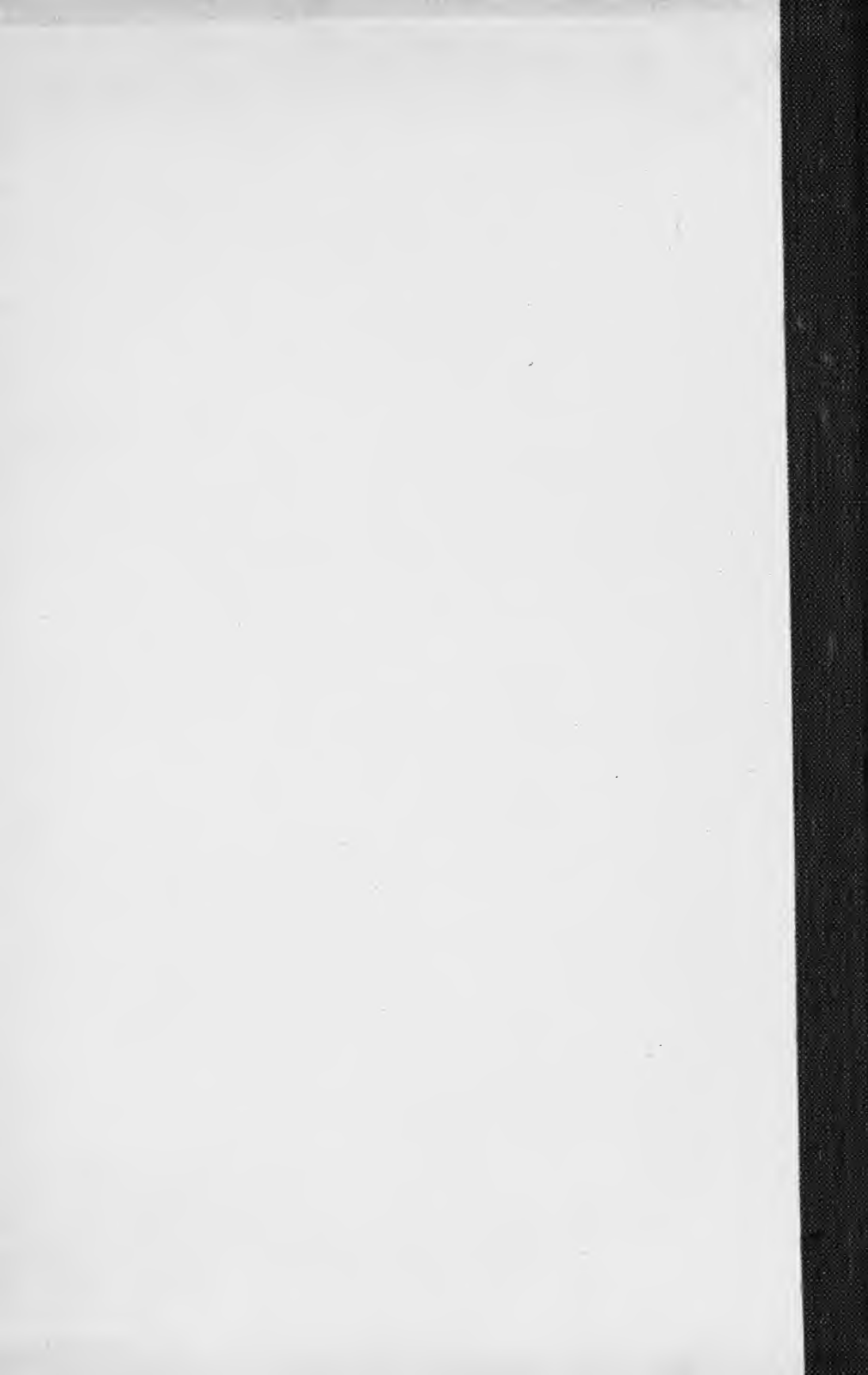


UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY





6

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

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

[The Editors alone, and not the Committee of the NEW SHAKSPERE
SOCIETY, are responsible for the opinions expresst in the Society's
publications.]

New Shakspeare Society
" [Publications]
Ser. 6 Shakspeare's England

No. 6

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

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

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

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

ALSO

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)
REGNUM PAPISMI, or *POPISH KINGDOME*, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570.)
ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

35316a

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C., 1877-9.

PR
2888
L6
ser. 6
no. 6

Series VI. Nos. ~~4~~ & 6.

CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, BUNGAY.

TO

Professor Kobalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT,

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

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

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

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

THIS BOOK

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

Is Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



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

CONTENTS.

I.

	PAGE
WOODCUTS OF ELIZABETHAN DRESS, from Planché's <i>Hist. of Costume</i> and the Roxburghe Ballads, with Mr. Ebsworth's Memorandum on the latter	11*
FOREWORDS (see the Contents of em, p. 35*)	35*
APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington, 1588	75*
Some Collations, and Title, of the <i>Anatomie</i> , ed. 1584 (C-D)	95*

II.

The Anatomie of Abuses: 1 Maij. 1583 (A), collated with three other editions, (B) 1 Aug. 1583; (E) 1585; (F) 1595 ...	i
The Epistle Dedicatorie, to Phillip, Earle of Arundell ...	iii
A Preface to the Reader (<i>left out of all editions after the 1st</i>)	x
Poems:	
<i>a.</i> Phillippus Stubeus candido Lectori	xiv
<i>b.</i> C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations ...	xv
<i>c.</i> A. D. In commendation of the Author and his Booke ...	xvii
<i>d.</i> I. F. In commendation of the Avthor and his Booke ...	xviii
<i>e.</i> (Ph. Stubbes). The Avthor and his Booke	xix

CHAPTER I.¹

- Introductory:** The 2 Speakers, *Spudeus* and *Philoponus* (Stubbes) 21-26
 Stubbes's Travels about England (21-2); England describd: its people the wickedest on the earth (23), their sin coming from the Devil (24); Stubbes's grief at it (25), and attempt to do them good by laying bare their abuses and enormities (26).

CHAPTER II.

- A particuler Description of PRIDE, the principall Abuse; and how manifold it is in ALGNA** (England) 26-49
 Three sorts of Pride: of the Heart, of the Mouth, of Apparel (27-8). How these Three are committed (28-30). Foreigners don't change their dress (31): 'no People in the World is so curiouse in new fangles as they of (England) be' (32), or like

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

'far-fetcht & dear-bought' so well (33). Our Mingle-mangle of Apparel (34). Men of birth and office only should wear fine clothes (35). Dress was first given to cover our shame (36); tho' we're not bound to wear leather¹, like Adam (37-8). God regards not Attire (39). The pretence that setting forth God's Glory (40), or gaining acceptance with wise men (41) is a reason for fine Clothes. Reverence is due to Virtue, not to Apparel (42-3). Apparel and Pride can't be separated (44). The Godly (45) and the Heathen Greeks, &c. (46), despisd Apparel (47); as did the Prophets and the Early Church (48). We are outrageously extravagant in it (49).

CHAPTER III.

A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

Men's Dress	49-62
Men's <i>Hats</i> , their many shapes, bands, and materials (50); no Bands, but <i>Feathers</i> (51). <i>Ruffs</i> (51), and their two stays, <i>Starch</i> and <i>Supportasses</i> . <i>Workt Bands</i> (52). Ruffs called 'Three Steppes and a halfe to the Gallowes.' Wrought <i>Shirts</i> (53). Our pamperd bodies grow weak (54). Monstrous big-bellid <i>Doublets</i> (55). <i>Hose</i> , French, Gally, and Venetian (56). <i>Nether-stockes</i> , clockt stockings (57). <i>Corkt Shoes</i> , and <i>Pantofles</i> (57-8). <i>Coats</i> and <i>Ferkins</i> (58-9). Neglect of the miserable Poor, who die in the streets like dogs (59: see too p. 105, 116). Turkish cruelty of the English rich to the poor (60). <i>Cloaks</i> short and long (60-1). <i>Boot-hose</i> , from £4 to £10 (61), gewgaws to feed the wanton eyes of gazing fools (62). <i>Rapiers</i> , <i>Swords</i> and <i>Daggers</i> , in Velvet Sheaths. The Day of Judgment (62).		

CHAPTER IV.

A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens Apparell in Ailgna (England), and other Naughtinesses. 63-89

Painting their Faces (64-7), as Harlots do (65). The Fathers denounce this (65-6). *Tricking their Heads*, propping their hair with wires, hanging bugles, &c., on it (67). *Wearing sham Hair*, and *Dyeing their Hair* (68). *Hoods*, *Hats*, *Caps* and *Cawls* (69). *Making holes in their ears* to wear jewels in (70). *Ruffs*, starcht and supportast (70). *Minor Ruffs*; *Ruff-Skirts* ornamented (71). Fearful example of the Ruff-wearing Woman of Antwerp, whose neck the Devil

¹ "Since *leathern* Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. *Edward III*, II. ii. 120.

Contents.

5*

PAGE

broke (71-3). *Doublets* and *Ferkins* like men's: a curse on them for it (73). *Gowns, Capes, Petticoats* (74); *Kirtles* (75). Women are bundles of Clouts. Poor men's daughters' love of Finery (75), makes them Whores (76). *Stockings* of all colours (76), *Corkt Shoes* and *Slippers; Perfumes* (77); *Nosegays in their Bosoms: Scents, &c.*, allurements to vice (78). Women's *Mincing, Tripping* (78), *Rings, Armlets*, scented *Gloves, Looking-Glasses* (Devil's Bellows), *Silk Scarfs* (79), *Visors, Masks* (80). Inventors of new Fashions denounc't (80-1). Heathen women, German women, &c., despise fine Dress (81-2), so did Christian Women (83). God's punishments of Pride (84-6). Englishmen dress to please their Harlots (86-7).—[*Added in 2nd edition*] How English Women spend their days in idleness and sin (87). The Gardens they meet their Paramours in (88), are little better than Brothels (89).

CHAPTER V.

The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna (England) ... 90-102

The justifiers of whoredom denounc't (90), Marriage alone lawful (91). Heathens (92), and the Bible (93-5) against whoredom. Bodily evils of it (95-6). Every Englishman has bastards (96). Marriages of mere infants. Every boy huggles his pretty pussy, and runs-up a cottage (97). Early marriage should be restrained (97), and whoredom punish't (98) by branding with a hot iron (99). Judgments on W. Brustar and his whore (100). Wives are whores, and Husbands keep whores (101).

CHAPTER VI.

Gluttonie and Drunkenesse in Ailgna (England) ... 102-114

The English given to too many dishes and sauces (102). In Stubbes's father's time, and earlier, men liv'd plainlier: We're weaker folk¹ (103). The Bible against Gluttony (104). Small relief of the poor now: 3 cankers of the Commonwealth, 'daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and sumptuous Apparel' (105). Food and health of the Poor; dainties and diseases of the Rich (106). Drunkenness of the Maltworms in Alehouses² (107). The evils of Drunkenness (108). The Bible against it (109-10). Judgments on

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

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

Swabian drunkards (111-13); on Dutch ones (113-14: *both added in 2nd edition*).

CHAPTER VII.

Couetousnes in Ailgna (England) 114-123

All Englishmen covetous (114-15). Racking of Rents, and Enclosure of Commons (116). Grasping Lawyers (117-18); Cheating Merchants (118). Dearness of all things (118). Taking house and land over the poor man's head (119). The Bible against Covetousness (120-1). Every Beggar tries to be "Master," a gentleman, and is flattered by Titi-villers (122).

CHAPTER VIII.

Great Vsurie in Ailgna (England) 123-129

The laws allow it, but don't command it (123-4). The Bible against it (125). Debtors imprisond (126); their misery; the Creditor's *I will make dice of his bones* (127). Vsurers worse than Devils (128). Scriveners, the Devil's tools (128-9).

CHAPTER IX.

Great Swear yng in Ailgna (England: *not in 1st ed., added in 2nd*) 129-136

Papists allowd too much liberty in England (130-1). Englishmen swear too much (131); the greatest swearer held the bravest fellow (132). Sin of Swearing (133). Swearers should be branded with a hot iron (134). Judgments on Swearers in Lincolnshire (135), Congleton in Cheshire, and London (136).

CHAPTER X.

The Maner of sanctifying the Sabaoth in Ailgna 136-140

Plays, Lords of Misrule, Games, Bear-baitings, Fairs, Football, reading bawdy Books (137). Why the Sabbath was instituted (138). The Jews strict in keeping it (139). Its true use: prayer, and doing good (140).

CHAPTER XI.

Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes ... 140-150

Plays on religious subjects are Sacrilege (140-1). The Fathers, &c., against Plays (142-3). The sinful Arguments of Tragedies and Comedies (143). Curse those who say, Plays are as good as Sermons (144). The naughtinesses at *The Theatre* and *Curtain* (144). Bad things learnt at Plays (145). Players are Rogues and Vagabonds by Law (146).

Contents.

7*

PAGE

CHAPTER XII.

- Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna (England)** ... 146-148
How they dress up, play the Devil's Dance in the Church, and feast in bowers in the Churchyard (147). Their Badges, and the Gifts they get (148).

CHAPTER XIII.

- The Maner of Maie-Games in England** ... 148-150
Folk spend the night in the woods, draw the Maypole home with oxen, and dance round it.

CHAPTER XIV.

- The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna (England)** ... 150-152
The Churchwardens brew the ale, sell it in Church, and men get as drunk as Apes (150-1). They let the Churches and Bibles go to ruin (151).

CHAPTER XV.

- The maner of keeping of Wakesses, and Feasts in Ailgna** ... 152-154
Every town and village has its yearly Wake-day or Festival, at which the Parishioners and their friends stuff and get drunk, and gather together a lot of whores and drabs (152-3). Wakes sprang from the Heathen and the Devil (154).

CHAPTER XVI.

- The horrible Vice of pestiferous Dauncing, vsed in Ailgna.** 154-169
Dancing provokes Wantonness (154); Clipping, Kissing, Groping, &c. (155); hurts the Body, and lames the Mind (156). The Bible and the Fathers against Dancing (157-8). Our Forefathers' dancing and ours compar'd (158-9). The Israelites' dancing: not Men with Women (160-3). Our cheek-by-cheek Dancing is 'bestly to behold' (163). Bible-folk's dancing (163-5). Our filthy Dancing *must* do hurt (165). Each sex should dance by itself (166). The Fathers, &c., against Dancing (166-9). It sprang from the teats of the Devil's breast (169).

