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.*

for the Apostles

bade the Church
present suc-
cessors to Judas
Iscariot.

They also bade
the Church
choose Deacons.

[¹ leaf M 8, back]
So now each
Church should
choose its
Pastor.

If it doesn't, it
won't like him.

[² Sig. N. 1.]

Amphil. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Judas the traitour, the apostle *Peter* knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to giue testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascension of Christ Iesus, commanded the church to present one or two, or mo, as they thought good, that hee with his fellowe brethren might confirme and allow them. And therevpon, faith the text, they chose two, to wit, *Matthias*, and *Ioseph*, furnamed *Bersabas*. And the church hauing presented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the foresaide sixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to see the same bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text faith, that the apostles desired the church to choosse fourth seuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghost, which they might appoint to that businesse. ¹By all which reasons appereth, that the church ought to present him, or them, whom they would haue to be admitted, and not that the bishop ought to present, to allow, or to intrude him vpon the church at his pleasure, against the will thereof.

Theod. Why would you not haue pastors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not ?

Amphil. Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receiue, nor yet so louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them against their wils, as they will doe him that they like of, choose, and allow of themselues. And if the churches beare not a singular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their pastor, it is vnpossible that they should heare him, or learne of him with profit to their soules. And if they heare him not *Auide & sitienter* (as we say) Greedily and thirstily thereby to profit, then shal they perish euerlastingly, in that the word of God is the ordinarie meane appointed by the diuine maiestie. And therefore in conclusion, if there be not a mutual amitie, loue, and affection betwixt the pastor and his flocke, and if that the one loue not the other, as themselues, it is not to be looked for that either the one shall teach, or the other receiue, any thing to their soules ²health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

Theod. I pray you what is your iudgement in this? What if a

II. 2. *When a Minister may turn Layman again.* 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon anie occasion whatsoever, leaue off the same function, and applie himselfe to secular affaires?

As to a Minister giving up his office,

Amphil. There is a twofold calling. The one a diuine calling immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from and by man. Now he that hath the first diuine calling (his conscience suggesting the same vnto him, and the spirit of God certifieng his spirit of the certentie thereof) being furnished with gifts and graces necessarie for such a high function and office (as God calleth none, but he indueth them first with gifts, and graces necessarie for their calling) and afterwards is lawfully called of man according to the prescript of Gods word, hauing a flocke appointed him wherevpon to attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to giue ouer his calling, but to perseuere in the same to the end, for that he hath both the diuine and humane callings, being furnished with all gifts and graces necessarie (in some measure) for the discharge of his high function and calling. Yet notwithstanding, in time of extreme

if he's calld by God's Spirit,

and then by man, and is given a flock, he must continue a Minister to the end.

persecution, when Gods truth is persecuted, and his glorie defaced, if he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwise, he may for the time giue himselfe to manuell occupations, and corporall exercises in the affaires of the worlde, as we see the apostles themselues did, who, after Christ Iesus was crucified, gaue themselues to their old occupations of fishing, making of nets, tents, paulions, and the like. But vpon the other side, if a man haue not this diuine calling, his conscience bearing him witnesse thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whosoever hath not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not sent him, for those that hee sendeth, hee furnisheth with all kinde of graces and giftes necessarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by humane calling neuer so precisely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of God, representing (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not. Besides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect else, to take that high function vpon him, without the testimony of a good conscience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for such a calling (which argueth directly that God hath not called him)

[¹ Sig. N. r. back]

But if he's not calld by God, and hasn't fit gifts for his work, he

should at once give up his office.

Men first by friends or poverty into the Ministry, and being unfit,

[² Sig. N. 2.]

ought to leave
their callings.

hee, I say, is so farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in the same, though he bee called by man a thousande times. Therefore he that is a minister, and hath charge of soules committed vnto him, let him if hee bee not furnished with such gifts as his high calling requireth, in the name of G O D make no doubt of it to giue ouer his function vnto others that are able for their giftes to discharge the same, in the meane time giuing himselfe to godlie exercises of life, as God may be glorified, his conscience disburthened, and the commonwealth profited.

Theod. But I haue heard of some that, considering the naughtineesse of their calling, and their owne insufficiencie to discharge the same, haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular exercises, and in the ende haue beene inforced to resume their former function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not. How thinke you of this?

[¹ Sig. N. 2. back]
Those who
would drive
them back into
Orders, offend
grievously.

Amphil. I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and ¹ therefore left it, haue greuously offended therein. This is as if I, knowing a simple ignorant foole presumptuously to haue taken vpon him a great and waightie charge, yea, such a charge as all the wisedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne insufficiencie, shuld be mooued to leaue his charge to others better able to execute the same than hee, I should notwithstanding not onely counsell, but also compell him to resigne againe his former great charge, which I knowe he is neither woorthie, nor yet able, euer to accomplish. Thinke you not that he that compelleth him to take againe that office or calling which before he had leaft for his inabilitie, shall not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be sure of it. In conclusion, he that is sufficiently furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to discharge in some fort his duty, ought not to leaue his function (for to such a on that so doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God'). But againe, he that hath not these gifts, and graces sufficient for his calling, to the discharge of his dutie, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof, much lesse ought he, ² when

No unfit Pastors
should be
re-appointed.

[² Sig. N. 3.]

he hath (for his inability) leaft the fame, to be conftreain^[n]ed to refume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to difcharge. But hereof inough.

Theod. Then I perceiue that any minifter or ecclefiaticall perfon that hath not gifts fufficient to difcharge his duty, may with good confcience leaue their functions, and giue themfelues to liue by their labors, as other temporall men doe: may they not?

They'd better work for their bread.

Amphil. Yes, with a better confcience than to retaine them, being not able to difcharge them in any fmall meafure. For with what confcience can he receiue temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to giue them fpiritual? With what face can a fhepheard receiue of his fheepe, the milke, the wooll, and fleece, and yet will not, or cannot giue to the fame either meate or drinke fufficiently? With what confcience can he receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to breake to them the breade of life, in fuch forme and maner as he ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet confcience that knowing that the blood of all thofe that die ghoftlie for want of inftruction fhall be powred vpon his head at the day of iudgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet not¹withftanding reteane the fame charge and function to himfelfe ftill, not being able to difcharge the leaft iote of the fame? Therefore would I wifh euery man of what office, function, or calling foeuer he be, if he be not able to difcharge his dutie in the fame, to giue it ouer, and not for greedineffe of a little mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to caft away their foules, which Iefus Chrift hath bought with his moft precious blood.

How can a Pastor fairly take pay for what he can't giue?

[¹ Sig. N. 3. back]

Let unfit men resign at once.

Theod. Is it lawfull for a paftor or minifter that hath a flocke to departe from the fame, In the time of plague, peftilence, or the like, for feare of infection?

Amphil. Is he a good fhepheard that, when he feeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heeles and runne away? Or is he a fure freend that, when a man hath moft neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not fhewing any freendfhip towards him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good paftor, or minifter, (but rather a depaftor, and minifter) that in time of any plague, peftilence or ficknes whatfoeuer, will conuey himfelfe away

A minifter is no Pastor, but a Depaftor, who 'll run away for feare of infection.

96 II. 2. *No good Pastor will run away in Plague time.*

from his flocke, for feare of infection, at the houre of death, when the poore people haue most need of comfort aboue all other times, then is he their pastor that shoulde feede ¹them, the furthest from them. When they stande vpon the edge, as it were, of saluation or damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauour Christ saith *Bonus pastor animulam dat pro ouibus*, A good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe, but these felowes are so far from giuing their liues for their sheepe, that they seeke to saue their owne liues with the destruction of their whole flocke. This is the loue that they beare vnto their flocke, this is the care they haue ouer their soules health, which Christ Iesus bought so deere with the price of his blood. Out vpon those shepherds that for feare of incurring of corporall death (which is to the Godly an entraunce into perpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thousande to die a corporall and a spirituall death both, yea, a death of damnation both of body & soule for euer. Do they thinke that their blod shall not be asked at their handes at y^e gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke *that* their flieng away from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues y^e longer vpon earth? Is not God able to strike them as well in the fields, as in the city, as well in the country as in the towne, in one place, as well as in another? Is not his power eueriewhere? Is not his messenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deuteron. that if we doe ²not those things which he hath commanded vs in his sacred word, cursed shall wee bee at home, and cursed in the fields. And saith he not further, that the plague and pestilence, the botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection foeuer, shall followe vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place foeuer we be, and shall neuer depart from vs, till it haue quite consumed vs from the face of the earth? And doe these fugitiues that ouerrun their flocks in time of infection, thinke that they shall escape the heauie wrath and vengeance of God for their tergiuersation and backsliding from their duties? Doe they thinke that God cannot saue them from corporal death but with the breach of their duties towards God? Is not the Lord as well able to defend them from any deadly infection, if it be his good pleasure, as he was to defend *Sidrach*, *Misaach*, and *Abednego* from the flaming fire? *Daniell* from the mouth of the lions, *Ionas* from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trusted

[¹ Sig. N. 4.]