CHAPTER XVII.

- Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to Vanitie** ... 169-173
'Musick is a good gift of God,' but used for 'filthie dauncing' is bad (170). Alehouse Musicians, and Minstrels, and their bawdy Songs (171). If you want your daughter whorish,

'bring her up in Music & Dancing' (171). The harm of licensing Minstrels, &c. (172).

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tennis, Bowles, and other Exercises vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna 173-177
 These fooleries specially us'd at Christmas (173). No Christian can play for money (174). Evil of Gaming or Brothel-Houses (175). Laws, &c., against Gaming (176-7).

CHAPTER XIX.

Beare-baiting and other Exercises, vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna 177-180
 These heathenish games are held on the Sabbath (177). Some men'll keep 12 or 20 mastiffs, and risk from £20 to £100 on a Bear-bait: 'fight Dog, fight Bear! the Devil part all!' (178). God's Judgment on the Bear-baiting Folks at *Paris Garden*, Southwark, on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1583 (179); and at *The Theatre* a little before (180).

CHAPTER XX.

Cockfighting, Hawking & Hunting upon the Sabbath-Day in England 180-182
 The Swearing, Cheating, Quarrelling and Drinking at the Cockfights (180). Hawking and Hunting are only allowable on week-days (181). Is it Christian to break down your neighbour's hedges, and trample his corn? (182).

CHAPTER XXI.

Markets, Fairs; Courts and Leets upon the Sabbath-Day in England 182-183
 The former lead to Cheating, Lying, Drunkenness; the latter to Envy, Perjury, Pilling of the Poor.

CHAPTER XXII.

Football-playing on the Sabbath & other Days in England 183-184
 It's a bloody and murdering game, not fit for the Sabbath or any other day (184).

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Reading of Wicked Books in England 184-186
 The Bible, and Fox's *Book of Martyrs* are set aside for scurrilous and bawdy books (185).

CHAPTER XXIV.

How all these Enormities & Abuses may be reformd ... 186-191
 By putting our good Laws into practise (186), and punishing those who give bribes to avoid them (187). The Day of Judgment is not far off (187), as Signs and Tokens show (188). And then the wicked shall find a Material Hell with 'uggle-some Devills' (188). Repentance must not be put off (189); it must be inward and true (190). Men cannot wallow in the Pleasures of the World, and live in Joy in Heaven (191).
 Faults escaped in Printing 192

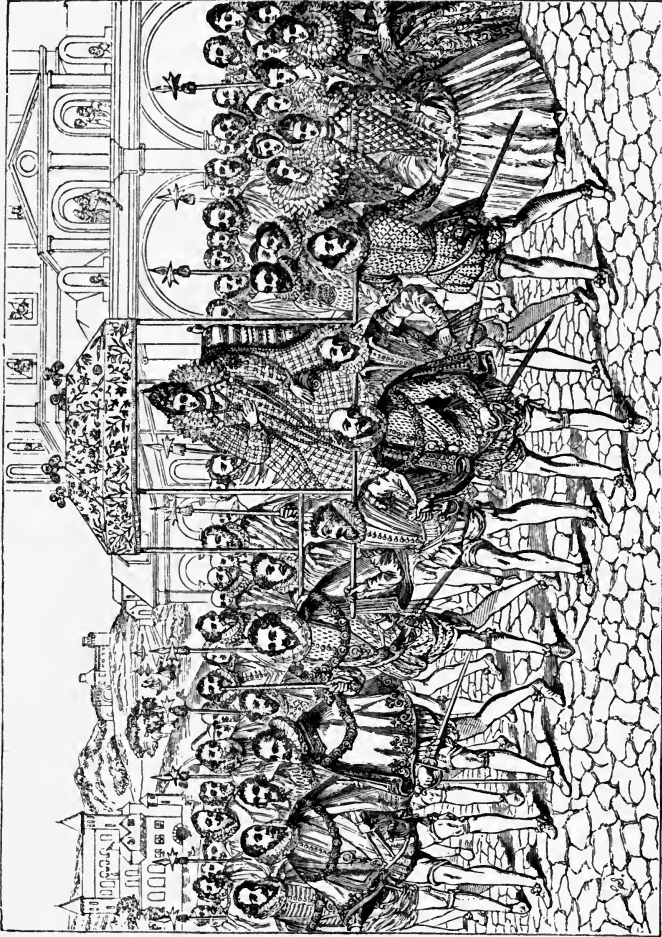
III.

Extracts from PHILLIP STUBBES'S **Christal Glasse for Christian Women**, 1591, or *Life & Death of his Wife, Katherine Stubbles*, who died at Burton-upon-Trent on Dec. 14, 1590 195-208
 Her parentage, marriage (197), sweet and pious character (198-9); her feeling that she should die in childbirth (200). Her boy born; Ague seizes her; her gentle patience (200). Her desire to be set free (201), and to make a Confession of her Faith (202). Her Confession (mainly doctrinal, and therefore left out) (203-5).
 'A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule; and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ' (205-7). Her death at the age of 18 (208).

IV.

Extracts from PHILIP STUBBES'S **Perfect Pathway to Felicitie, Containing Godlie Meditations and Prayers**, 1592, and 1610 209-230
 Contents of these two Editions (1592, 1610) 210, 212
 The Epistle Dedicatorie to Mistresse Katherine Milward, 1592 213-214
 Precepts at thy going forth of thy Chamber 215
 Meditations in the washing of ones Face and Hands 215
 A Praier to be said at the washing of ones Face and Hands 215
 Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the Table 216
 A Thanks-giuing to God after Dinner 216
 A Thanks-giuing to God before Supper 217

	PAGE
A Thanks-giuing to God after Supper	218
Directions of Christian behaiour after Supper	218
Meditations when thou comest into thy Chamber	219
A Prayer when Sleepe cometh vpon one	220
<i>(these fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, 221)</i>	
A Praier when one awakes out of Sleepe	221
Christian Directions for the Morning	221
 Extracts from A Short Treatise of Praiers and	
Supplications	223-230
A Praier for the Queenes Maestie	224
A Prayer for a Competent & a necessary Liuing	225
A Praier to be said of those that be vnmarried	225
A Prayer to bee said of those that be married	226
A Prayer to be said of those that be Masters of Households	227
A Prayer to be said of Seruants	227
A Prayer in the time of Pestilence	228
A Praier to be said of all such as be Maistrates and Rulers in the Common Wealth	230
 V.	
NOTES:—(Chief headings)	231-320
Men's Dress and its Absurdities	239
Women's Dress, Face-Painting, Naked Breasts, &c.	253
Fornication and Adultery	280
Gluttony and Drunkenness	284
Cruelty to the Poor, Usury, &c.	288
Swearing	294
Sabbath-breaking, by Bearbaiting, &c.	296
Theatres	301
Lords of Misrule, May-games, Church-Ales, &c.	304
Games, Sports, and Football-Playing	316
 VI.	
APPENDIX: Popular and Popish Customs and Superstitions in Germany, &c., in 1553: The 4th Book of Thomas Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) "Popish Kingdome" 1553, englisht 1570	321
 VII.	
INDEX	349



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 34
 Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

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



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



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



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



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



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



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



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



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



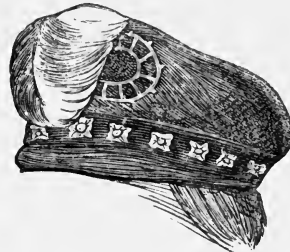
Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. *Planché, i. 436.*



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



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



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

Memorandum :

ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE
REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

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

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

18* Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

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

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

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

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

Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19*

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

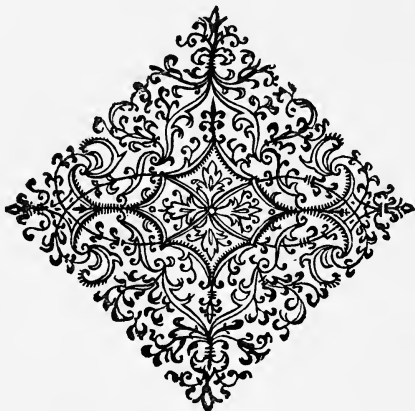
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems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

20*Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

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

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

J. W. EBSWORTH.





S



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



X¹



R



X²

Kutts, Fans, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. X². Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.



V



Q



V²



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



X 4

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



(? Time of James I.)



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

M



Z



Y



? time of Charles I.



D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



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



A

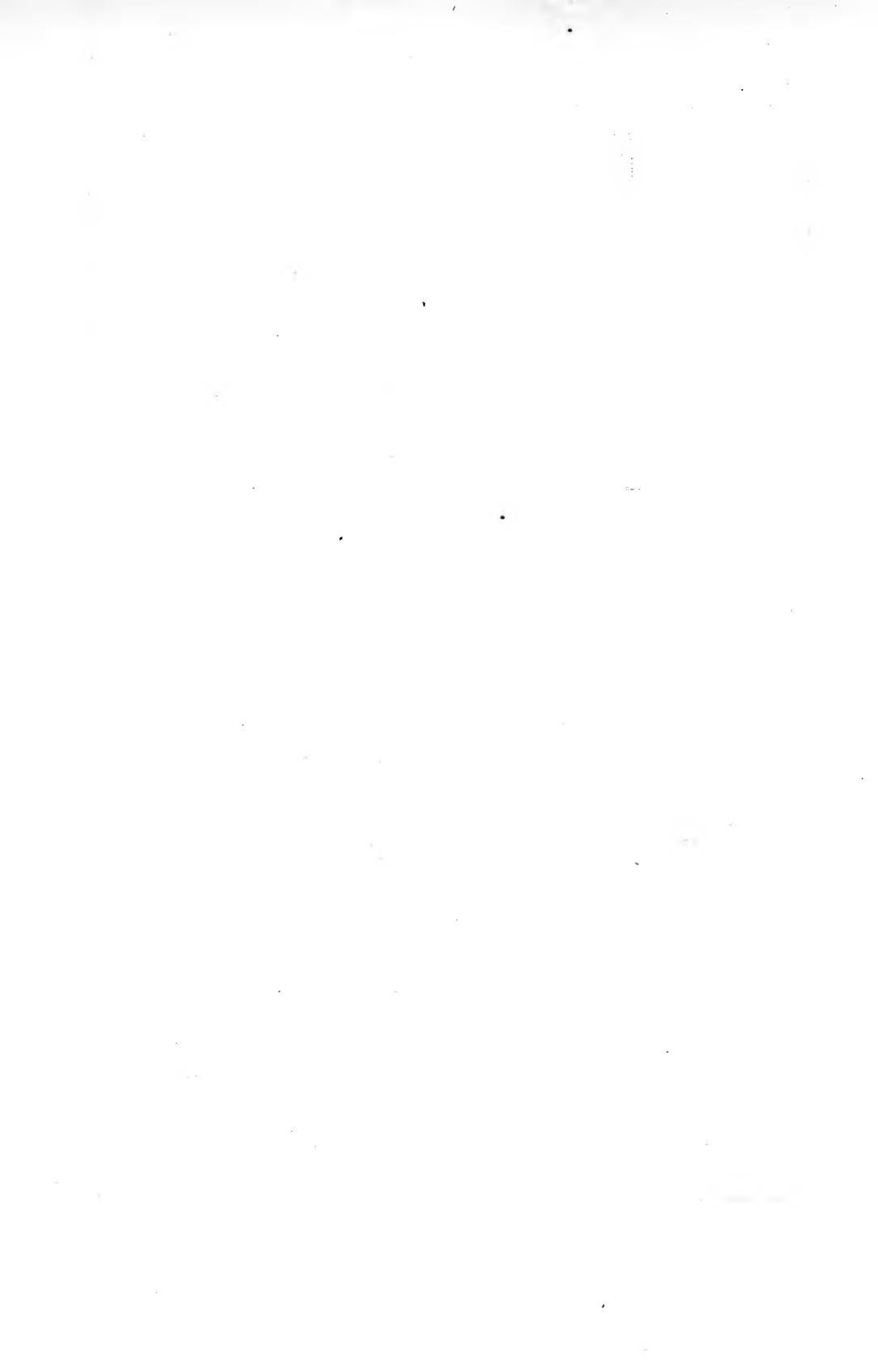


C



B

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



Z



F



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



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



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.

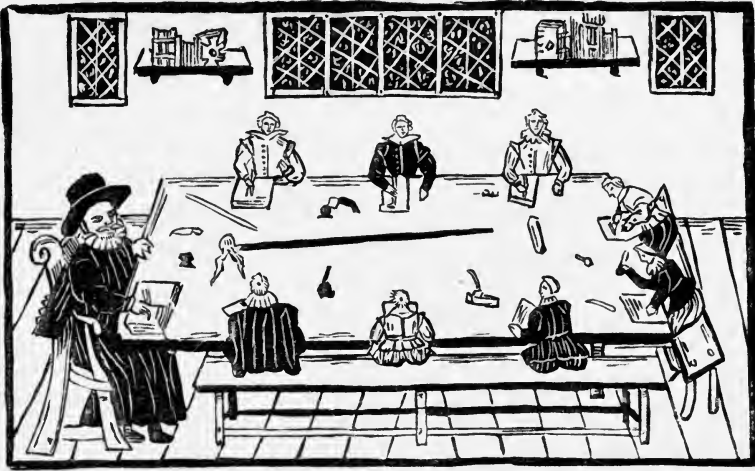


G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's *Philocothonia*, 1635.