Such runaways,
to save their
bodies, will
hazard a
thousand soules.

[² Sig. N. 4. back]

But God will
follow and
strike them.

Cannot God
protect his
servants now
from death?

II. 2. *God can protect his own. Duty to the death.* 97

in him? Doe they thinke that his arme is shortned, or his power weakened? Is he not able to deliuer his children, that in dooing of their duties depend vpon his prouidence? And to bee plaine with them, me think that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themfelues to thinke ¹that either God is not almightie, or else not [leaf N 5] mercifull, or neither. For if they beleued that he were almightie, and that hee were able to saue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleue that he is as well able to deliuer them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleasure. And if they beleued that he were mercifull, then would they rest vpon the same, not doubting, but as he is almightie, and omnipotent, and therefore can doe al things, so he is most mercifull, and therefore wil preferue al those that put their trust in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a ciuil office in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his present abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a pastor or feeder of soules, flieth away from his charge, wheras his presence might doe a thousand times more good than his absence? And if it please the Lord to take them away to himselfe, are they not most happie? Enter they not into eternall glorie? And haue they not an end of all miseries and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioie in the heauens? Are they not blessed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find ²them so well occupied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iesus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

He will preserve all those who trust in him.

And if he takes them to himself, happy are they.

[² leaf N 5, back]

Theod. But they say, we ought not to tempt God, which thing they must needs doe if they shoulde tarrie when they see death before their face. And they say further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the sicke, and the sicke from the whole. Besids, saie they, *Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti*, Nature hath giuen power of defending of life to euerie liuing creture. Againe, eury thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therefore we flie from the same by the instinct of nature. These and the like fond reasons they alledge for their excuse in flieng from their flocks and charges: what say you to them?

Cowardly Pastors' excuses for fleeing from infection.

These refuted :

God has bidden
his Pastors to
feed his Sheep.[¹ leaf N 6]Men with no
duty to stay in
danger may
go from it.

But Ministers

[² leaf N 6, back]are specially
bound to be at
the deathbeds of
their flocks.Many who've
led a wicked life

Amphil. I can saie little to them. But onelie this, that none of all these reasons doe priuiledge them to discontinue from their flockes and charges. And whereas they saie, that their staieng were a tempting of God, it is verie vntrue, it is rather a reuerent obedience to this tripled commandement, *Pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas*, Feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe. But indeede if it were so that a priuate man who hath no ¹kind of function nor office, neither ecclesiasticall nor temporall, seeing himselfe if he staie stil in great danger of death, & might auoid the danger by flieng, & so by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murderer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, 'thou shalt keepe the whole from the sicke, & the sick from the whole.' This is the meaning & fence of these words, and not that they do priuiledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be said in confutation of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I haue knowne and doe know some ministers (nay, wolues in sheepes clothing) in *Dnalgne* that in time of any plague, pestilence or infection, thogh there hath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin so far from continuing amongst their flock, *that* if any one of them were sicke, although of neuer so common or vsuall disease, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they haue absented themselues altogether, from visiting *the sick* according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them. Yea, some of them (suppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good pastors) are so nice, so fine & so feareful of death forsoth, *that* in no case they cannot abide to visit the sicke, neither by day nor ²by night. But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to visite, to comfort, to instruct, and relieue the sicke, at the houre of death, as it is for them to preach the word of God to their flocke al the daies of their life. And peraduenture they may doe more good in one howre at the last gaspe, then they haue done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in small estimation the blessed worde of God, but following his owne humors in hope to liue long, hath lead a very wicked and impenitent life, nowe through the consideration and fight of death, which he seeth before his eies, together with godly exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, out of the word of

II. 2. *Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected.* 99

God, may easilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and dieng in the faith of Iesus Christ, with true repentance for his sinnes to-fore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & soule, whereas, if exhortations had not bin, he might (happily) haue died irrepentant or vtterly desperate to his euerlasting destruction for euer. Yea, it is commonly seene, that those who could neuer be wonne to Christ Iesus, all the daies of their life before, yet at the last howre they are soone recouered. Therefore ought not the pastors to neglecte their duties therein, but ¹warely and carefully to watche ouer their flocks night and day without ceasing, that when the great shephard of the sheepe commeth, he may rewarde them with the immercessible crowne of eternall glory. And thus much be it spoken hereof.

may easily be drawn to repent on their dying beds.

[¹ leaf N 7]

Theod. In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor consist? in the church onely, or in the bishops?

The Election of Pastors.

Amphil. I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church might examine the life, the conuersation, and disposition of him, or them, whome they would haue to be their pastor, and finding the same good, to present him, or them, to the bishops or elders to whome it appertineth, to examine for his sufficiency in knowledge, and dexteritie in teaching and handling the word of God; and finding him a man furnished with gifts and graces necessary for such a high vocation, to call him lawfullie according to the word of God, and so to sende him forth into the Lords haruest, as a faithfull laborer therein.

Their lives should be lookt into by the Church; then the men should be presented to the Bishop.

Theod. But some are of opinion that the churches themselues of their owne absolute and plenary power ought to choosé their pastor, and not bishops.

Amphil. The churches haue no further ²power in the election of their pastor, than as I haue told you, that is, to iudge of his conuersation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister or pastor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed confusion (for some would choosé one, some another, some this, and some that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. For certeine it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

[² leaf N 7, back]

Churches should not elect their Ministers without the Bishop's approval.

100 II. 2. *No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.*

to elect their pastor, to choose him, to call him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, obseruing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer seene that any church did euer practise the same. For in the daies of the apostles, did the churches any more than choose forth certeine persons of a tried conuersation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands vpon them, approue them (after triall had of their sufficiencie in knowledge) and sent them forth into the Lords vineyard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as some call it, consecrated them not, nor vsed not any other ceremoniall rite in the¹ election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for som cause, and in som respects, is not to be excluded from a consultatiue voyce (as before) or from being made priuie at al to the election of their pastor, so I denie that the church may absolutely of his owne plenarie power call their pastor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging obserued, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches consisting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vlearned.

Theod. What say you to a feignorie or eldership? were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y^e same were established in euery congregation, as it was in the apostles daies.

Amphil. The feuerall estates and conditions of the apostolicall churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are diuers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a feignorie or eldership then in euerie particular church were necessarie, yet now vnder christian princes it is not so needfull. The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to gouerne the same, and therefore had need of some others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we haue most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, to rule and gouerne the church, & therefore² we stand in lesse need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a feignorie in euery congregation were to be wished, if it could be brought to passe, yet cannot I perceiue, but that it would rather bring confusion, than reformation, considering the state of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when feignories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclesiasticall magistrates

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[¹ leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in it's Pastor's call.

Seignory or Eldership in every Church is not needfull now.

[² leaf N 8, back]

A Seignory in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

II. 2. *Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons.* 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill magistrates (as we haue now), it was necessarie that the seigniories shuld be ordeined. But now we, hauing al these things, stand not in such necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Besides, the institution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies, neither ought the necessitie thereof to binde all churches. Neither doe I thinke that all churches are bound for euer to one forme of externall gouernement, but that euerie church may alter, and change the same, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

is not needed now.

Every Church may alter its form of external government from time to time.

¹*Theod.* What say you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or not in the church of God at this day? [¹ Sig. O. 1.]

Amphil. Their office (which was to make collections for the poore, to gather the beneuolences, and contributions of euerie one that were disposed to giue, and to see the same bestowed vpon the poore and needie members of the church) is very necessarie, and without doubt ought to be continued for euer. But yet is not the church tied to their names onely, but to their office. Which office is executed by honest substantiall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chofen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendlye beneuolencies of the churches, bestow, or see the same bestowed vpon the poore and indigent of the same church, which was the greatest part of the deacons duties in the apostles daies. So that albeit wee haue not the name, we yet hold their office in substance and effect.