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

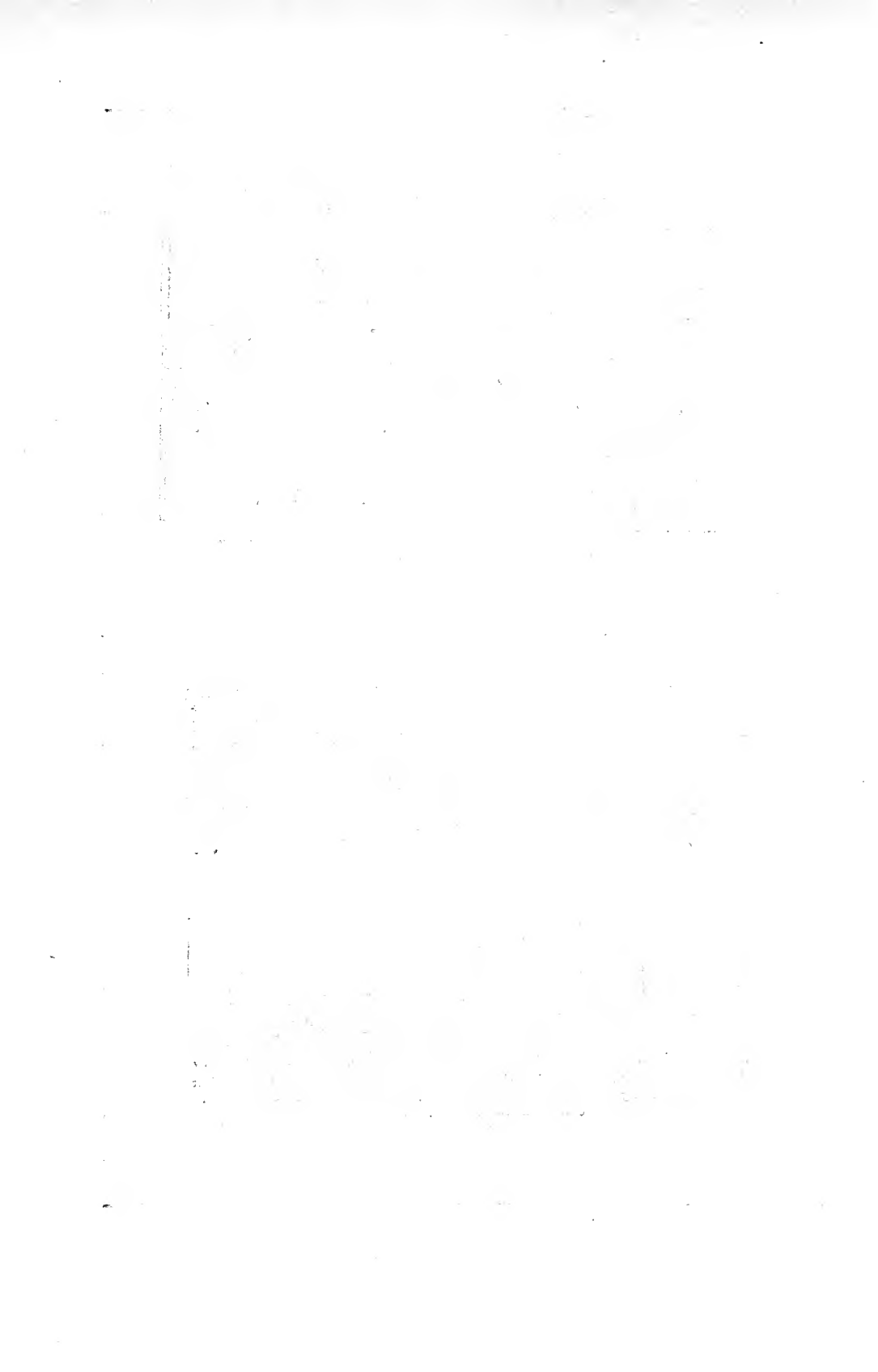
d



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



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





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



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

FOREWORDS.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[on sign. C. 4.

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

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

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

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

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose ; but I wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vtterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engraft her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull ; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargain. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee ; *Phil. Stu.* was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was ; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all ; and so, O grieffe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it *Mar-martin Junior*, and thou art good enough for ten thousand of them ; tickle me my *Phil.* a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain priuate Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of *Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes² Printing-house, when as you would needes haue *clari* the infinitiue moode of a verbe passiue ; which determined, you went forwards after this order : *Sunt* there are, *oculos* eies, *qui* the which, *cernis* thou doest see, *clari* to be cleare, *tanquem sydera* as the Stars : Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte ! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke?³ Learning is a iewel, my maisters ; make much of it ; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head ; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulded out) amongst the number of those priuy Martinists which he threatens to place in⁴ euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitie pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

¹ Sign. D. 1.

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

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

⁴ Sign. D. 1, back.

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

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

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

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

"I leaue these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses, and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remains not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*: of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water; and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr¹ cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting fourth other mens imperfections.

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

¹ Sign. B. ii. back.

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing saue the excrementes of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who haue wine to sell. *At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.* Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; euen so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shée draweth vnto her to their destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put their Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbiall checke, *Ne sutor ultra cre¹pidam*, or that oratoricall taunt, *Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exercent*: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuer, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatur their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinitie consists in twopennie Caticismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curioslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by their speeche, their minds by their medling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small ship in a shallow Riuer, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessell; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subiect, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despyght, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

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

¹ Sign. B. iii.

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

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publie make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for aneschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caueat of Christ in the Gospell, *Cauete ab¹ hypocritis*. It is not the writhing of the face, the heauing vpe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men from hauing their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they haue the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharises the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church infaefe them in the kingdome of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles, and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them: and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publicly pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their priuate Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse.² It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstance of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

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

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

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

¹ Sign. B. iii. back.

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

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

ment of botchers in Print: but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danter's presse¹), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grosest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone,² *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfulllest Chroniclers tooe; because they stand in his way, hinder his scribbling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peradventure be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; because he is so much vayner, so little learned, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honest, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Art is incomparable, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnissufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . ."

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praised Stubbes³ for his filed and workman-like style:—

"Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge⁴; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide⁵; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Swearing has so long ceased to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiesced in by all, though they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.¹

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

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

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

turns on.¹ Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent "in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil; in receiuing the sacraments, rightly administred; in vsing publique and priuate prayer; in thanks-giuing to God for all his benefits; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations; *in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes*; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man" (p. 140); and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil's delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who—even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat—now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open², on Sundays; fairs held then, and markets; the *cancan* danced,³ or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there *were* abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes's and Shakspeare's day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. "Yes," he answerd, "I suppose one oughtn't to grudge the people their gathering; but our annual crop of bastards 'll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before; and many of the girls get ruind for life." The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

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

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

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

48* § 3. *Stubbes right in abusing Bearbaiting, etc.*

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

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

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker², dancer, and honourer of Shakspeare, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"1590. John Stubs⁴ filius Philippi baptized the 17 November 1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December."⁵

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

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

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

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

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

52* § 5. *Stubbes's Life. His Mother-in-law, Mrs. EMMES.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe¹, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—" *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof*"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet² for his sensible

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV^o. primo die Martij

Richard Jones. Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. *The Anatomye of abuses.* by PHILLIPE STUBBES. vjd
Transcript, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV^o. Tertio Die Augusti.

John Charlewood Receaved of him for his licence to ymprint *The Rosarie of christian Prayers* vjd /
Transcript, ii. 426.

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

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

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

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

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

1591. An. Eliz. 33^o. xv^{to} Junij
Richard Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of
Jones./ LONDON and the wardens | *A Christall glasse for*
christian women | Conteyninge an excellent discourse of
the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE
 STUBBES² &c vj^d/
Transcript, ii. 585.

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

[Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij
James Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies
Robertes whiche were **John Charlewoodes** | *Saluo Jure Cuius-*
cunque xiiis^s iiij^d C
The Rosary of Christian Praieris
Transcript, ii. 651.

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

¹ "9 Augusti [1596].

Thomas Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These fyve
Creede Copies whiche were assigned from **William wright** to **Thomas**
Scarlet, and from **Thomas Scarlet** to the said **Thomas Crede**
 ij^s vj^d
Item the second parte of the Anatomye of abuses called the
Displaye of Corruptions." *Transcript, iii. 68.*

² iij^o Julij [1596].

master Entred for his Copyes these things followinge, viz. *Catheryne*
Whyte *Stubes*, vj^d (with *The scole of vertue*, vj^d; *Twenty Orders of*
warden *Calettes and Drabes*, vj^d . . . *The ffyve and Twentye orders of*
knaues, vj^d) *Transcript, iii. 187.*

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

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

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

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

(4)

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

(5)

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

* * * * *

(12)

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

* * * * *

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

(14)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(23)

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

(24)

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

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

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

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

(27)

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

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

d. His fourth was the famous *Anatomie of Abuses*, enterd in the
Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of
May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo,¹ here reprinted. The success
of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at
London, by Richard Iones. 16. August 1583. [Colophon] Perused,
aucthorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appointed in the
Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard
Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere
vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter.
(*Collation*: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon
and device²). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British
Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone
526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition³ of
the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and
augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].

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

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

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

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

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

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the *Anatomie*, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revisd his *Anatomie* for the edition of 1595,³ and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his *Perfect Pathway* of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the *Anatomie* after its first publication were mainly⁴ these:—

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

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

² The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

³ See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

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

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

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

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

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

A. tractation
F. discourse

27 | A. preparaunce
| F. great preparation

72

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

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

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

¹ 'Distincted' is left in F. 156.

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

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

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

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

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

"In sanguisugas Papistas,
Philippus Stubbes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ 25 March, 1593.

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

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

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere upon earth. For is not this the next¹ way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulation, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next¹ way to make bloudshed and murther, to raise up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookes and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallowes, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happily rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buried in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilst in the meane tyme other bookes, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conycatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Litæra*, a horselytter, *Lectica*. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict.

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601.¹ Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d. *The present Edition* of the *Anatomic* (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull¹ re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly called the third. That the worth of the book deserved more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's *Description of England* was never reprinted separately,² till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the *Anatomic's* reprints.

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

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

² Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of *Holinshed*.

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

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

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

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

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

"I shall live to see thee
Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box,
Thy half-crown library, and cry small books :
'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'—
'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards' :
'A pill to purge out popery' :
'The life and death of Katherine Stubbs,'"

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

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

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

"—And in some barn have cited many an author,
Kate Stubbs, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

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

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

Bp. Babington on Dress.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.

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

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

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

Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.

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

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

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

to drunkennes, and feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y^e name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [*Spending whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage Sunday.*] plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*,¹ to this bearebaiting² & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frozen & void of

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

² *The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting.*

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

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

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

‡ *James I's Book of Sports.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Psal. 119.

1. Cor. 15.

1. Thes. 5. 22.

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

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

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

[*Dancing.*]

Job. 21. 11.

Calu. serm. 80.

vpon Iob.

Math. 14.

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

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was *meretriciæ lasciuia* *Marior. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio*. That is, that for her *Calu.*

to dance, being a maide for yeares marriageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoeuer (saith he) hath a care of honest grautie, he euer condemneith dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it *spectaculum familiæ Regiæ probrosum*. A dishonorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike.

Syrac. 9. 4. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experience, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. The

Ambros. de. godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For saltatio ad virgin. lib. 3 adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe

Chryst. Math. hom. 43. speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake it. *Saltatio barathrum diaboli,* sayth an other: dauncing is the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Iacobs mariage

Theophilact in Mar. 6. (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing that was at it. *Mira collusio* sayth another, *saltat diabolus per puellam*: It is a strange iugling, when wee thinke the maide doth

daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The counceles haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgementes of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is

An. 1505. strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Colbecke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, being by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead.¹ But because others haue so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to haue bene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselues. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Que. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

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

Ezek. 16.

1. Cor. 7. 39.

Deut. 22.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liveries are often meanes and couers of oppression.

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

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

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

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

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie¹ creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthe neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaille, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demanded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grasshopper) I sung, and litle remembred this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will neuer maintaine idlenesse in anie." Thus receiued slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. *Optimum obsonium senectute labor*, (sayth one) They are good refreshings in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,² who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tippie and drinke, banket and reuell, what connsell soeuer is giuen vs to the contrarie, with that litle we haue, and sing care away. And a litle gaie apparell on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I haue no wages vnlesse you could worke, many thinges may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idlenesse and slouth. . . .³ Wherefore it is not ynough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we haue by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) iust labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fidling and pyping vppe and downe the countrey, by carying about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subiect to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

Idle Jestings and Scoffing.

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

¹ p. 383.

² p. 384.

³ p. 385.

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

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

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

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

p. 400-403. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would draw vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to haue this effect in vs, euen to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subiect to dulnesse, and wearinesse, euen in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weakenesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach. 8. 5.
Exod. 13.
2. Sam. 18.
Leuit. 23.
The appointing of festiual dayes.

I so tearme, because I am assured that the worde of God condemmeth not all our play, and the corrupt constitution of our bodies, together with the dulnesse of our minds, require some play. Sparing in truth is the worde in giuing, because well knewe the Lorde wee woulde not bee sparing in taking libertie for to play. Yet is it plaine inough. Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying philosophie, *Philosophandum paucis*: Wee must play but litle.

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

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

T. Lupton. *Sivgila*, p. 53.

harder than this, namelie, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus : If it bee lawfull to plaie for monie, then is it lawfull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawfullie possessed : But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first inuention of plaie prooueth, which, as euerie one canne well witnesse, was neuer inuented to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind ; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirdlie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullie crie for want of succour : from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare vppon, and euen from the want of manie necessities for our selues, that it is not lawfull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a witnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not giuen seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Iesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at vayne playe, in a vayne manner, twentie times as much? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will neuer pricke him, or neuer haue a iust rewarde of punishment at Gods handes? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee saued too? Naie, is it not woonderfull, and a thing that heauen and earth are ashamed of, and euen all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former dutie, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie booke to benifite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessities, and yet thinke hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawfull, and not to bee spoken agaynst? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus haue his conscience seared vp? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stooed in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to driue awaie from vs such grosse securitie. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyed our selues, and others; wee were neuer anie thing lesse, than Christians. These dutie therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessities for our selues, improoue¹ our playing for monie."

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

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

¹ Lat. *improbo*, disapprove, blame, condemn.

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

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

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

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

⁹ Of the Statutes.

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

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

Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.

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

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

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

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall
Widow and fatherlesse. towards him in this commaundement. . . . Haue wee not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe we might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why
Iob. 31, 32. we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from the bones, as Iob wished to him in such a case? Haue we neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered
Bribes. these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift¹ to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you haue offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnes pulled not vppon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeues.”

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

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

¹ Compare Bacon's case, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See *Harrison*, Part I., p. 21, 26-27.