The office of *Deacon* is still very necessary.

Now it is filld by Churchwardens, who daily gather alms and give em to the poor.

Theod. What is your iudgement, ought there to be any bishops in the churches of christians?

Amphil. To doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe. For is there not ²mention made of their names, dignities, functions, and callings, almost in euerie chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of *Paule*, of *Peter*, of *Iohn*, of *Iude*, and of all the rest? Besides that, did not the apostles themselues constitute and ordeine bishops and elders; and doe they not woonderfully commende the excellencie of their calling, inferring that those that rule well, are worthy of double

[² Sig. O. 1. back]

The Apostles ordaind Bishops.

honour? Whereby appeereth that bishops are not onely needfull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can scarcely see how the state of the church could well bee maintained. And therefore those that contend that they are not necessarie in a Christian Common wealth, shewe them selues either wilfull, waiwarde, or maliciouslye blinde, and struing to catch their owne shadowes, they labour all in vaine, giuing manifest demonstration of their more than extreame follie to all the world.

Theod. Well. Let it bee granted (as it cannot bee denied) that they are moste necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee absolved, whether they maye lawfully vendicate or challenge to themselues superioritie, and primacie aboute their fellowe¹ brethren of the minifterie or no? for some holde that there ought to be equalitie in the minifterie, and no superioritie at all: how say you?

Amphil. They doe not vendicate or challenge anie superioritie or primacie to themselues ouer their brethren in respect of their common callings and functions (for therein the poorest pastor or shepheard that is, is coequall with them, they themselues will not denie) but in respect of dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which the prince and church doth bestowe vpon them. So that the superioritie that they haue ouer their brethren, resteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleased the prince to dignifie them withall aboute their fellowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall together. But if any curious heads should demand why the prince should aduance any of the cleargie to such high dignitie, authoritie, and primacie aboute his brethren, I answer as it is in the Gospell: 'Is thine eie euill, because the prince is good?' May not the prince giue his gifts, his dignities, and promotions to whom he will? And if the prince of his roiall clemencie be minded to bestowe vpon his subiect any dignitie or promotion, is it christian obedience^{2 3} to refuse the same? Nay, is it not extreame ingratitude towards his prince? Besides, who seeth not, that if there should be no superioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the same honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old saieng, and a true, *Familiaritas, siue æqualitas parit contemptum*, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

² *Orig.* abedience.

The state of the Church couldn't be kept up without em.

[¹ Sig. O. 2.]

They don't claim superiority to other Pastors as to their calling, but only as to the dignity that the prince has given em.

[³ Sig. O. 2. back]

There must be superiority in dignity.

Familiarity breeds contempt.

II. 2. *Bishops to be tolerated. Their business to rule.* 103

therefore take away authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogither. If authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the same, & to shew forth the maiestie thereof, would it not soone grow to be dispised, vilipended, and naught set by? And therefore the more to innoble and set fourth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to bestow such authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoeuer. And therefore, seeing it is the pleasure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any sober christians should easely tolerate the same.

Sober Christians should tolerate Bishops.

Theod. Yea, but they saie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, ¹bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, amongst whom was no superiority, inequality, or principallitie at all? [¹ Sig. O. 3.]

Amphil. Indeede amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwise, but al were equall in ech respecte, one to another. But what than? The apostles were sent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach the worde. And therefore, though there were no superioritie amongst the apostles, yet maye there be amongst our bishops in respect of gouer[n]ment, dignitie and authoritie. And wheras they saie there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie at all, I answere, no more there is in respect of euerie ones function, forme of calling, and office to preach the word and minister the sacraments. But in respect of gouernement, authoritie, dignitie, and honor, there is superioritie, and I am perswaded so ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to persiste.

Bishops have to rule as well as preach.

Theod. But they adde further, and say that it strengheneth the hands of the aduersaries, ²the papists. For, saie they, the papists may as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that authoritie, that dignitie, and honor which he hath or claimeth aboue his fellowe brethren, as well as the bishop may say so. Besides, it confirmeth the opinion of foueraigntie ouer all the churches in the [² Sig. O. 3. back]

The Papist argument that the

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do.

world. For, say they, may not the pope saie that he receiued plenarie power to be head ouer all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may say, we receiued this power to be superior to our brethren from christian kings and princes. Now whether these reasons be a like, I would gladly know.

But, 1. Papists say that

Amphil. They be verie vnlike, and so vnlike as there is no equallitie, comparifon, or semblance betwixt them. For, first of all, let them note, that the pope nor any of his complices and adherents doe not holde, nor pretende to holde, (no, they dare as well eate off their fingers as to say so, for then were there state in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receiue his power either of authoritie, superioritie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God himselfe. But whereas hee sayth that hee receiued his power of superioritie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receyued it neyther from God (for his vsurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respecte) nor from anie christian man, but from the Deuill himselfe, whose vicegerent or Liefetenant generall in his kingedome of impietie he shewes himselfe to be. Than let them note, that although hee pretended to holde his vsurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate soeuer, that is able *proprio iure* to giue him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste iniurye done to all other Princes, as to giue the soueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a straunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his subiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, government, or superioritie of anie thing within his owne dominions and kingdomes, but no further he maye not. And therefore this reason of theirs holdeth not, that the Pope maye as well arrogate the one to himselfe, as the Bishops may the other to themselves.

the Pope gets his power from God. Not true.

[¹ Sig. O. 4.]
The Pope didn't get his superiority from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[² Sig. 4. back]

²*Theod.* Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superioritie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being giuen them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitane, primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

II. 2. *Bishops may bear Titles given by Princes.* 105

right honourable,' and the like, or not? For, me thinke, these titles and names are rather peculiar to the temporalitie than to them, & do fauour of vainglorie, and worldly pompe, rather than of any thing else. And which is more, me thinke they are against the expresse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your iudgement thereof?

Amphil. These names and titles may seeme to fauour of vaine-glorie indeed, if they should arrogate to themselves *Iure diuino*, as they doe not. But if you wil consider by whom they were giuen them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sinceritie of the Gospell. First therefore note that they were giuen them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to set forth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their callings. Secondly let them note that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not *Iure diuino*, and therefore being giuen them for the causes aforefaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them still without any offence to the diuine goodnesse, or his faithfull spouse vpon the earth. But if they should claime them as due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then should they offend. For our sauour Christ, seeing his disciples and apostles ambitiously to affect the same vaine-glorious titles and names, set before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, saieing: *Reges gentium dominantur eis*, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and those that exercise authoritie ouer them, be called gracious Lords, but *Vos autem non sic*, You shall not be so. In the which words he vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the same office and function of life should succeed them) the titles of Lords, graces, or the like. The apostle also biddeth them to beware that they challenge not those vaine titles to themselves by the lawe of God, when he saith (speaking to bishops and pastors) Be not Lords ouer your flocks, &c. By these and manie other the like places of holie writt, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate these names or titles to themselves by y^e word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue said) by the donation, the beneuolence, and gifture of christian Princes, for the reuerent estimation they bare and ought to beare to

Yes, tho' these titles look vainglorious. God doesn't give 'em, but the Prince does.

[¹ leaf O 5]

If Bishops claim these titles by God's law, they do wrong.

Christ 'ud have none of this.

[² Sig. O 5, back]

These titles of 'Bishop', &c., are not given by God's Word, but only by Christian Princes,

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his messengers, his Ambassadors, the disclosers and proclaimers of his secretes, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therefore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were giuen and attributed vnto them. And truly to speake my simple iudgement, I see not but that these names doe dignifie their callinges, shewe forth the maiestie thereof, and doe moue the Churches to haue the same high calling in more reuerence, & honor, than otherwise they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this that hath bene saide, or anie thing els that can be saide herein, there are some waiward spirits lately reuiued, who hold the same names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and suche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichristian, I holde them to be Christian names, and geuen by Christian Princes to the innobling and garnishing of their offices, functions, and callinges, which doubtlesse is a glorie to God, denie it who will, or who can. And therefore in conclusion I say, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the positieue law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully assume the saide titles and names to them, for the causes before cited. And therefore these names and titles beeing meere indifferent, and not derogating from the glorie of God, but rather making for the same, they are not, of anye wise, sober, or faythfull Christian, neyther to bee inueighed against, nor yet to bee in anye respecte dislyked beeing vsed as before. And thus much of the names and titles of Byshops.

Theod. Maye Byshops exercise temporall authoritie together with Ecclesiasticall; and maye they bee Iustices of peace, Iustices of Quorum, Iustices of Assises, Ewer, Determiner, and the lyke; or maye they, as Capytall Iudges, geue definytiue sentence of lyfe and death vpon malefactors and others, that by the iudiciall lawe of man haue deserued to dye?

² *Amphil.* There is neither of the callings temporall, nor ecclesiasticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the same. And if there were neuer founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

and they dignify
their holders
callings.

They are not
Anti-christian
but Christian,

[¹ Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may
lawfully assume
them.

[¹ Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only
fulfill one calling.

II. 2. *Bishops may not be Magistrates or Judges.* 107

the callings temporall or ecclesiasticall, much lesse can there euer one man be found, that is able to discharg them both. It is hard therefore that these two callings should concurre in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen already vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vpon him. And therefore as it were absurde to see a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the sacraments, so absurde it is to see an ecclesiasticall magistrate exercise the authoritie temporall, and to giue sentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any criminous person, which properly belongeth to the temporall power. Besides, it is a great discredite to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wise nor politike inough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and assistance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the discharge of their duties in their owne calling, for ¹it is written, no man can serue two masters but either he must betraie the one or the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to giue iudgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclesiasticall, & appertained to an ecclesiasticall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuil? Again, our fauio²r Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, saieing, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you? Whereby appeareth how farre ecclesiasticall persons ought to bee from hauing to doe with temporall matters. But whereas they say the bishops of *Dnalgne* do exercise temporall authoritie, and doe it as iudges capitall, giuing sentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to haue a consultatiue exhortatiue, or consentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my iudgement. For whereas the temporall magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the deapth of Gods lawe, if they shoulde doe anie thing either against the same, or the lawe of a good conscience, they might informe them thereof, that ³all things might bee done to the glorie of God, the comfote of the poore members of Christe Iesus, and the benefit of the common welth.

No ecclesiastical officer

should exercise temporal authority, like condemning men to death.

[1 Sig. O 7]
No man can serve 2 Masters.

Christ refused to be a Judge.

And English Bishops have only a consultative voice in giving temporal judgments.

[3 Sig O 7, back]

[² fauio^r do *Orig.*]

108 II. 2. *The Ministers that flaunt in Satin Doublets.*

Theod. What fashion of apparell doe the pastors and Ministers weare vsually in their common affaires?

Amphil. The same fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a *decorum*. But as others weare their attire, some of this colour, some of that, some of this thinge, some of that, so they commonly weare all their apparell, at least the exterior part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, sad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithstanding herein some of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselues with common, and vsual fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, some of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuising, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the veriest Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, so are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themselues with cloth, though neuer so excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, satans, damaskes, programs, taffeties, and the like. I speake not agaynst ¹those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these things (for they both maie, and in some respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but against those that bee meane pastors and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblets, taffetie doblets, filke hosen, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryde, and excesse in others, who are as faultie therein as the reste? Therefore sayde Cato verye well, *Quae culpae soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse*: for, sayeth he, *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*. Which is, those things which thou blamest in others, see that thou thy selfe bee not guiltye in the same, for it is a foule blemish and a great shame and discredit, what that euyl which thou reprobouest in an other, is apparent in thy selfe. For in so doing, a man reprehendeth as well himselfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gospell, and what he buildeth with one hand, he pulleth down with the other. Christ Iesus, the great pastor of the sheepe, was himself contented to go daily in one poore coat, beeing knit, or wouen all ouer without seeme, as the maner of y^c Palistinians is to this day. This me think was but a simple cote ²in the eie of the world, and yet Christ Iesus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accustomed to

Pastors dress like other folk,

and generally in black.

But some are very fond of new Fashions,

and wear silks, &c.,
[¹ Sig. O 8]

satin doublets, &c.

This is a foul blemish in them.

Christ wore but one poor coat,

[² Sig. O 8, back]

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. *Elias* and *Elizeus* in a mantell, Iohn the baptist in camels haire, with a girdle of a skin about his loines. The apostle Paule with a poore cloke, and the like; wherby appeareth, how farre a minister of the Gospell ought to be from pride, and worldly vanitie, obseruing the rules of christian sobrietie, as well in apparell, as in al things else, knowing that he is as a citie set vpon an hill, and as a candle set vpon a candlesticke to giue light, and shine to al the whole church of God. Therefore saith Christ: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, &c.* Let your light so shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorifie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

and Paul a poor
cloak.

Let the Ministers
be sober in
dress.

Theod. Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common fort of men?

Amphil. Yes, marie, haue they. They haue other attire more proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and offices) as cap, tippet, surplese, and the like. These they weare, not commonly, or altogether, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to ¹this end and ²purpose, that there may be a difference betwixte them and the common forte of people, and that the one maie be distincte from the other by this outward note or marke.

But, when
officiating, they
wear Cap, Tip-
pet, Surplice, &c.

[¹ Sig. P. 2.]

Theodo. Is it of necessitie than required, that the Pastors and Ministers of the worde, shoulde be distincted from other people, by anie feuerall kind of attire?

Amphil. It is not required as of necessitie, but thought meete and conuenient to be used for a decencie, and comelines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefeft thyng wherby a pastor or minister ought to be known from the common & vulgare sorte of people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the execution of ecclesiastical discipline, and other censures of the Church, and withall his integritie of lyfe, and soundnesse of conuersation in euerie respecte. These are the true notes and markes wherby a Minister of the Gospell ought to bee known and distincted from the other common sorte of people. And yet though these bee the chiefeft notes whereby they are distinct from others of the temporalitie and laitie, yet are they not the onelie notes,

But their chief
distinction
should be in
Preaching and
Holy Life,

110 II. 2. *Ministers may well have a distinct dress.*

[¹ Sig. P. 1., back]
tho their out-
ward mark is
Cap, Surplice, &c.

or markes, for they are knowen and discerned from others also, by exterior habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, sur¹pleisse, and such like: That as the first doth distinguish them from others, whilest they are exercised about the same, (for who is so doltish, that seeing a man preache, minister the sacraments, & execute other ecclesiasticall censures of the church, that will not iudge him to bee a Minister of the Gospell) so the other notes of apparell (the surpleisse except) may make a difference, and distinguish them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reuerence which is due to a good pastor, or minister of the Gospell may be giuen vnto them. For as the Apostle saith, those elders that rule well, are worthie of double honour.

As to those who
object to a
different dress
for Pastors,

Theod. But I haue heard great disputation and reasoning *pro* & *contra*, to and fro, that the pastors and ministers of the Gospell, ought not to be disseuered from the common sorte of people, by anie distincte kinde of apparell, but rather by founding the Lordes voice on high, by ministring the sacramentes, and the like: what say you to the same?

and try to
justify their
opinion by the
Bible,

[² Sig. P. 2.]

Amphil. Indeede there are some, I confesse, that are of that opinion, and they bring in the example of Saule, enquiring of Samuell for the seers house, inferring that the Prophet was not distinct from other common people in his attire, for than Saule should easelie² haue knowen him by the same. And the example of the damosell that spake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde sayde, *Thy speech bewrayeth thee*, if he had bene distincte from others in attire, or outward apparell, shee would than haue sayd, *Thy apparel sheweth thee to bee such a fellowe*. These, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that pastors and Ministers are not to bee discerned and knowen from the lay people, by anye kinde of apparell. But as I will not saie that they are to bee knowen and discerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as saith the Prophet,) so I wyll not denye the same to bee no note or marke at all to knowe a Pastour or Minister of the Gospell by, from others of the temporaltie, and laitie. And truelye for my parte, I see no great inconuenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decente habite (commaunded by a Christian Prince) known and discerned from others. Yet some more curious than wife,

I can't agree
with em.

I think a dif-
ferent dress
justifiable.

before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they haue rather chofen to render vp both liuings, goods, families, and all, leauing their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

¹*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a surplesse, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire ?