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

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

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



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

Edel-vrouwe
Noblewoman

Bygher-vrouwe
Citizen's wife

Wilde Irische
Wild Irish

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

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11.

p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

96* Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Anatomie
of Abufes:

Containing

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

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

Made Dialogue-wife by PHILLIP STVBS.

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

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE. 13. Ver. 5.

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

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

Perused, aucthorised, and al-
lowed, accordyng to the order
appointed in the Quee-
nes Maiesties
Iniuncti-
ons.



At London
Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng
at the Signe of the Rose
and the Crowne, neere
vnto Holborne
Bridge.
1584.



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

[councelled them before, to go to¹ heare the Sermon, hauyng some sparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praife vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus haue I *in sempiternam rei memoriam*, faithfully recorded the Storie of these eight dronkardes, and of their fearfull ende, taken out of the³ Dutche coppie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburche,⁴ for a caueate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous perfonnes throughout the whole worlde, that thei offende not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

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

[² leaf 67. B.*]

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo blasphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toune of Nekershofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as followeth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, traueielyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hoste with speede brought them verie good; but thei dislikyng the Wine, for the newnesse thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; so in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good store. Thus fatte thei swillyng, and caroufyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.⁵ Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroused to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he should drinke: quoth the this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne also,⁶ and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God should pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He answered "of whether thou wilt." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reachyng forthe his arme, as high as he⁷ could, as though God should haue pledged hym in deede, saied these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou louest beste: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddest⁸ sent better, thou shouldest haue had better; but suche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery sope, as I haue dooen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus stretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe these wordes, the Lorde proceedeth in Judgemente againste

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

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

[⁷ leaf 67, back. B.†]

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

¹ to not in F.

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

³ a in E, F.

⁴ Straesburcht F.

⁵ Swine F.

⁶ also not in E, F.

† leaf 67, back. No head-line. B.

⁸ hadst F.

[This page, to l. 23, not in A.]

[The Lord strikes the blasphemous drunkard.]

[hym: caufyng his arme to stande stedfast and vnmouuable, so as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to stere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,¹ his countenance not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceiued to come forthe of hym, nor yet to speake one worde he was² able: and yet for all that, seemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people affaied to remoue hym from that place, but³ could not by any strength. In the ende thei tyed Horfes to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once stere hym. Then thei affaied to burne the house, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the house: wherefore, when thei fawe all their waies and deuises to be frustrate, perswadyng themfelues, that God had made hym a spectacle to all dronkards, thei surceafed⁴ their attemptes,⁴ and wished the wil of the⁵ Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the same pitifull case you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vnremouable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose blessing will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beaft his companion, thei hanged vpon a Gibbette, before the dore of the same house, as he well deserued! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkenesse, which God graunte euery true Christian⁶ maie auoide, for feare of Gods vengeance. *Added in B, E, F.*]

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

[5 leaf 68. B.†]

[7 sign. I 7. A.]

⁷ *Spud.* ⁸ Shew mee I pray,⁹ the state of that Countrey a litle further: is it a welthie Countrey with-in it-felfe, or otherwyse poore and bare?

[England,] Ailgna a famous Yland. ¹⁰

Philo. It is a most famous Yland, a¹¹ fertile Countrey, &¹² abound- ing with all maner of store, both¹³ of riches, treasure, &¹⁴ all things els whatfoeuer; but as¹⁵ it is a¹⁵ welthie and riche Countrey,¹⁶ so are the inhabitaunts, from the higheft to the lowest, from the priest to the populare¹⁷ forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclnyed to couet-

¹ a long time after B, E, F.

² was not F.

³ but they F.

⁴—⁴ their enterprises any further F.

† leaf 68. *No head-line.* B.

⁶ man added in E, F.

⁸ In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousnesse in Ailgna.

⁹ pray you B, E, F.

¹⁰ This side-note not in B, E, F.

¹¹ and E; and a F.

¹² & not in E, F.

¹³ as well F.

¹⁴ as of F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ the countrey is E, F.

¹⁶ Countrey not in E, F.

¹⁷ inferiour F.

oufnes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can neuer be fatiffied, for, *crefcit amor nummi, quantum ipfa pecunia crefcit*: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more increafe, by how much more the monie it ¹felfe doth increafe; and the nature of a couetous man is fuch that *tam deeft quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as *that* which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. A² couetoufe man may³ wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawne for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, fo a couetous man, drowned in the ⁴quagmire or plafh of auarice and ⁴ambition, hauing his *summam*⁵ *uoluptatem* repofed in momentaine⁶ riches, is neuer content with inough, but ftill thirfteth for more, much like to a man ficke of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thurfteth; ⁸the more he thurfteth, the more he drinketh⁸; the⁹ more he drinketh, the more his difeafe increafeth. Therefore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa auari os eft diaboli*; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, which euer is open to receiue, but alway fhut to giue.

Spud. But they will eafily wipe away this blot,¹⁰ namely in faying,¹⁰ are we not bound to prouyde for our felues,¹¹ our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apofte hold him for an infidell and¹² a deneger of the faith, who prouyde not for his Wyfe and Family? ¹³Is it not good to lay vp fomthing againft a ftormie day? wherefore they wil rather deeme themfelues good hufbands,¹³ than couetous or ambitious perfons.¹⁴

¹⁵*Philo.* Euery Chriften Man is bound,¹⁶ in conſcience before God, to prouide for their¹⁷ houſhold & Family, but yet fo as his immoderat care furpaſſe not the bands,¹⁸ nor yet¹⁹ tranſcend ²⁰the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefteft truſt & care is to reſt onely in the Lord, who

[Englishmen
covetous.]

The nature of
a couetous
man.

[† leaf 68, back.
B.*]

The insatiable
desire of a
couetouse
man.

[7 I 7, back]

The purse of a
riche Man.

[15 leaf 69. B.†]

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

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

² Therefore may a E, F.

³ may *not* in E, F.

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

⁵ summum F.

⁶ momentary F.

⁸—⁸ *not* in E, F.

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

¹³—¹³ And therefore herein we shew ourselues rather good houbandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

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

† leaf 69. Moderate care allowable. B.

¹⁶ bound indeed B, E.

¹⁷ his B, E, F. ¹⁸ boundes F. ¹⁹ yet *not* in B, E, F. ²⁰ not the B, E.

giueth liberally to euery one *that* asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed ¹to *the* performance¹ of *the* fame. But so farre from couetousnes, & from immoderate care, wold *the* Lord haue vs,² *that* we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) sufficient to *the* day is the trauail of the fame. After all these ³things (with a diftrustfull & inordinat care) do the heathen seek, who know not God,' faith our Sauour chriſt; 'but be you not like to *them*.' And yet I say, as we are not to diftrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such ⁴secundary⁵ and infrumental⁴ meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to *that* end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetousnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & assaying al meanes, possible to ⁶exaggerat & ⁶heap vp riches, ⁶*that*⁷ thick clay of damnation, to *themselues* for euer.⁶ So (likewise) Land⁸lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raising their fines & incommes, & setting *them* so straitely⁹ vpon *the* tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Besides *that*, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage¹⁰ and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for *themselues* to lyue vpon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of¹¹ whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant ¹²clamors haue long since pearced the Skyes, and presented *themselues* before the Maieſty of God, saying,¹³ how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of ¹⁴thy poore Sainctts and vn-worthie¹⁵ members vpon the earth? Take heed, therefore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miserie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, sinister¹⁶ oppres-

Immoderate care for riches reprinted.

[³ sign. I 8. A.]

Land-Lords racke their tenants.
[⁸ leaf 69, back. B.†]

Inclosing of commons from the Poore.

[¹² I 8. back]

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

¹—¹ for the getting F. ² to be added in F. ⁴—⁴ ordinary F.

⁵ causes added in E. ⁶—⁶ not in F. ⁷ the B, E.

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

⁹ straight B, E, F. ¹⁰ prouision F. ¹¹ of many B, E, F.

¹³ cryng B, E, F. ¹⁴ doen to B, E, F. ¹⁵ seelie E; silly F.

¹⁶ biting F.

fions, and indirect dealings, fhall be ¹powred vppon your heads¹ at the great daye of the Lord. Curfed is he (faith our Sauour Chrift) that offendeth one of thefe litle ones: it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck, & he caft into *the* middeft of the fea. Chrift ²fo entirely loueth his poore members vppon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himfelfe, and will reuenge it as done to himfelfe. wherfor GOD giue them grace to lay open their inclofures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby GOD is offended, their³ poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, *the* whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mifchiefe be not met withall, and incountred with verie fhortlie. For thefe inclofures be the caufes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beafts doo eat graffe: Thefe, I fay, are the⁴ Caterpillers and deuouring locufes that maffacre the ⁵poore, & eat vp *the* whole realme to *the* deftruccion of the fame: *The Lord remooue⁶ them!*

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they ⁷goe ruffling⁷ in their filks, veluets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, ⁸fumptuous edifices,⁸ and ftately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they haue⁹ bands and retinewes of men attendant vppon them daylie; they purchafe caftels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vppon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They haue fo good confciences that all is fifh that comes to the net; thei refufe nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients caufe,¹⁰ the Lorde kno¹¹weth, and one day they fhall finde it. If you haue *argent*, or rather *rubrum vnguentum*, I dare not fay Gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fifh withall, than your fute fhall want no furtherance; but if this¹² be wanting, than farewel clyent; he may go shooe the goofe for any good fucceffe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, sheriffes & Officers will returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non est inuentus*, fmally to the poore mans profit. ¹³So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

¹—¹ required at your hands F.

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

³ the B, E, F.

⁴ the *not in* F.

⁶ amende B, E, F.

⁷—⁷ ruffle it out B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ *not in* F.

⁹ there bandes E; (their F.)

¹⁰ causes B, E, F.

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

¹² this liquor B, E, F.

¹³ But so B, E, F.

Iniurie to
Christ his
members is
iniury to
Christ.

[² leaf 70. B. *]

Inclosures

[⁵ sign. K r. A.]

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

[¹³ leaf 70, back.
B. †]

Oyntment to
greese lawiers
in the fifh
withall.

they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and iust; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one aske them ¹ why they tould not their clients so in *the* beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, *the* fault is in himselfe; he tould me *the* best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this president & *that* president,² turning al the fault vpon *the* fuggester; whereas *the* whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can beare him witnesse. In presence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their slaughtes wold thinke they would go together by the eares³); this is⁴ to draw on their clients withal; but immediately after, their clients being⁵ gon, they laugh in their sleues to see how pretily they⁶ fetch in such som⁷mes of money; and *that*, vnder the pretence of equitie and iustice. But though thei can for a time (*prefligatorum instar*⁸), like cunning deceiuers, cast a mist before *the* blind world, yet the Lord, who seeth (⁹suborned by none⁹) *the* secrets of all harts, shall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The¹⁰ marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfait balances & vntrue waightes, and by their surprising of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. ¹¹The Artificer¹¹ & Occupyers, euen all in generall, will not sell their wares for no¹² reasonablen price, but will¹³ sweare & teare pittifully, *that* such a thing cost them so much, & such a thing so much, wher¹⁴as they swear as false as the lying Lord is true. But one day let them be sure *that* the Lord (who faith 'thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceiue thy Brother in bargaining') will reuenge this villanie done to his Maiestie.

¹⁵ Into such a¹⁵ ruinous estat hath couetousnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great¹⁶ scarcitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might haue been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie shillings, is now

² this Writing and that Writing *added in F.* ³ earers (*sic*) F.

⁴ instead of a shoyng horne *added in E, F.* ⁵ bee B, E, F.

⁶ they can E, F. † leaf 71. What maketh thynges deare. B.

⁸ more *for instar* B, E, F. ⁹—⁹ *not in F.*

¹⁰ Vpon the other side, *for the F.* ¹¹—¹¹ Artificers B, E, F.

¹² any F. ¹³ will *not in E, F.* ¹⁵—¹⁵ Yea, into such F.

¹⁶ great *not in F.*

[¹ K 1, back]
The pretended
excuse of
Lawyers when
their clients
haue loost
their pieces.

The slaughtie
practises of
lawyers.

[7 leaf 71. B. †]

The fraudulent
dealing of
marchant
Men.

Artificers.

[¹⁴ sign. K 2. A.]

Great dearth
in plentie of all
things.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.¹ That which *than* was worth twentie pound is now ²worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the rich Men haue fo balaunced their chefts with Gold and filuer, as they cracke againe. And to fuch exceffe is this couetoufnes growne, as euery one *that* hath money will not ftick to take his neighbors houfe ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Wherthorow³ many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to begge their bread all ⁴their dayes⁴ after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther houfe or Land, they will neuer reft vntill they haue purchafed it, giuing him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Befides all this, fo desperately giuen are many, that for the acquiring⁵ of filuer and Gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew their hands, and both⁶ their armes, in the blood of their ⁷owne Parents and Freends most vnnaturally. Other fome will not make any conſcience to ſweare and forſweare themſelues ⁸for euer,⁸ to lye, difemble, and deceiue the deereſt frends they haue in the world. Therefore the heathen *Poet*, *Virgill*, ſaid very well, *O ſacra auri fames, quid non mortalia peſtora cogis*: Oh curſed deſire of gold, what miſchief is it but thou forceſt Man to attempt it for *the* loue of thee! This immoderat thirft of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to ſhamefull end; ⁹ſome as homicides⁹ for murthering and ¹⁰killing; ſome ¹¹as latrones,¹¹ for robbing & ¹²ſtealing: ſome for one thing, ſome for another; ¹³So that ſurely I think ¹⁴*maior eſt numerus Hominum,*¹⁴ *quos dira auaritie peſtis abſorpsit, quam quos gladius vel enſis perforauit*: ¹⁵the number of thoſe¹⁵ whom the peſtilence of auarice hath ſwallowed vp, ¹⁶is greater¹⁶ than the number of thoſe whom the ſword hath deſtroied. The Lord affwage the heat¹⁷ hereof with *the* oyle of his grace,¹⁸ if it be his good pleaſure and wil!

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

¹ pounds F. * leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousneſſe in Ailgna. B.

³ Whereby E; Wherby F. ^{4—4} the dayes of their liues F. ⁵ getting F.