[¹ Sig. P. 2. back
If Tippetts, forked
Caps, &c.,

Amphil. As they are commaunded by the Pope, the great Antichrist of the worlde, they ought not to weare them; but as they be commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare them without scruple of conscience. But if they should repose any religion, holinesse or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papists doe, than doe they greuouslie offende; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuerfiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I see no cause why they maie not vse them.

are orderd by
a Christian
Prince,

I think Min-
isters may wear
them,

Theod. From whence came these garments, can you tell? from Rome, or from whence els?

Amphil. The most hold that they came first from Rome, the poison of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other searching the same more narrowlie, do hold *that* they came, not from Rome, but rather from Grecia, which from the beginning, for the most part, hath euer been contrarie to the Church of Rome. But from whence soeuer they came it skilleth not much, for beeing mere indifferent, they maie be worn or not worne without offence, according to the pleasure of the Prince, as things which of them²selues bee not euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused.

even tho they
first came from
Rome.

[² Sig. P. 3.]

Theod. Notwithstanding they holde this for a *maxime*, that in as much as they came first from the Papistes, and haue of them bene idolatrouslie abused, that therefore they are not, nor ought not to be, vsed of anie true pastors, or Ministers of the Gospell. Is this their *assumption* true, or not?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Papistes, *ergo* it is naught. For we read that the Devils confessed Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All things are therefore to be examined, whether the abuse consist in the things themselues, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be removed, and the things remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good

Use of a good
thing by Papists,
doesn't make
the good thing
bad.

If a good thing
is abused,

112 II. 2. *Clear away abuses from good things abused.*

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to souple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie serue to good ends, and purposes. And because the same hath afterward bene abused, shall the thing it selfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the abuse, let the thinge ¹ remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, *quibus omnia dantur scandalo*, to whom all things are offence. And further, if these peficians would haue all things remoued out of the Church which haue bene abused to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abused more to Idolatrie and superstition?) pulpits, belles, and what not. Than must they take away the vse of bread and wine, not onely from the church, but also from the vse of man in this life, because y^e same was abused to most shamefull idolatrie in beeing dedicate to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*, twoo stinking Idols of the Gentiles. Than must they take away not onely the Epistles, and Gospels, but also the whole volume of the holy scriptures, because the Papistes abused them to idolatrie. By all which reasons, with infinite the like, it manifestly appeareth, that manie things which haue bene instituted by Idolaters. or by them abused to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may serue to good ends, y^e abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrously abused by the papists, should be retained in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

take away the Abuse, and let the Good Thing stay.

[¹ Sig. P. 3. back]

If everything that idolatrous Papists have uzd is to be done away with,

the Bible and most other good things 'll have to go.

[² Sig. P. 4.]

Theod. Is the wearing of these garments ² a thing meere indifferent, or not? for some hold it is, some hold it is not?

Amphil. It is a thing without all controuersy mere indifferent; for, whatsoeuer gods word neither expressly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeth not y^e conscience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present state of y^e church, & time requireth. But it is certain that the wearing of this kind of attire is not expressly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the same, & therefore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conscience, as y^e present state of time shall require. And therefore seeing they be things indifferent, I wold wish euery wise christian to tollerate y^e same, being certain that he is neither better nor worse, for wearing or not wearing of them.

These Garments are a mere matter of Indifference: do as you like about em.

Put up with Garments: a man's no better or worse for em.

II. 2. *Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c.* 113

Theod. Being things, as you say, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse y^e wearing of them against the commandement of his prince, whom, next vnder God, he ought to obey?

Amphil. Every man is bound in conscience before God to obey his prince in all things, yea in things directly contrary to true godlines hee is bound to shew his obedience (but not to commit y^e euil) namely to submit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoever he hath, to y^e wil of his ¹Princes, rather than to disobey. If this obedience than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlinesse, what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of small importaunce, and meere trifles as these garments be, iudge you? He that disobeyeth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeyeth the commaundement of God; and therefore, would God all Ecclesiasticall persons that stande so muche vpon these small pointes, that they breake the common vnitie, & band of charitie in the church of God, would nowe at the last quallifie themselues, shewe obedience to Princes lawes, and fall to preaching of Christ Iesus truelie, that his kingdome might dailie bee increased, their consciences discharged, and the Church edified, which Christe Iesus hath bought with the shedding of his precious hart blood.

Theod. Maie a pastor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surpleesse, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, haue giuen up their liuings, and forsaken all?

Amphil. Those that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & constitutions of man, will leaue their flocks, ²and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the same, doe shew themselues to be no true shepheards, but such as Christ speaketh of, that when they see the Wolfe comming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe. They giue euident demonstration also, that they are not such as the holie Ghost hath made ouerseers ouer their flocke, but rather such, as being possessed with the spirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themselues, to the destruction of their flocke. If they were such good shepheards as they ought to be, and so louing to their flocke, they would rather giue their life for

[¹ Sig. P. 4. back]

And if your
Prince orders
them, of course
obey him in
such a Trifle.

Any Pastor
who leaves his
Flock because
he won't wear
a Surplice, &c.,
[² Sig. P 5]

shows that he's
no good
Shepherd.

114 II. 2. *Surplices may be worn if the Prince bids.*

their sleepe, if neede required, than to runne from them, leauing them to the bloodie teeth of the mercileffe wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vpon his flocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trifle? I thinke we would count him a verie negligent shepheard. And shall wee thinke him a diligent, or a good pastor, and one that would giue his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trifles wil estrang himselfe from his flocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to giue them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trifles alone, being no part of our saluation or damnation.

How can he be a good Shepherd who should give his Life for his Sheep, when he'll leave em for trifles like Garments?

[¹ Sig. P 5, back]

Theod. But they saie they refuse the wearing of these garments, because they are offensiuie to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderaunce to manie in comming to the Gospel, & an induration to the papists hardning their hearts, in hope that their trumperie will once come in again, to their singular comfort.

Amphil. It is an old saying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driuen to the wall, and fore graueled, that will flie to these simple shifts. But whatfoeuer they say or affirme, certain it is, that offensiuie to the godly they cannot be, who haue already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselues. And who know also how to vse things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therefore this question thus I shut vp in few words, that the wearing of these garmentes being commaunded by a Christian Prince, is not offensiuie, or scandalous to anie good Christians; and to the other, it mattereth not what it be. For they are such as the Lorde hath cast off into a reprobate fence, and preiudicate opinion, abusing all things, euen the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for euer, excepte they repent, which I praye God they maye doe, if it bee his blessed will.

If these Garments are orderd by a Christian Prince, no good Christian should be offended by em.

[² Sig. P 6]

Theod. I pray you why doe they weare white in their surplesse, rather than any other colour? and why a forked cappe rather than a rounde one? for the Papistes (if they were the authors of these garmentes) haue their misteries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherefore I desire to know your iudgment herein.

Amphil. You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their misteries in all thinges after their maner. Therefore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

The Papists say that White signifies Holiness;

II. 2. *Don't make Schisms for Trifles of Clothes.* 115

mind what they ought to be in this life, and representeth vnto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come. And thys they prooue *ab exemplis apparitionum*, from the example of apparitions and visions, in that aungels, and celestial creatures haue euer appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore forsooth they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, & South, the government whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vpon their heades. The gowne, saye they, doth signifie the plenary power which they haue to doe all things. And therefore none but the Pope, or hee ¹with whome hee dispenceth, maie weare the same euerie where, bicause none haue *plenariam potestatem*, plenarie power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, saith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurisdiction, because therein they haue full power from him. Thus foölishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, shadows, and imaginations, forged in the mint of their owne braines, to the destruction of manie. But who is he, that because these sottishe Papistes haue and doe greuouslie abuse these things, will therefore haue them cleane remoued? If all things that haue bene abused, should be remooued because of the abuse, than should we haue nothing left to the supply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) y^e word of God, the spirituall food of our söules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in y^e whole vniverfall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not bene abused? Let vs therefore take the abuses away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vse these things which the wicked Papists haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I beseech the Lorde that wee ²may all agree together in one truth, and not to deuide our selues one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst another. And seeing we do all agree together, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iesus Christ our sauour, one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one

the Cornerd
Cap the Mon-
archy of the
World,

and the
Gown the Pope's
plenary power:
[Sig. P 6, back]

all this is
gammon.

But because
Papists haue
abuzd these
things,

as well as the
Word of God,

aren't we to
uze em?
Surely we are.

[² Sig. P 7]
Do let us Re-
formers all
agree, and not
make rows.