⁶ bathe B, E, F. ^{8—8} not in F.

^{9—9} as we ſee dayly, ſome are hanged F. ¹⁰ ſome for *inſtead of* and F.

^{11—11} not in F. ¹² ſome for *inſtead of* & F.

† leaf 72. Teſtimonies againſt Couetousneſſe. B.

^{14—14} the number of men is greater B, E, F; F *has to be for* is.

^{15—15} not in B, E, F. ^{16—16} not in B, E, F. ¹⁷ raging heate F.

¹⁸ gracious mercy for grace F.

[² leaf 71, back. B.*]

Taking of howſes ouer Mens heads.

The deſperat deſire of Men to get money.

[⁷ K 2, back]

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

[¹³ leaf 72. B.†]

Math. 6.

Testimonies
out of the
word of God
against coue-
tousnes.

[² sign. K 3. A.]

Philo. Our Sauour Christ Iesus, the ¹Arch-doctor¹ of all truth, in his Euangely, the sixt of *Mathew*, saith, 'Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.'

Againe, 'be not carfull for Apparell, what ²you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteoufnes therof, and all these things shall be giuen vnto you.' He charged his *Disciples* to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneyes, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his *Disciples* another time, srying which of them should be *the* greatest, that he who wold be the greatest, must condescend⁴ to be seruant of all. When the people wold haue aduauzed him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we 'cannot serue two Maisters, God & Mammon': he biddeth vs 'not to set our minds vppon couetousnes'; inferring that 'wher⁵ our riches be⁶, there will our harts be also. He saith, 'it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in⁷ riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.' The Apofte biddeth vs, 'if we haue meat &⁸ drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.' *Dauid* saith, 'Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall possesse them.' *Salom[on]* compareth a couetous man to him *that* murthereth & sheadeth innocent blood. Againe, 'Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be⁹ satified.' The Apofte *S. Paule* saith, 'neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shall euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.' And saith further, *that* 'the loue of monie is *the* root of al euil.' Christ biddeth vs 'be¹⁰ liberal & lend to them that haue need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than *the* face of the Lord shall not be turned away from vs.' By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes *the* lord wold haue al christians¹¹ to be.

Luc. 6.

Math. ix.³

[Bible bits
against couet-
ousnes.]

[⁵ leaf 72, back.
B.†]

r Timo. vi.

Psalm 39.

Prouerb i.
Proue. xxvii.

[² K 3, back]

Mat. 5.
Luc. 6.

¹—¹ teacher F.⁴ humble F.⁶ is B, F.

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

⁷ in his F.³ E has Math. 9; F has no figure.⁸ & not in F.¹⁰ to be F.¹¹ his children F.

Spud. Be their any examples in¹ scriptures ²to³ shew fourth the punishmentes of the same, in⁴fllicted vpon the Offenders therein?² [4 leaf 73. B.*]

Philo. The Scripture is full of fuch fearful examples of the iust iudgements of God powred⁵ vpon them that haue offended herein; Wherof I will recite three or four, for the satisfiing of your Godly⁶ mind. *Adam* was cast out of Paradiſe for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. *Giefe*,⁷ the Seruant of *Elizeus the Prophet*, was smitten with an incurable leproſie, for that he, to ſatisfie his couetous deſire, exacted gold, ſiluer, &⁸ riche garments, of *Naaman, the K. of Siria* his ſeruant. *Balaam* was reſproued of his aſſe for his couetoufnes in going to curſe the Children of *Iſrael* at the requeſt of *K. Balac*, who promiſed him abundance of gold & ſiluer ſo to doo. *Achab, the K.*, for couetoufnes to haue pore *Naboth* his viniard, ſlew him,⁹ and dyed after himſelfe, with all his progeny, a ſhameful death. The Sonnes of *Samuel* were, for their infaciabie couetoufnes, detained¹⁰ from euer inioying their Fathers kingdome. *Iudas*, for couetoufnes of mony, ſould the Sauour of the world, and betrayed him to the *Iewes*, but afterward dyed a miſerable death, his bellye burſting, & his bowels guſhing out. *Ananias and Saphira* his wife, for couetoufnes in concealing part of the price of their¹¹ lands from the apoſtles, were both ſlain, & died a fearful death. *Achan* was ſtoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetoufnes in ſtealing¹² gold, ſiluer, & Iewels at the ſacking of *Iericho*, & al his goods were burned preſently. Thus you ſee how for couetoufnes of mony, in all ages, Men haue made ſhipwrack of their conſciences, and in the end, by the iuſt iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whoſe iudgments I leaue to the Lord.

The puniſhment of couetouſnes ſhewed by exam- ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

[Bible examples of puniſhments for couetouſneſſe.]

[9 ſign. K 4. A.]

Sa. viii.

Act. v.

[11 leaf 73, back B.]

[God's iudgments on couetous men.]

Spud. Seeing that couetoufnes is ſo wicked a ſin, & ſo offenſiue both to God & Man, & pernicious to the ſoule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the ſame¹³ as they doo.

Ph. Two things¹⁴ moue men to affect mony ſo¹⁵ much as they

¹ in the holie E, F. (holie F.)

²—² of the Iuſtice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein F.

³ that E.

* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetouſneſſe. B.

⁵ executed F.

⁶ Godly not in F.

⁷ Gehesie F.

⁸ and other F.

¹⁰ reſtrained F.

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

¹² for F.

¹³ ſo much added in F.

¹⁴ in my iudgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.)

¹⁵ ſo ſo A.

What make
Men to affect
money.

[K 4, back]

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

[¹¹ leaf 74. B.†]

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

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

[²¹ sign. K 5. A.]

do: *the* one, for¹ feare leaft they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous² infidelitie!) *the* other,³ to be aduanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei see *the* world is such, *that* he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* & maistered at euery word, and withal saluted with⁴ ⁵the vaine title of⁶ ‘worshipfull,’ ⁷and ‘right worshipfull,’⁷ though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to such outrage⁸ is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,⁹ Hufband-man, ¹⁰and other¹⁰; yea, euery Tinker, pedler,¹¹ and fwinherd, euery Artificer and other, *gregariū ordinis*, of the vilest forte of Men that be, must be called by *the* vain name of ‘Maisters’ at euery word. But it is certen that no wyfe Man will intitle them with any of these names, ‘worshipfull’ and ‘maister,’ (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to *the* Godly wyfe, for some speciall vertue inherent¹², either els ¹³in respect of¹³ their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but such Titiuillers, flattering Parasits, and glofing *Gnatæ* as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blownen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might easly perceiue. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter¹⁴ them with these titles, knowing that¹⁵ they deserue nothing¹⁶ lesse. ¹⁷Wherefore, like good ¹⁸Recufants ¹⁹of that thing which is euill^{19,17} they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembring the words of our sauour Christ, saying,²⁰ ‘be not called Maister,’ in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in Heauen; ²¹which only true Maister & Lord, *God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, vntil they come to²² perfect men in Iesus Christ.*

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

¹ a *for* for F.

² distrustfull B, E, F.

³ other for desire B, E, F; (F has a *for* for)

⁴ by *for* with E, F.

⁶ Gentleman and *added in* F.

⁷⁻⁷ *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ extreme madnesse B, E, F.

⁹ cobler and B, E, F.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.

¹² in them *added in* F.

¹³⁻¹³ for B, E, F.

¹⁴ floute E, F.

¹⁵ that *not in* E, F.

¹⁶ no F.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.

¹⁸ wyse E.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ *not in* B, E, F.

²⁰ saying *not in* F.

²² to be E, F.

vfurie, or without fome hofage, guage, or pawn? ¹ for vfurie follow-
eth couetouf²nes, as the fhadowe dooth the bodie.

[² leaf 74, back.
B.*]

Great Vfurie in Ailgna.

Philo.

It is as impoffible for any to borrowe money there³ (for the moft part), without vfurie⁴ & loane, or with-out fome good hofage, guage,⁵ or pledge, as it is for a dead man to fpeak with audible voice.

Vsury.

Spud. I haue heard fay that the pofitiue and ftatute lawes there doo permit them to take vfurye, limitting⁶ them how much to⁷ take for euery pound.

The pofitiue
Lawes.

Philo. Although the ciuile⁸ lawes (for the auoiding of further inconueniences) doo permit certain fommes of money to be giuen⁹ ouerplus, beyond or¹⁰ abouue the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the vfurers no more¹¹ difcharged from the gilt of vfurie before God therby, then the adulterous *Iewes* were from whordome, becaufe *Moyfes* gaue them a permiſſiue law, for euery man¹² to put away¹³ their wiues¹³ that would, for¹⁴ euery light trifle.¹⁴ And yet the¹⁵ lawes there giue no libertie to commit vfurie; but feeing how much¹⁶ it rageth, left it ſhould exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reaſon and godlynes,—As couetoufnes is a raging ſea and a bottomleſſe pit, and¹⁷ neuer fati[f]ied nor contented,—they haue limited them¹⁸ with¹⁹ in certain meeres and banks²⁰ (to bridle the infatiable defires of couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but this permiſſion of the lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vfury, no more (I fay) then the permiſſion of *Moyfes* argued that whordome & adulterie is²¹ lawfull & good, becaufe *Moyfes* permitted them to put away their wiues for the auoiding of greater euil²²: for, as chriſt ſaid to the *Iewes*, ‘from the beginning it was not fo,’ fo fay I to theſe vfurers, from the beginning it was not fo, nor yet ought²³ fo to be.²³

[¹¹ K 5, back]

The lawes of
Ailgna permit
no vsurie.

[¹⁹ leaf 75. B.†]

¹ I thinke not, *added in* B, E, F.

* leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B. ³ in England F.

⁴ interest *added in* E, F. ⁵ pawne *added in* F. ⁶ appointing F.

⁷ they ſhall E, F. ⁸ Statute F. ⁹ & taken *added in* F.

¹⁰ and E, F. ¹² one F. ^{13—13} his wife E, F.

^{14—14} any light offence E, F. ¹⁵ poſitive lawes E, F. ¹⁶ farre F.

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

²⁰ boundes F. ²¹ was then E, F. ²² euils F. ^{23—23} to be ſo F.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, then¹ no man would lend, & then how should *the* poor doo? wherefore the lawes, *that* permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.²

Philo. ³ *Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum*: we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting⁴ certain reasonable gain to be receiued for the loane of money lent, left otherwise the poore should quaille⁵ (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) haue not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be permitted,⁷ which was to impale within the Forreft, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for⁸ the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vfurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therefore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of vfury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo flander *the* lawes, & are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, 'thou shalt not take aboue ijs. in *the* pound, x.li. in a hundred,'⁹ and so so¹⁰ foorth,⁹ Dooth this prooue *that* it is lawful to take so much, or rather *that* thou shalt not take more then *that*? If I¹¹ say to a man,¹¹ 'thou shalt not giue him aboue one or two blowes,'¹² dooth this prooue *that* I licence him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not giue him any at al, or if he doo,¹³ he shal not exceed or passe *the* bands¹⁴ of resonable mesure? so this law dooth but mitigate *the* penalty, for it faith *that* the party *that* taketh but¹⁵ x.li, for *the* vse of an C.li, loseth but *the* x.li, not his principal.

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

¹ then *not in E, F.*

² in my opinion *added in E, F*; (*F has mine for my*)

³ The Apostle teacheth vs *added in B*; The Apostle sayth, E, F.

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

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

⁹—⁹ &c. F.

¹⁰ so *for* so so B, E.

¹¹—¹¹ see a man will needes fight with another, a (*sic*) I hauing authority ouer him, say vnto him F.

¹² at the most *added in F.*

¹³ that *added in E, F.*

¹⁴ bounds F.

¹⁵ aboue B, E, F.

[⁴ sign. K 6. A.]

The lawes permit some ouerplus, but commaund it [not].⁶

[⁸ leaf 75, back. B.†]

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

[¹⁶ K 6, back]

Philo. You may be fure of that ; For our Sauour Chrifte willeth vs to be fo far from couetoufnes and vfury, as he faith, “ giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away.” Againe,¹ “ Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward fhall be great in heauen.” ²If wee muft lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, no, not fo much as the bare thing lent, where is the intereft, the vfurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fifh for fo much? Therefore our Sauour Chrifte faith, *beatius est dare, potius³ quam accipere* : It is more blessed to giue, then to receiue. In the 22. of *Exodus, Deut.* 24, 23, *Leuit.* 25, *Nehe.* 5, *Eze.* 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vse any kinde of vfury, or intereft, or to receiue again any ouer-pluss besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beafts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what foeuer. *Dauid* asketh a queftion of the Lord, faying, *Lord, who fhall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and⁵ who fhall refi in thy holy hil?* wherto he⁶ giueth the folution him felf,⁸ faying, ‘ euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not giuen his mony vnto vfurie,⁹ nor taken reward againft the innocent: who fo dooth thefe things fhall neuer fall.’ In the 15 of *Deut.* the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we haue lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful (then) to afke again *that* which is lent (for it is not the law of good confcience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare¹⁰ it then the other¹¹ to pay it,) much leffe is it lawful¹² to demaund any vfury or ouer-plus. And for this caufe the Lord faith, ‘ let there be no begger amongft you, nor poore perfon¹³ amongft the Tribes of *Ifrael.*’ Thus, you fee, the word of God abandonneth vfurie euen to hel; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the infinct of nature and rules of reafon, haue alwaies abhord it. Therefore *Cato*, beeing demaunded what vfurie was, afked againe, ‘ what it was to kill a man?’ making vfurie equiualent with murther: And good reafon, for he that killeth a¹⁴ man, riddeth

Math. 5, 6.
Luc. 6.

The word of
God againft
vsurie.
[² leaf 76. B.*]

⁴ Exodus 20.
Deut. 24, 23.
Leuit. 25.
Nehe. 5.
Ezech. 22, 18.⁴

Pfalme 15.⁷

[⁹ sign. K 7. A.]

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

[¹³ leaf 76, back.
B.†]

Hethen men
againft vsury
and intereft.
[intetest A.]

¹ And againe F.

* leaf 76. The word of God againft Vsurie. B.

³ potius not in F.

⁴⁻⁴ not in F.

⁵ or B, E, F.

⁶ or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F.

⁷ Psalm 25 in A; 16 in F.

⁸ him-self not in F.

¹⁰ forbear F.

¹¹ other is E, F.

¹² for thee added in F.

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

¹⁴ a a (sic) A.

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, suffering¹ him by little & little to languish, and sucking out his hart² blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any³ vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of³ him. The Vsurer killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, seruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. ⁴And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when soeuer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe⁵ commenced against him; out go butter-flies and writs, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, ⁶and beeing once conuented, iudgement condemnatorie and⁶ diffinitive sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the vsury & *the*⁷ loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to satisfie aswel the one as th' other, ⁸then to *Bocardo* goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte, one peece from an other, without satisfiacion bee made. Oh, cursed Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel *Tartarian* and mercilesse *Turck!* darest thou look vp toward heauen, or canst thou hope to be saued by the death of Christe, that sufferest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & sisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iesus, vessels of saluation, coheirs with him of his superiall⁹ kingdom, adoptiue sonnes of his grace, & finally faints in heauen, to lye and rot in prison for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome shall beare witness against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison¹⁰ walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to¹¹ doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy selfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

vsury equall
with murther.

[⁴ K 7, back]

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

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

No mercy in
imprisoning of
poor-men for
vsury.

[¹⁰ sign. K 8. A.]

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

¹ causing F.

² vitall F.

³⁻³ life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

⁵ is B, E, F.

⁶⁻⁶ then presently E, F.

⁷ the *not in* F.

† leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.

⁹ supernall B, E, F.

¹¹ to *not in* F.

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

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren¹ in such forte for any worldly matter whatfoeuer. Wee ²ought to shew mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who saith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (saith the LORD).

Beleuee mee, it greueth mee to heare (walking³ in the streets) the pitifull cryes, and miserable complaints of poore prifoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and clothing to their backs, lying in filthie strawe, and ⁴lothsome dung,⁴ wurffe then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort ⁵in this World, wishing and thyrtting after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, giues, and yron bands.

Notwithstanding, some⁶ mercilesse tygers are growen to such barbarous crueltie that they blush not to say, "tush! he shall either paye mee the whole, or els⁷ lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones." But take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man⁸), lest the Lord say to thee, as he said⁹ to that wicked Seruant (who hauing great sommes forguien him, wold not forgieue his Brother his small debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, 'pay that thou owest'), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall ¹⁰be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

An Vfuror is worse than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, the other for coueitoufnes and excessse¹¹: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

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

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

¹ brethen (*sic*) F.

³ as I walk F.

⁶ these B, E, F.

⁹ did F.

* leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vsurers. B.

⁴⁻⁴ stinking litter F.

⁷ he shal *added in* F.

⁸ Christian B, E, F.

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

¹¹ lucre F.

[² leaf 77, back. B.*]

The pitiefull crying of Prisoners in prison for dept.

[⁵ K 8, back]

A tygerlicke tyrannicall saying.

Math. xviii. Marc xi.

[¹⁰ leaf 78. B.†]

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

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

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

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

[² sign. L. 1. A.]

Vsurers wursse then Hel.

An Vsurer wursse then Death.

An vsurer wurse then the Deuil.

The sayings of Godly Fathers and Writers against vsury.

[⁴ leaf 78, back. B. f.]

Vsurers punished ⁶with sundry tortures,⁵

Scriueners the Diuels agents to set forward Vserie.

[⁷ L. 1, back]

They are wurffe then hel it self, for it punisheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Vsurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vsurer destroyeth both body & soule for euer. And, to be breek, the Vsurer is wurffe then the Deuil himself, for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his iurisdiction alreedy, but euen all other, without permission³ of any. Therefore, saith *Ambrose*, if any man commit vsurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, ⁴and he ought to dye. *Alphonfus* called vsury nothing els then a life of death. *Lycurgus* banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. *Cato* did the same. *Ageffilaus*, Generall of the *Lacedemonians*, burned the Vsurers bookes in the open market places. *Claudius Vaspattianus*, and after him *Alexander Seuerus* made sharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the same.⁵ *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue sharply inueighed against this deuouring canker of vsury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, auoid it. And if it be true that I heare ⁷say, there be no men so great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the Scriueners be: For it is sayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed ⁸a hundred or two of poundes,⁸ of⁹ some more, of⁹ some lesse, they puttinge in good sureties to the owners for the repayment¹⁰ of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, ¹¹desiring them ¹¹to lende them suche a som of money, and they will recompence them at their owne desires, who making refusall at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate¹² the minds of the poore petitioners withall¹³), at last they lend them how much they desire,

¹—¹ not in E, F.

³ compassion B, E, F.

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

⁵ out of their dominions added in F.

⁶—⁶ sundry wayes F.

⁸—⁸ an hundred poundes or two F.

⁹ to in B, E, F.

¹⁰ payment F.

¹¹—¹¹ with request F.

¹² whette F.

¹³ you must vnderstande added in B, E, F.

receiuing of the poore men what interest &¹ affurance they lust² themfelues, and³ binding them, their lands, ⁴Goodes, and all, with [4 leaf 79. B.*] forfaiture thereof if they fayle of payment : where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrumēt wherby the Diuell worketh⁵ the frame⁶ of this⁷ wicked woorke of Vfurie, hee beeing rewarded⁷⁵ with a good fleece for his labour. For firſte, he hath a certaine allowance of the Archdiuel⁸ who owes the money, for helping him to fuch⁹ vent for his coyne : Secondly, he hath a greate deale¹⁰ more vſurie to himſelfe, of him who boroweth the money, ¹¹than he alloweth the owner of the mony¹¹: And, thirdly, he hath not the leaſt part for making the writings betwene them. ¹²And thus the poore man is ſo implicate¹³ [12 ſign. L 2. A.] and wrapped in on euerie ſide, as it is impoſſible for him euer¹⁴ to get out of the briers¹⁵ without loſſe of all that euer hee hath, to the very ſkin. Thus the riche are enriched,¹⁶ the poore beggered, and Chriſt Ieſus diſhonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us! ¹⁷*De his hactenus*¹⁷.

The Scriuiners fleece or pittance for his paynes.

[¹⁸Greate Swearying in Ailgna.

[*This chapter not in A.*]

Spud.

What is the ¹⁹qualitie,²⁰ and ¹⁹naturall diſpoſition²¹ of this people? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people : For the ſaiyng is, that the woorde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greateſt parte of the worlde beſides. And I am fullie perſwaded, that where the woorde of God is truly prached and his Sacramentes duely miniſtered (all whiche thei ²²haue) there muſt all thynges needes proſper, and goe forwarde ; wherefore I deſire to knowe your iudgement, whether all theſe thinges be fo, or not.

[Gods word florisheth in England, but the people are wicked ſtill. E, F.]
[²² leaf 79, back. B.†]

¹ and alſo E, F.

² liſt B, E, F.

³ both E, F.

* leaf 79. Great ſwearying in Ailgna. B.

⁵—⁵ this laudable worke, rewarding his Vaſſall F.

⁶ effecte E.

⁷—⁷ laudable woorke, rewarding his vaſſall, B, E. ⁸ maſter deuil F.

⁹ ſuch *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ deale *not in* F.

¹¹—¹¹ *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ intangled F.

¹⁴ hardly F.

¹⁵ againe *added in* F.

¹⁶ inriched (*sic*) F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁸ This chapter, *not in* A, is added in B, E, & F. ¹⁹—¹⁹ *not in* F.

²⁰ Inclination, *added in* E.

²¹ diſpoſition (*sic*) F.

† leaf 79, back. Hipocriſie vnder the cloke of Chriſtianity. B. E *has*: The diſpoſition of Engliſhmen.

[This page not
in A.]

[The naturall
disposition of
Englishmen.
E, F.]

[Great wicked-
nesse committed
vnder the cloke
of the gospell.
E, F.]
[5 leaf 8o. B. †]

[Papistes suf-
fered in England
with too much
lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists liuing
in prison lyke
Princes. E, F.]

[*Philo.* The worde of God is truly and sincerely preached there, and his Sacramentes duely¹ and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde²; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie³ reformed, accordyng to the prescrite of Gods woorde, sauyng that a fewe remnantes of superstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the siccle of Gods woorde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praisyng thynges paste, contemnyng things present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambitious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woorde of God sereouflic, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after sermons from place to place, euerie hower almooste: thei receiue the Sacramentes duely, and thei behaue themselues⁴ in all things verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate forte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregiouflic; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of De⁵uillrie, purchasng to themselues the greater damnation, in that thei make the woorde of God, a vizard⁶ to couer their abhominations withall. And as for Sectes, Schifmes,⁷ and fundrie factions, thei want none amongest them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongest them. These fedicious Vipers, and pithonically Hidraes, either lurke secretly in corners, seducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward *decorum*, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man saie ‘blacke is their eye,’ but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitours (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attire, and flowng in⁸ gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to

¹ sincerely F.

² besides *added in* E, F.

³ well *added in* E, F.

⁴ themselued (*sic*) F.

† leaf 8o. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

⁶ or cloak *added in* F.

⁷ Errors, *added in* E.

⁸ abouandance of *added in* F.

[them that will, and to bring them what¹ they list. They haue their libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themselves, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what they will : fo that it were better for them to be in prison then forth. Alas, shall we suffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amongst vs? This maketh them obstinate, and incorrigible² : this hardeneth their³ hartes ; and this⁴ maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due correction⁵ were executed.⁶ But to returne againe to my former discourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, haucie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to swearing, in so muche, as if they speake but three or fewer wordes, yet must they needes be interlaced with a bloudie othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

[This page not in A.]

[Exercises of Papists in Prisons in England. E, F.]

[3 leaf 80, back. B.*]

[Great swearing in England. E, F.]

Spud. Why fir? Is it so greate a matter to fweare? Doeth not the worde of God saie, thou shalt honour me, and fweare by my name, & those that fweare by me shall bee commended? These places and⁷ the like, me thinke, dooe sufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to fweare at all tymes, doe they not?

Philo. Nothyng lesse : For you must vnderstand that there be two maner of swearinges⁸ : the one Godly, the other vngodly : the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly swearing, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magistrates, and those that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuersie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occasion whatsoever, and the truthe thereof can not by any meanes possible be sifted out, otherwise then by an othe : then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magistrate, and commaunded vpon thy allegiance to confesse what thou knowest, ⁹thou maiest, and oughtest to depose the truthe, by the inuocation and obtestation of the name of God. And in this doying, thou honourest God. But beware that those things which thou fwearest be true, or els thou makest God a lier (whose name thou callest to witness)

[Two kinds of swearing.]

[When, and how it is lawful to swear. E, F.]

[9 leaf 81. B.†]

¹ what maintenance F.

² vnreclaimable F.

* leaf 80, back. How a man ought to swear. B.

⁴ this not in E.

⁵ punishment F.

⁶ vpon them added in F.

⁷ with E, F.

⁸ or othes added in E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144.

† leaf 81. Swearing forbidden by God. B.

[This page not in A.]

[The daunger of a false othe. E, F.]

[A wicked kind of swearing. E, F.]

[thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyself, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of swearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blasphemē, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for euery light trifle. This kinde of swearyng is neuer at any tyme vppon no occasion to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: "Swear not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestool: neither by Ierusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou sweare by an heire of thy¹ head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatfoeuer is more then this commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saith our Sauour Christ.

Spud. I perceiue by your-reasons, that swearyng is a thyng more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Christian Commonwealth.

[² leaf 8r, back. B.†]

[Sundry kinds of othes, with their effectes. E, F.]

Philo. A true othe is daungerous, a false othe² is damnable, and no othe is sure. To sweare before a lawfull Iudge, or otherwife priuately, for the appeasing of controuerfies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuerfies and troubles. But the other kinde of swearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore saith Salomon: "A man that is giuen to muche swearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstanding this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lashe out the bloudiest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (saie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generoseous, heroicall, and puiffant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgements will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Daftard, a Cowarde, an Assē, a Pefant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, blood, fides, harte,

[Swearing taken for a vertue in England E, F.]

¹ thine F. † leaf 8r, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B.

[nailes, foote, or fome other parte of Chriftes bleffed bodie,¹ yea, fometymes no parte thereof fhallbe left vntorne of thefe bloudie Villaines. And to fwear by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon, ²by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothyng blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afrefh, as the Apofte faieth, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Paffion, and Bloud-fheddyng, as euer was *Iudas* that betrayed hym, or the curfed *Iewes* that crucified hym) to vnderftande, that to fwear by God at euery woorde, is the greateft othe that can bee. For in fwearing by God, thou fwarest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghofte, and by all the whole diuine Nature, Power, deitie,³ and effence. When thou fwarest by Gods harte, thou fwarest by his mifticall wifedome. When thou fwarest by his bloud, thou fwarest by his life. When thou fwarest by his feete, thou fwarest by his humanitie. When thou fwarest by his armes, thou fwarest by his power. When thou fwarest by his finger, or tung, thou fwarest by the holie Spirite. When thou fwarest by his nofethrells, thou fwarest by his inspirations. When thou fwarest by his eyes, thou fwarest by his prouidence. Therefore, learne this, and beware of fwearing, you bloudie Butchers, leaft God deftroie you in his wrathe. And if you fwear by the Worlde, by S. Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatfoeuer it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable ⁴in it felf. For if it were lawfull to fwear at euery⁵ woorde for euery trifte, yet it were better to fwear by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatfoeuer. Because, that, that ⁶a man fwareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym ⁷to witneffe, that, that thyng which he fpaketh is true. All which things duely confidered, I am fully perfwaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to fwear an othe. And yet fwearing is of fuche fmall moment in Ailgna, as I heare fay (and I feare me too true), there are many that

[*This page not in A.*]

[² leaf 82. B.*]
[Not lawfull to fwear by any creature. E, F.]

[How dangerous it is to fwear by anything. E, F.]

[To fwear by any creature is idolatrie. E.]

[⁴ leaf 82, back. B.†]

[False swearers ⁸ in England for money.⁸ E, F.]

¹ sworne by, *added in E, F.*

* leaf 82. Horrible fwearing in Ailgna. B.

³ Deity F. † leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B.

⁶ each E, F.

⁶ which *in E, F.*

⁷ it E, F.

⁸⁻⁸ for money in England F.