We've all one
God and
Saviour,

let us then
agree about
outward
rites, &c.

We've got the
Kernel. Don't
let's wrangle
over the Shell.

[1 Sig. P 7, back]

Let us fast and
pray, and be-
seech God to
keep our Queen
Elizabeth as the
apple of His
eye; and grant
us Eternal Life
in Heaven, thro
Christ's Death.

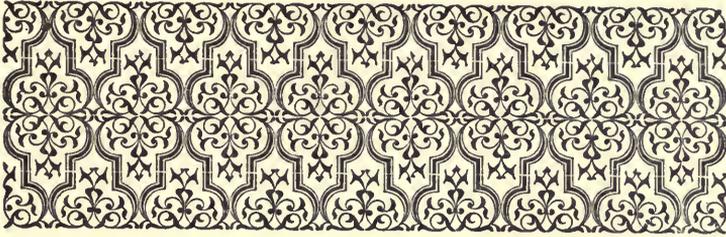
May you and I
meet again, if
not on Earth,
yet to rest for
ever in Heaven!

hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to strue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow? Let vs consider that this contention of ours among our felues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking such deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwise it would doe. And thus for this time, brother *Theodorus*, we will breake off our talke concerning this matter, vntill yt please God that we may meete againe. Which if it please God we doe, I promise you in another worcke to discourse of the same more at large. In the mean time let vs giue our felues, ¹to fasting, and prayer, most humbly beseeching his excellent maiesty to blesse our noble Queen, and to keepe hir grace as the apple of his eie from all hir foes, to maintaine his word and gospell amongst vs, to plant vnyty and concord within our walles, to increase our faith, to graunt vs true and vnfained repentaunce for our sins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow y^e precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Christe Iesus our Lord, and onely sauiour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praise, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother *Theodorus*, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do see you againe.

Theodo. And I you also good brother *Amphilogus*, beseeching the Lord that if we meete not vpon earth, we maye meete yet in the kingdome of heauen, there to rest in perfect felicitie for euer.

Amphil. The Lord grant it for his mercies sake.
Amen.

FINIS.



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INDEX.

- Abuses, how to treat, 111
 Adam had to till the ground, 49
 adjacent upon, 4, bordering on
 adulterate calf, 47, one belonging
 to another cow
 Adulteration of Wine, 25
 all-to-besprinkled, 51/14
 all-to-betorne, 37, torn in pieces
 all-to-tickle, 51/15
 Almanack-makers who affect to
 foretell, condemd, 66
 Almshouse, one wanted in every
 parish, 43
 ambidexters, hollowe-harted
 friends, 7
 Amphilogus, 1. Phillip Stubbes
 Anabaptists, their absurd doctrine,
 69
 Angel, 12, a lawyer's fee, 6s. 8d.
 An Angel was a third of a
 pound: 10s. when the £ was 30s.;
 and 6s. 8d. when it was 20s.: see
 W. Stafford's *Examination*, p.
 101. (Prof. Leo in his most
 comical explanation (!) of
 "Vllorxa" in *Timon* as 'v£ or x
 angels,' made 5£ = 3£ 6s. 8d.)
 Antichrist of Rome, that pernicious,
 the Pope, 71: see 'Archdiuell'
 Apothecaries cheating, 55
 Apparel, abuses in, 33
 Apparel, of Pastors and Ministers,
 108-9
 Apparel of Ministers discust, 108—
 116
 appropriate to, 27, appropriated to,
 held as private property by
 aqua vite, aqua angelica, 78
 Archdiuell, the Pope, 104
 art magike, 5
 artificially, *adv.* 35, skilfully, well
 Astrologers, their contradictory
 and false predictions, 57
 Astronomers' and Astrologers'
 abuses, 55-65
 auncientie, 49, ancientness
 Bailiffs, Law-, cheating, 16
 Barbers: their way of trimming
 amusingly described, 50-1
 barbing, *sb.* 50/11, trimming beards,
 cutting hair, &c.
 Beards, the many different cuts of,
 50: see *Harrison*, Pt. 1, p. 169
 bear in hand, 22, 52, 54, pretend,
 persuade
 bear in hand, 46/20, vow, declare
 'beastlinesse of some ruffians' who
 let their hair grow long, 51
 Beggars: 2 sorts. 1. the Strong
 and Sturdy, 2. the Aged and
 Sick, 42
 Belzebub and Cerberus, archdiuels
 of great ruffles, 35
 Benefices, having 2 or more, is as
 bad as having 2 wives, 75
 Bishops, 71; their duties, 73, 89,
 91, 103; their Titles, 104-6; not
 to exercise temporal authority,
 107
 Bishops not to intrude their
 Nominees on Churches, 92
 Bishops, justified from the Bible,
 101-2; should be tolerated by
 sober Christians, 103; should
 preach, 103; 'My Lord,' 104-5;
 shouldn't exercise temporal
 authority, 107
 bossed, 50, puft up, swollen out
 brabble, *v. i.* 116, dispute, brawl
 brainsick fools, astrologers, 58
 Brokers, jolly fellows who tempt
 folk to thieve, 38, 39; are the
 seminaries of Wickedness, 40.
 'Riuendaiublo, a retailer, a
 huckester, a fripper, a regrater,

- a broker. *Riuendaglie*, any friperie or olde ware or old trash sold againe.' 1598. Florio.
- Brokery, a dunghill trade newly sprung up, 39: see Forewords
- Brownists, 'new phangled felows,' 74
- busie-headed astronomers, 60
- Butchers, and their Dodges to make bad meat look good, 26
- by: knowe . . . faultes *by* them, 48, *in* them, *about* them
- Candles made of stinking stuff, 49
- Capytall Iudges, 106, Chief Justices, trying causes of Life and Death cater cosins, 24
- Caveat emptor*, say the cheating Drapers, 24
- chance medley, 14
- Chandlers, their cheating dodges, 49
- chauerell consciences, 12, stretching kid-leather ones, lawyers have. '*Birsa*, the cheuerill skinne to make purses with.' 1598. J. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.
- chawes, 64, jaws
- Christ the Head of the Church, 69
- Christians may go to law with one another, 11
- Church, each to have the right to appoint its own Pastor, 79
- Churches, all separate, are part of the One true Church, 69
- Churches, to get the Bishop's approval of the Minister they elect, 99; may alter their form of government, 101
- Churchwardens, their business, 101
- Cicero on property in land, 31
- circumgired, 68, surrounded, bounded
- Cloth cheatingly rackt by Drapers, 24
- Clothiers' tricks in making Cloth, 24: see Forewords
- cobs, rich, 27/4, rogues
- Cocatrice fawning and weeping, 6
- Colleges and Schools perverted, 19
- Commons and Moors enclosed from the Poor, 27: see *Harrison*, &c.
- communicate with, 84/6, share, take part in
- confrater, *sb.* 24/16, cheating brethren
- Congregation, how to appoint its Pastor, 90-1
- Congregations, separate, in parishes, 68
- conscionable, 5²/5, conscientious
- consentative, consultative, 107
- Conveyances and Leases of land, terribly long and dear, 32
- Corn, tricks in selling it, 47
- Cornerd Cap of a Priest, signifies the Monarchy of the World, 115
- cough himself a dawe, 48, be made a fool of
- Council, Queen Elizabeth's, 8
- Counsellor's fee, an Angel (6s. 8d.), 12
- countenance, a man of, 26, of good appearance, well-off
- Cow, a barren one sold with another cow's calf, 47
- cupstantiall, 65, parody of substantiall
- Curriers and Tanners' tricks, 36
- Cuts of Beards, many kinds of, 50
- Dancing minions that minse it fu' gingerlie, tripping like gotes, 33
- dangerouser, 6
- Dark shops to cheat buyers in, 24
- Dearness of every thing, 33
- decore, *v. t.* 105/13, adorn
- Decorum is to be observed, 51, 108/4
- Deer and Conies from Parks eating up poor folk's corn, 28
- Depastor is a Pastor who runs away from his flock for fear of infection, 95
- 'Destiny': humbug of a man's making this an excuse, 63
- Devilry, the Pope's, 5
- Diogenes's laughter, 14
- disaminate, 39, dissuade
- discommodious, 40, disadvantageous
- disposment, *sb.* 56, disposing, ordering
- disthronize, *v. t.* 60/1, dethrone
- distincted, 68, distinguisht, divided
- Dnalgne, 1, England
- Doctors (of Medicine) should graduate at a University, 54
- Dooting Anabaptists and brainesicke Papists, 69