[This page not
in A.]

[for money will not sticke to sweare any thing, though neuer so false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine¹ denegers of¹ the faith, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was² there euer any Deuilles that would abdicat³ themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and foules to eternall destruction for filthy drosse and muck of the world? Shall wee suffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not⁴ punishe it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppression of the same. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any⁵ man for swearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blasphemie bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for if thei doe, ⁶thei will be readie to laie their Dagggers vpon⁷ their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of swearing is suffered still to remaine without al contolment, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

[Swearers are
very Devils.]

[A lawe for
swearers. E, F.]
[⁶ leaf 83. B.†]

Spud. What kinde of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloody swearers.

[Punishment
due for
swearers. E, F.]

Philo. I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whosoever blasphemed the Lord, was presently stoned to death, without all remorse, which law iudiciall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee iudged too feure, I would wishe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or loofe some ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be seared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with some pretie⁸ pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too strict, that thei might bee banished their natie Countrie, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forfait for euerie othe, a certaine somme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paid. If any of these Godly Institutions were executed feuerely, I doubt not, but all cursed swearing would vanish away like⁹ smoke. Then should God be¹⁰ glorified,

¹—¹ reprobates concerning F.

³ and abandone added in E, F.

⁵ a in E, F.

⁷ on E, F.

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

⁸ pretie not in F.

¹⁰ to be F.

² Were F.

⁴ not to E, F.

⁹ like a F.

[and our Consciences made¹ cleane against the ² greate³ fearfull daie of the Lorde appeare.

[*This page not in A.*
[² leaf 83, back. B.*]

Spud. If swearing and blaspheming of God's name be so hainous a sinne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vsers therof with some notable punishment,⁴ whereof I praie you shew me some examples.

Philo. I could shewe most straunge and fearfull iudgements of God, executed vpon these cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages : but for breuite sake, one or two shall suffice. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire⁵ in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe,⁶ referring you to the said booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthy Swearer : His common othe was by 'God's blood.' The Lorde will- yng his conuerfion, chastised him with sicknesse many times to leaue the fame, and moued others euer to admonish him of his wickednesse : but all chastisements and louyng corrections of the Lorde, al frendly admonitions, and exhortations⁷ of others, he vtterly contemned, fil per- feuring in his bloudie kinde of swearing. Then the Lord, seing that nothing would preuaile to winne him, arested hym with his Sargeant Death : Who, with speede laied holde on hym, and cast hym vpon his Death bed, where he languished a great while, in extreme miserie, not forgettyng to spewe out his olde vomite of Swearing. At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approach, ⁸ caused the Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed vp in his bed very vehemently, sayng : "Gods blood, he shall not haue me yet : " with that, his blood gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, some at his wristes, some at his nose and mouth, some at one ioint of his body, some at an other, neuer ceasing till all the blood of⁹ his bodie was stremed forthe : and thus ended this bloudie Swearer his mortall¹⁰ life, whose Iudgement I leaue to the Lord.

[God's judgments on Swearers.]

[Lincolnshire in England.]

[A most fearefull example of God's wrath shewed vpon a filthy cursed swearer. E, F.] [† gods in F.]

[Death, the Lords executioner. B, F.]

[⁸ leaf 84. B.†]

[A most dreadfull end of a swearer. E, F.]

There was also an other, whom I knewe my self for a dozen or fixteene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichfhechshire,¹¹ in a Towne

¹ kepte E ; kept F. * leaf 83, back. Examples against swearing. B.

³ and added in E, F. ⁴ in all ages added in F. ⁵ Lincolnshire F.

⁶ in verse added in F. ⁷ exhortation F.

‡ leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E has: A most dreadfull end of a swearer.

⁹ in F.

¹⁰ cursed F.

¹¹ Cheshire E, F.

136 The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. The Anatomie

[This page, to l. 21, not in A.]
[Congleton in
Cheshire.]

[The fearefull
death of another
swearer. E, F.]

[4 leaf 84, back.
B, †]
[London.]
[The example
of a woman for-
swearing her
selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc,¹ whose vsuall and common oth was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but still wranckled² and festered from daie to daie, and at the last so rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himself through anguish and paine thereof dyed shortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the same thinges wherein thei had offended, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offended through swearyng by his blood, so the Lorde punished hym with blood. And as the other offended in swearyng by his armes, so the Lorde plagued hym in his arme also. As he punished³ the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the same by taftyng of delicate⁴ meates. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol⁵ in Ailgna, who, commyng into a shoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forware her self; and the excrementes whiche naturally should evacuate⁶ downwarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and she dyed miserablie. With infinite⁷ like exampled⁸ of Gods wrath and heauie iudgementes, executed vppon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leasure, I could rehearse. But contentyng my self to haue faied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no lesse needefull to be handled.]

Spud. Hauing (by the grace of Christe) hytherto spoken of fundrie Abuses of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they sanctifie⁹ and keepe the Sabbaoth day? In godly Christian exercifes, or els in prophane passimes and pleasures?

*The Maner of sanctifyng the Sabaoth
in Ailgna.*

Philo.

THE Sabaoth day, of some is well sanctified,¹⁰ namely in hearing the¹¹ Word of GOD read, preached, and interpreted in priuat and publique Prayers; in singing of Godly Psalmes, in celebrating the sacra-

¹ Congleton F.

² ranckled F.

³ punished (*sic*) F.

† leaf 84, back. The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. B.

⁵ London F.

⁶ haue discended F.

⁷ the *added in* E, F.

⁸ examples *in* F.

⁹ sanctisie A.

¹⁰ santified A; obserued E; obserued, as F.

¹¹ the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for *the* poore & indigent; ¹ which are the true vſes and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other ſome ſpend ²the Sabaoth day (for the moſt part) in frequenting of baudie Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of miſ-rule (for ſo they call a certaine kinde of play which they vſe), ³May-games, Church-ales, feaſts, and wakeeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tenniſſe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawk-ing, hunting, and ſuch like; In keeping of Faies and markets on the ſabaoth; In keeping⁴ Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and ſuch other deuiliſh paſtimes; ⁵reading of laciuious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of ſuch like practiſes and prophane exerciſes vſed vpon that day, wherby the Lord God is diſhonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his ſacraments contemned, and his People meruelouſly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. ⁶ *Lord, remooue theſe exerciſes from thy Sabaoth!*⁶

[¹ L 2, back. A.]

[² leaf 85. B.†]

Prophane exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth day
[Faies, football-playing and other profanities on the Sabbath-day.]

Spud. You wil be deemed too *Stoicall*, if you ſhould refrain men from theſe exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth; for they ſuppoſe that that day⁷ was ordained and conſecrate to that end and purpoſe, only to vſe what kinde of exerciſes they think good themſelues: & was it not ſo?

Phi. After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therin contained, in ⁸ſix dayes, in the ſeuenth day he reſted from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from ⁹gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded *that* the ſeuenth day ſhould be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount *Horeb* to *Moyſes*, & in him to all¹⁰ the Children of *Iſrael*, ſaying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the ſeuenth day, &c. If we muſt keep it holy, then muſt we not ſpend it in ſuch vain exerciſes as pleaſe ourſelues, but in ſuch godly exerciſes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the ſeuenth day to be kept holy for foure cauſes

[⁸ L 3. A.]

When the Sabaoth was ordained.
[⁹ leaf 85, back. B.†]

* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. ³ in added in E.

⁴ keepyng of B, E, F. ⁵ in added in B, E, F.

⁶⁻⁶ not in B, E, F.

⁷ is a day of liberty, and added in F.

† leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.)

¹⁰ call E, F.

138 Violaters of the Sab[oth] punished. The Anatomie.

Wherefore the Sabaoth was instituted.

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wonderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and¹ creatures besides. Secondly, *that* his woord (the Church assembling together) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his sacraments ministred sincerely, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages² & praier, bothe priuat & publike, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that euey christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might *the* better sustaine the trauailes of the week to ensue³; and also to *the* end that all beasts & cattel, which the Lord

[⁴ L 3, back. A.]

[⁶ leaf 86. B.†]

[The 4th cause for the Sabbath.]

hath made for mans vse, as helps & ⁴adiuments⁵ vnto him in his daylie affaires & businesse, might rest and refresh them selues, the better to ⁶go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, *fine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam*: Without some rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to shew it might be a typical figure or signor⁷ to point⁸ (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher⁹ foorth¹⁰ and shadowe¹⁰ vnto vs that blessed rest & thryfe happie ioye which the faithfull shall possesse after the day of iudgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherefore, seeing the Sabaoth was instituted for these causes,¹¹ it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly pastymes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

Punishment for violating the sabaoth.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few small stiches vpon the Sabaoth, was stoned to death by the commaundement of God from¹² the Theator of Heauen.

Violaters of the saboth.

[¹⁵ L 4. A.]

Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few stiches vpon the Sabaoth day, which in some cases might be¹³ for necessities sake, and¹⁴ did it but once, what shall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue them-selues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both¹⁵ of *the* Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they haue played the lazie lurdens al the

¹ and all other his B, E, F.

² orisons added in E, F.

³ following (*for* to ensue) E, F.

⁵ supportes F.

† leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B.

⁷ vnto vs added in F.

⁸ poynt out F.

⁹ discipher F.

^{10—10} not in B, E, F.

¹¹ and to these endes added in B, E, F.

¹² soundyng from B, E, F.

¹³ lawfull added in F.

¹⁴ and yet E, F.

weke before, yet that day of fet purpose they wil toile¹ and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be sure, as he that gathered sticke vpon the Sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the same, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

[¹ leaf 86, back. B.*]

The *Iewes* are very strict in keeping their Sabaoths; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks vpon the same day, but fet it on the tables *the* day befor. They go not about ij. miles vpon *the* sabaoth day; they³ suffer not the body of any⁴ Malefactor to hang vpon the gallowes vpon the Sabaoth day, with legions of such like supersticions. [⁵And whiche is most strange, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not suffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chanced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna,⁶ by greate⁷ casualltie fell into a Priuie vpon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeouyng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chosing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.⁵] Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too scrupelous,⁸ and ouershoot the marke, so we are therein plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that⁹ I would haue no kinde of worke done vpon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although *the* day it self, in respect of *the* very¹⁰ nature and originall¹¹ therof, be no better than another¹² day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we¹³ become temporizers, all¹⁴ beeing alike good; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified & kept holy to him self, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selues to so loouing a Father; for els we spit against heauen, we striue against the stream,

The Iewes very precise in keeping² sabaoth.

[The English Jew who died in a priuy, rather than be pulld out on the Sabbath.]

[⁹ leaf 87. B.†]

No work to be done vpon the sabaoth except necessite enforce it.

[¹² L 4, back. A.]

* leaf 86, back. Strict obseruation of the Sabaoth. B.
² keepyng of B, E; keeping the F. ³ the F.
⁴ any felone or B, E, F. ⁵⁻⁵ added in B, E, F.
⁶ England E, F. ⁷ greate *not in* F. ⁸ superstitious F.
[†] leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth. B. ¹⁰ very *not in* E, F.
¹¹ originall *not in* F. ¹³ we wil B, E, F. ¹⁴ all times B, E, F.

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodily labour and trauaile? I anfwere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I haue said, in hearing the woord of God truly preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes,¹ and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, wee must refrain² all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at³ these spirituall exercises vppon the Sabaoth day.

Wherin the true vse of the Sabaoth consisteth.

[¹ leaf 87, back. B.*]

[⁴ L 5. A

⁴This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

Spud. Hauing shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first to begin with stage playes and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

[The abuses whereby the Sabbath is profaned.]

Of⁵ Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

Philo.

ALL Stage-playes, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuine or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and fagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therein, and not scoffingly, flowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence,⁶ worship, or veneration⁷ to⁸ the same. ⁹the word of

[Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.]

[⁶ leaf 83. R.†]

* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. ² refrain from B, E.

³ aboute B, E, F.

⁵ Of *not in* E, F.

† leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B.

⁷ honour F.

⁸ at all doen to B, E, F.

⁹ For it is most certaine *added in* B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, & the merits of his passion, were not giuen to ¹be derided and iested at, ²as they be in these filthy playes and enterluds on stages & scaffolds, ²or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry, ³wanton shewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vsed (euery Man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes. ⁴In the first of *Ihon* we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherefore, who so euer abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maiesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking flock of him, & purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once ⁵named, but with great feare, reuerence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other ⁶powers whatsoeuer, yea, the Deuills themselues (as ⁷*Iames* saith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesty, these dissembling *Hipocrites*, and flattering *Gnatoes*, think to escape vnpunished? beware, therefore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computiftes, cast your accompts ⁹before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, leaft God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his ¹⁰people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with such prophane vanities. For at no ¹¹hand it is not lawfull to mixt scurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with scurrilitie.

Theopompus mingled *Moyfes* law with his writings, and therefore the LORD stroke him madd. *Theodictes* began the same practise, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting ¹²the like deuyfes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miserably: befidis, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other side, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and norishing of vice, both which

[¹ L 5, back. A.]
The deriding
of the word of
God in stage
playes.

Reuerence to
the maiesty of
God due.

A warning ⁸ to
Players.

[⁹ 1 af 88, back.
B.†]

[¹⁰ L 6. A.]

Not lawfull to
intermixt
diuynitie with
scurrilitie.

What if playes
be of prophane
matter.

²—² not in B, E, F.

³ scurrility added in F.

⁴ vpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F.

⁵ to be added in F.

⁶ other Ceraphicall B, E, F.

⁷ as Sainct B, E, F.

⁸ warming A.

† leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.

¹¹ any F.

¹² attempting A.

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and sucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therefore they, caryng the note, or¹ brand, of² God his² curfe vppon their backs, which way soeuer they goe, are to be hissed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue resifted³ Playes and Enterluds?

[⁴ leaf 89. B.*]

[⁵ L 6, back. A.]

The word of God, al Writers, counsels and Fathers haue writ⁷ against playes and enterluds.

⁴*Philo.* Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addiudging them & the main⁵tainers⁶ of them to Hell, but also all holie counsels, and finodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuynes and prophane, euer since the beginning, haue disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned Father *Tertullian*, in his booke *de Speculo*, faith that playes were confecrat to that false ydoll *Bacchus*, for that he is said to haue found out and inuented strong drinke.