- Drapers and Cloth-sellers' tricks, 34
 Dress of Christ and the Prophets, 108-9
 Dress of Pastors and Ministers, 108-9
 'Druggie baggage' sold by Apothecaries, 55
 Drugs, doctors' profit on, 55/8

 Ears pickt at the Barber's, 51/1
 Education in England, 19; its abuses, 19-20: see Notes
 Eldership or Seigniorie in the Church, 100
 ELIZABETH, Queen: twenty-five years peace in her time, 5; the Pope's Conspiracy against her, 5; she describd and praizd, 7-8; may her dislikers die! 18-19; the duty of praying for her, 116
 else what . . . soever, 12, whatever other
 England the wickedest Country under the Sun, 2, 4; its great fertility, and its situation, 4; at peace for 25 years, 5; its division into shires, 9
 Englishmen, 3 sorts of, English, Cornish and Welsh, 4; all contentious and fond of going to law, 10
 erogate, *a.* 23, handed over
 Excuse: 'Better a bad excuse than none at all,' 114
 exercised, 50, practist, traind
 External Rites, Reformers to agree and not quarrel about, 116
 Eye to be your Cook, 34

 Fagots of wood, a penny a piece, 49
 faulted, *pp.* 72 (at foot), committed a fault, erd
 Fees, outrageous, in the Law-Courts, 16
 Fines to Landlords; hardship of on Tenants, 29, 31
 Forkt Caps, &c. may be worn by Ministers, 111
 Fortune-telling by the stars, nonsense, 62
 Fox may go to school to a cattle-dealer, to learn tricks, 48
 friended: 'the law is ended as a man is friended,' provided with rich friends, 10
 fuller, *sb.* 24, cleaner of wool
 Funeral Sermons, 85

 Games and amusements, rich man's, 33
 Garments — surplices, &c. — the wearing of them is a thing indifferent, 112
 geason, 51, plentiful — 'as geason as blacke swans,' that is, very scarce
 gifture, 79, 105/15, gift-bestowing
 God still rules the World and the Heavens, 59
 Gods penie, 29, a nominal rent
 Golden Age, the, 2
 Goldsmiths, rich, but yet tricky, p. 25
 goose, sue the, 31, 'shoe the goose', waste his labour on trifles
 Grasiers, greedy for profit, 26; keeping large flocks of sheep, 28
 gravelled, 114, puzzled

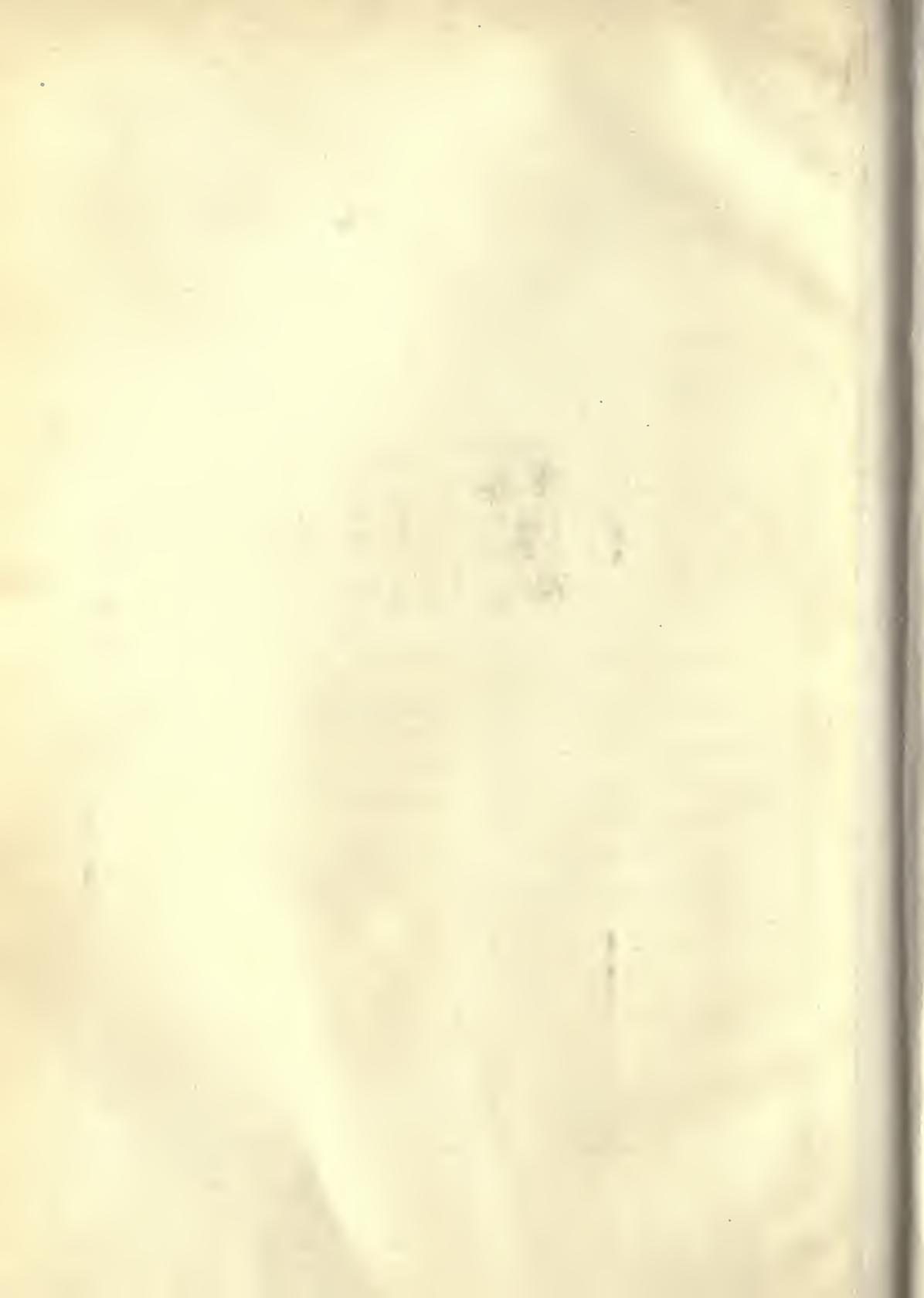
 Hair-cutting in a Barber's shop, 50
 hand, 'make a hand of', 55, make away with, kill
 Herod struck dead, 3
 Hierosoltitanes, 3, heathen inhabitants of Jerusalem
 Hospitality, little shown by the Rich, 41
 Hungrie dogs eate sluttish puddings, 90
 Husbandmen, simple as they look, are as crafty as the Devil himself, 47

 Idumeans, the, 1
 Ignorants allowd to practise Physic and Surgery, 53
 immercessible, 99/12, not to be paid for with hire, invaluable
 impeopled, 31, inhabited
 importable, 55, not able to be borne, very heavy (fee); 107/4
 inagured, to be, 10
 indifferently, 14, fairly, equally
 induration, 114/14
 Ingrators and Forestallers, 46, buyers-up of corn and provisions
 ingrosse, 22, buy up and hold
 initiation (to a benefice), 81
 inn, 82, abode: 'take vp their Inne in an alehouse'

- inow, *pl.* 73/6, enuf, a sufficient number of
 insensible, 61, without sensation or life
 instance, entreaty : make instance to, 84, urge
 instaurate, *v.t.* 81/7
 interneand externe, bodie of man, 60
 Iron Age in Stubbes's time, 3
 Jack out of office, 50/3 ; 54
 Jester's proof that a King pardoning a Murderer, had kild 2 men, 15
 Jesuits, the Devil's Agents, 6
 Judges not to take Bribes, 16
 jump in one truth, 115 (at foot)
 Justice, deferring of, specially poor men's causes, 9
 Keeper of the Seal, his fees, 16
 King of each country, Head of its Church, 70
 Landlords are big Thieves, 14
 Landlords, grasping, rack their rents, make tenants pay fines, &c. 29
 Landlords (lewdlords), injustice to their Tenants, 32 ; are the cause of high prices, 33
 Latimer, his Sermon before Edw. VI on delay in doing Justice, 9 ; and his story of the 30 apples with 30 angels in em, 82 : see Notes
 laurel crown of triple folly, 10
 Law, don't go to, 10
 Lawyers, greedy, 10, 16 ; their extortionate fees, 14, 16
 Leaden Age in Stubbes's time, 3
 Learning and Trade : the latter pays best, 19
 Leather, tricks in curing, 36 : see Forewords
 Letters dimissory, and commendatory, 91
 Livings, giving up for the wearing of a Surplice, &c. is not a true Pastor's duty, 113
 Magistrate, the temporal, 69
 maintainable, 84, 88/4, fit or enuf to maintain a man
 Maisterlesse hounds, 89
 mansuetude, 8, tameness, mildness, gentleness
 Merchants' heavy profits, 21 ; dodges to get them, 22
 Ministers, unfit, to give up orders at once, 93-5 ; their Dress, Surplices, &c. 108-116
 miscarrying, *sb.* 18
 Money'll buy Pardon for Crimes, in England, 13
 mowchatowes, 50, moustachoes
 My Lord Bishop, 104-5
 Nebuchadnezzar made to eat grass, 3
 'no change,' the Barbers' maxim. 5
 Nodnol, 1, London
 of : putting of, 9, off
 oiled Shauelings, 70, monks
 orient perfumes, 51
 ouglisom, *a.* 51, ugly, hideous
 Papists, bloodthirsty, 6
 Papists' reproaches to fee-taking Protestant pastors, 85
 Parish, every one should have a well-paid Schoolmaster, 21
 Parish-schools badly off, 20
 Parks : towns puld down for, 28
 Pastors to have only one charge, 75 ; the poor salaries they get, 82 ; not to take fees for Sermons at Burials, &c. 84-5
 Pastors' duties in time of Infection, 95-8 ; their Election, 99 ; their Dress, 108-9 ; Preaching and Holy Life their true Notes, 109 ; their duty about wearing Surplices, &c. 113
 Patronage in the Church, 80-2
 Patrons, private, how they cheat Pastors, 80
 Pharaoh drown'd, 3
 Phoenix Queen, the, 2 ; Elizabeth, 8
 Physic, any fool allow'd to practise, 53
 Physicians : their faults, 52 ; now 'they ruffle it out in silckes and veluets', 55 ; they make away with awkward patients, 55
 Planets and Signs, influence of, on Man, 60
 Planets : foolish pretensions of knowledge about them, 58
 Pluralism, evils of, 74-5
 pollages and pillages, 32/17

- Polling and pilling of the poor, 46
 Poor, the, badly treated by lawyers, 11, 12, the Law 14, Judges 16; marrow sucked out of their bones in the Law-Courts, 16
 Poor: curse Merchants for exporting goods wanted here, 22; are injured by greedy Grasiars, 27; their Commons enclozed, 27; their hospitality to one another, 41; cruelty of the rich to them, 41-2
 Poor, aged and sick to be kept by their own parish, 42; now many die like dogs in the fields, 43
 Poor, ill treated by Doctors, 52; should have a Doctor paid for them, 54
 Pope, the Son of the Devil, 5; the Head of the Devil's Church, 69; Antichrist, 71; the Devil's 'Liefetenant generall', 104
 Preaching Ministers, 71, 74; may take Stipends, 86; their pay, 95
 Precisians, 112, folk over scrupulous about trifles
 Preferment in the Church, not got by merit, 73
 prejudicate, *a.* 114
 prepensedly, 14, by forethought
 preposterous geare, 59 (at foot), awful nonsense
 Pride is followed by Destruction, 3
 Prince's duty to the Church of his land, 70
 Prince's power to pardon crimes, 14
 Princes to be obeyd by Subjects, 17, 113; even when bad, 18
 Princes may order Ministers to wear a special dress, Surplice, &c. 111
 Prisons, abominable state of, 12
 Private Patronage, how it arose, 81
 Prognosticators, humbugs, 56-65; are to be condemd, 66
 promptuarie, *sb.* 7
 Provosts of Colleges take bribes, 20
 Psalmograph, 30, Psalm-writer, David
 put-offs, 46/15, excuses
 Putter, or Putting-Stick, to stiffen Ruffs with, 36
 quarrellous, 10, quarrelsome
 Quarter[ly] Sermons, 77
 quirckes and quiddities, 46
 rack rent, 29, rackt, straind up to the full value
 Rate in aid for poor parishes, 42
 Reading Ministers, 72
 Reading, not preaching, Ministers, 71-2
 Receivers or buyers of stolen goods, Brokers, 41
 refell, *vb.* 77/5
 Reformd Churches oversea: their prompt judging of Law-Causes, 9, and Crimes, 13; they take better care of their Poor than we do, 43-4
 regiment, 8, ruling, control
 remit, 13, excuse, set free
 reprivation, 13, reprieve
 Rich favourd against the Poor, 16
 Rich men eat up poor ones, 27; their duty to tenants, 30; the evil way they spend their money, 33; little hospitality, and want of kindness to the poor, 41-2. See 'Poor'
 Rise in rents, twentyfold, 30
 roging, 75, roguing, 53 (at foot)
 Rome the poison of all the world, 111
 Ruffs, great, the Cartwheels of the Devil's Chariot, 35
 Schoolmasters badly paid, 20; should be examind for character as well as learning, 20; shouldn't be chargd for a License to teach, 21
 Seigniory in the Church, 100
 Sellers, if Christians, should tell Buyers the faults of the animals they sell em, 48
 Setting-Sticks for Ruffs, 36. '*Piantatoio*, a dible or gardners setting sticke.' 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes.*
 Shakspeare's ridicule of 'planetary influence' enforst beforehand, 61
 Sheep: whole parishes given up to, 28
 Sheriffs' cheating, 16
 shipman's hose, 79/1 (will fit anything)

- Shoemakers' tricks, 37: see Forewords
 Shoes bad and dear, 36
 Short measure given in wine, 25
 Signs of the Zodiac: supposed influence of each on a part of man, 60
 Silver Age, 2
 Simony, how avoided, 81
 skilleth, 111, matters, is of consequence
 smeard Prelate, 70
 snap go the fingers, 50 (at foot)
 snipping and snapping of the cycers, 50
 snort in palpable ignorance, 20
 Sodomits and Gomorreans, their punishment, 3
 Soles of shoes, tricks in making, 37
 Spirituality, the Abuses of, 67-116
 standing, 41, putting up with (?)
 Starching-houses to stiffen Ruffs, 35
 Stubbes, Phillip, his Father on Shoes, 37: his Family, and his trustworthiness: see Forewords
 Subjects' duty to Princes, 17, 18
 Substitutes and deputies of Pastors, fitter to feed hogs than Christian sowles, 76
 supposal, 57/10, supposition
 Surgeons and Physicians 'll only work for pay, 52; their heavy fees, 55
 Surplice, cap, tippet, &c. may be worn by Ministers, 109
 Surplus goods only to be exported, 23
 Tailors invent new fashions daily, 33; their cheating tricks, 34
 take-on, 48/6, vow, declare, go on
 Tanners' dishonest tricks, 30
 Temporality, the Abuses of the, 1-66
 Tenants rackt by Landlords, 29
 thick, *v. l.* 24; thicken
 Thieves under colour of Law—Landlords and Lawyers,— 14
 Tithes, landlords' dodges to avoid paying, 80
 Tithes, the ground of them, 83
 too too, *adv.* 64
 Tradesmen, English, as good as any under the sun, 21
 trinkets: 'pots, pannes, candles, and a thousand other trinkets', 49
 Tyburn, thieves hung at, 39, 42
 Unbenefist Preachers may take fees, 87
 Universities and Free Schools; places sold in, 20: see Forewords
 vagarent, *sb.* 75, vagrant
 Vagrant Ministers, 88-9
 Vintners adulterate Wines, p. 25
 water: the stiller the water standeth, the more dangerous it is, 7
 Wax, fees for, 16
 wet: with a wet finger, 39
 'What you please, Sir,' the Barber's charge, 51
 whether, 73, which of the two
 White, why the colour of Surplices, 114-115
 Wicks of candles made of rope-ends, &c. 50
Will-do-all or Money, power of, 13
 Wines in England, 25
 Women not to practise Physic for gain, 54
 Wool, cheating in the sale of, 28
 Zodiac, Signs of the, and their supposed influence on man, 60, 64



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