Wherfore playes were ordeined.

Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei, faith that plaies were ordeined by the Deuill, and confecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, *Pecunias Histrionibus dare vitium est innane*,⁸ *non virtus*: To giue money to Players is a greuous sin.⁹

Chriofstome calleth those playes *feſta Sathani*, feasts of the Deuill. *Laclantius*, an ancient learned Father, faith, *Histrionum impudiffimi geſtus, nihil aliud niſi Libidinem mouent*: The shamelesse gestures of Plaiers serue to nothing so much as to moue the flesh to lust and vnclenneſſe. And therefore in the .30. Counsell of *Carthage* &¹⁰ *Synode* of *Laodicea*, it was decreed that no Christen Man or Woman should resort to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, ¹¹scurrilitie, and whordome maintained. *Scipio*, seeing the *Romaines* bente¹² to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehorted them from it

Concilium 3. Cartha. Cap. II. Synode Laodicea, Cap. 54.

[¹¹ leaf 89, back. B.†]

[¹² L 7. A.]

¹ and E, F.

²⁻² Gods F.

³ disliked F.

* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B.

⁶ practisers E, F.

⁷ haue writ *not in* E, F.

⁸ immane B, E, F.

⁹ and no vertue *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ in the *added in* B, E, F.

† leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

with the¹ moſt prudent reaſons and forcible arguments. *Valerius Maximus* faith, playes were neuer brought vp *ſine regni rubore*, without ſhame to the Cuntrey. *Ariſt.* debarreth youth acceſſe to Playes & Enterluds, leaſt they, ſeeking to quench the thirſt of *Venus*, doo quench it with a potle of fire. *Auguſtus* baniſhed *Ouid* for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and ſuch other amorous trumperie.

Writers² both diuine and prophane againſt playes and Enterluds.

Conſtantiuſ ordeined that no Player ſhould be admitted to the table of the Lord. [†] Than, ſeeing that Playes were firſt³ inuented by the Deuil, practiſed by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat⁴ to their falſe ydols, Goddeſſes and Goddeſſes, as the howſe, ſtage, and apparell to *Venus*, the muſicke to *Appollo*, the penning to *Minerua* and the Muſes, the action and pronuntiation to *Mercurie* and the reſt, it is more than manifeſt that they are no fit exercyſes for a⁵ Chriſten⁶ Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them ſaue this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is⁷ anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie, inceſt, murther, & ſuch like, the Perſons or Actors are Goddeſſes, Goddeſſes, Furies, Fyends, Haggies, Kings, Quee⁸nes, or Potentates. Of Comedies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the Per⁹ſons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, ſcullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with ſuch like of infinit varietie. If, I ſay, there were nothing els but this, it were ſufficient to withdraw a good chriſtian from the vſing of them; For ſo often as they goe to thoſe howſes where Players frequent, thei go to *Venus* pallace, & ſathans ſynagogue, to worſhip deuils, & betray Chriſt Ieſus.

The ends of playes and Enterluds.

The arguments of tragedies.

[⁸ leaf 90. B.†]

The ground of Comedies.

[⁹ L 7, back. A.]

Theaters and curtaines § Venus pallaces.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I haue hard¹⁰ ſome hold opinion that they be as good as ſermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blaſphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes comparable to the word of God.

¹ the *not* in B, E, F.

² Waiters F.

³ firſt *not* in E, F.

⁴ dedicated F.

⁵ a *not* in B, E, F.

⁶ men B, E, F.

⁷ is *not* in E.

† leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B.

¹⁰ heard F.

§ 'The Theatre' (where Shakspeare probably firſt acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the ſite of the preſent Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as 'The Globe' on Bankſide, Southwark, in 1599. 'The Curtain' theatre was cloſe by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Glouceſter St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.—F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, *the* foode of life, and life it selfe? It is all one, as if they had said, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, scurrilitie, and diuelrie it self, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipolent¹ with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with *the* other? If he be accursed *that* calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falshood² truth, sweet sowre, and fowr sweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accursed that faith that playes & enterluds be equialent with Sermons. ¶ Be³sides this, there is no mischief which these plaies⁴ maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes⁵ is the Mother of⁵ vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and sermons? for you shall haue them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when *the* church of God shall be bare & emptie; And those *that* will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobat is many; the way *that* leadeth to life is narrow, and few tread *that* path; *the* way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyses they go to visite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, insinuat folery, & renue *the* remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maydenly virginitee and chafitie? For prooffe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such⁸ bawdie speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes,⁹ and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done,¹⁰ euery mate forts to his

He is cursed that saith playes and enterluds are comparable to sermons.

[² leaf 90, back. B.*]

[³ L 8. A.]

Wherefore so many flock to see playes and enterluds,

The fruits of theaters⁶ & playes.

The Godly⁷ demeanours vsed at playes & enterluds.

[⁸ leaf 91. B.†]

[⁹ L 8, back. A.]

¹ equialent F.

* leaf 90, back. The fruites of Playes. B.

⁴ Playes B, E, F.

⁵⁻⁵ doth minister F.

⁶ Theaters F.

⁷ goodly F.

† leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

¹⁰ ended E, F.

mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way verie friendly, and in their secreet conclaues (couertly) they play *the Sodomit*s, or worfe. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part. And wheras you say there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie so there are: if you will learne falshood; if you will learn cofenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,¹ and falsifie; if you will learn to iest, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to play the vice, to swear, teare, and blasphem² both Heauen and Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuerginat Mayds, to deflour honest Wyues: if you will learne to murder, slaie,³ kill, picke, steal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons,⁴ to consume⁵ treasurs, to practise ydlenes, to sing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will lerne to deride, scoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & smoothe: If you will learn to play the whore-maister, the glutton, Drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, haw⁶tie, & arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne⁷ God and al his lawes, to care⁸ neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of sinne and mischeef, you need to goe to no other schoole, for all these good Examples may you see painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherfore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them must needs incurre the⁹ damage¹⁰ of¹¹ *premunire*, that is,⁹ eternall damnation, except they¹² repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, leaft wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, &¹³ maintain euil to the distruction of *them* selues & many others, but also a maintaining¹⁴ of a great sorte of idle lubbers, and¹⁵ buzzing dronets, to¹⁵ fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should liue.

Therefore I beseech all players¹⁶ & Founders¹⁶ of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Iesus Chrifte, as they tender the saluation of their

¹ to lye B, E, F. ³ slay F. ⁴ Treason F. ⁵ consume A.

† leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B.

⁷ contemne A.

⁹⁻⁹ ineuitable sentence of F.

¹⁰ daunger B, E.

¹¹ of a B; of the deuine E.

¹² he E, F.

¹³ and to B, E, F.

¹⁴ supporting B, E, F.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ founders and maintainers B, E, F.

The goodly examples Playes and Enterluds.

[² blaspleme A.]

What things are to be lerned at playes

Theaters Schooles or Seminaries of pseudo christianitie.

[⁶ leaf 91, back. B. †]

[⁸ M r. A.]

A dyuine premunire.

What it is to communicate with other mens finnes.

An exhortation to plaiers.

foules, and others, to leaue of that cursed kind of life, and giue them selues to such honest exercises and godly misteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings *wit*hall: for who wil call him a wiseman, that. plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth *the* part of a deuil, the sworne enemie of Christe? who can call him a iust man, that playeth the ¹part of a dissembling hipocrite? And, to be breef, ²who can call him a fraight deling man, who playeth a Cofoners trick³? And so of all *the* rest. Away therfore with this so infamous an art! for goe they neuer so braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are⁴ they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speake of such as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought so to be punished, if they had their deferts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the last, I wil fay no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heauie displeasure against them selues and others; *which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!*

Spud. Of what sorte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it self ⁵caryeth a taste of⁶ some notorious⁶ euil.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & such as the very heathen people would haue blushed at once to ⁷haue named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil,⁸ then, what may *the* thing⁹ it self be, iudge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil shoue you as I haue seen them

The ignomy due to Players. [1 leaf 92. B.*] [2 M 1, back. A.]

Players liue vpon begging.

Players counted Rogues by the lawes of the Realm.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna. [7 M 2. A.]

[9 leaf 92, back. B.†]

* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

³ part F.

⁴ And are F.

⁵⁻⁶ importeth B, E, F.

⁶ notorious *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ as you say *added in* F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conuenting¹ together, chuse them a Graund²-Captain (of all³ mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of 'my Lord of Mis-rule', and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chufeth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttes, like to him self, to waighte vpon his lordly Maiestie, and to garde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should say, they bedecke them selues with scarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer *with* golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bells, with rich handkercheifs⁴ in their hands, and sometimes laid a crosse ouer their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopsies & loouing Besses⁵, for buffing them in *the* dark. Thus al things set in order, then haue they their Hobby-horses,⁶ dragons & other Antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike⁷ vp the deuils daunce withall. then, marche these⁸ heathen company towards the Church⁹ and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bells iyngling, their handkercheifs swinging¹⁰ about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monfsters skirmishing amongst the route¹¹: & in this forte they go to the Church¹² (I say) & into the Church,¹² (though the Minister be at prair or preaching), dancing & swinging [t]heir handkercheifs¹³ ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, *with* such a confuse¹⁴ noise, *that* no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[ni]zed in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & so fourth into *the* church-yard, where they haue commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set vp, wherin they feast, banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the¹⁵ night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner how Lords of Mis-rule are used to be played.

The monstrous attyring of my Lord of Misrules Men.

The rablement of the deuils guard.
[7 M 2, back. A.]
[9 leaf 93. B. †]

The behauiour of the Deuills band in the temple of God.

Receptacles in the Cenerities or church yards for the deuils agents.

¹ flocking F. ² Ground E. ³ all *not in* F.
⁴ handkerchiefe F. ⁵ Bessies F. ⁶ their *added in* F.
⁸ this F. † leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.
¹⁰ fluttering F. ¹¹ throng B, E, F. ^{12—12} *not in* B, E, F.
¹³ handkechiefes F. ¹⁴ confused B, E, F. ¹⁵ that F.

My Lord of
mis-rules
cognizances.

[⁵ M 3. A.]
[⁶ leaf 93, back
B.*]

Wearing my
Lord of mis-
rules badges.

Sacrifice
brought to
this filthie
Ydol, my L.
of mis-rule.

¹They haue also certain papers, wherin is painted some bablerie or other of Imagery woork, & these they call 'my Lord of mis-rules badges²': these they giue to euery one that wil giue³ money for them to maintaine them in⁴ their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunken-⁵nes, pride, and ⁶what not.⁷ And who will not be⁸ buxom to them, and giue them⁹ money for these¹⁰ their deuil[i]th¹⁰ cognizances, they are¹¹ mocked & flouted at¹² ¹³not a little.¹³ ¹⁴And so affoted¹⁵ are some, that they not only giue them monie to maintain their abhominacion withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are¹⁶ badges, feales, brands, & cognizances of the deuil, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents¹⁷ from the Children of God; And so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam*: they fight vnder the banner and standerd of the deuil against Christ Iesus, and all his lawes. Another sorte of fantastickall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good-ale, some new-cheefe, some olde,¹⁸ some custards, ¹⁹& fine cakes¹⁹; some one thing, some another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing²⁰ to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the deuil and sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; *which God graunt they may!*

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the sabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more pestilent then pestilence it self. but what? be there any ²¹abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

[²² leaf 94. B.†]

[²³M 3, back. A.]

²² ²³*Philo.* As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

¹ Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) *added in* B, E, F. ² or Cognizances *added in* F.

³ giue them F.

⁴ in this B, E, F.

* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

⁷ els *added in* F.

⁸ shewe hym self B, E, F.

⁹ them *not in* F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ the deuilles B, E, F.

¹¹ shall be B, E, F.

¹² at *not in* F.

¹³—¹³ shamefully B, E, F.

¹⁴ Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horriblie abused *added in* F. ¹⁵ assotted F.

¹⁶ are the B, E, F.

¹⁷ vassals F.

¹⁸ olde cheese B, E, F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (*but F begins with some Cracknels.*) ²⁰ thing *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

²² B, E, F *make a fresh chapter here, with the heading*:—The maner of Maie-games in England.

Against *May*¹, *Whitfunday*, or² other time, ³all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues,³ hils, & mountains,⁴ where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing *with* them birch⁵ & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the⁶ cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their⁷ May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Oxe hauing a sweet nose-gay of flouers placed⁹ on the tip of his hornes; and these Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs,¹⁰ bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime¹¹ painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering¹² on the top, they fraw the ground rounde¹³ about, binde green boughes about it, set vp fommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to¹⁴ daunce about it, like¹⁵ as the ¹⁶heathen people did at the dedication of the¹⁷ Idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viua voce*) by men of great grauitie¹⁸ and reputation, that of fortie, threescore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue scarcely the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled. These be the frutes which these cursed pastimes bring foorth. ¹⁹Neither the²⁰ *Iewes*, the²¹ *Turcks*,

The order of their May-games.

[* side-note here in B.]

* A great Lord present in May⁸ games as superintendent therof.

[¹⁰ leaf 94, back. B. f.]

The manner of bringing home their May-poles.

[¹⁶ M 4. A.]

May-poles a pattern of the hethen Ydols.

The frute of May-games.

¹ day added in F.

² or some B, E, F.

^{3—3} of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themselues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselues into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

⁴ some to one place, some to another, added in B, E, F.

⁵ bowes added in B, E, F.

⁶ their B, E, F.

⁷ the F.

⁸ May not in F.

⁹ tyed E, F.

† leaf 94, back. The fruites of Maie games, B.

¹¹ sometimes F.

¹² streaming B, E, F.

¹³ round not in B, E.

¹⁴ banquet and feast, to leape and added in B, E, F.

¹⁵ like not in B, E, F.

¹⁷ their B, E, F.

¹⁸ credite added in F.

¹⁹ Assuredly I thinke added in B, E, F.

²⁰ the not in B, E, F.

²¹ nor B, E, F.

Sarajins, nor *Pagans*, nor any other nations,¹ how wicked or barbarous foeuer, haue euer vsed such deuilish exercises as these; nay, they would haue been afhamed once to haue named them, much lesse haue² vsed them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse. *The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them³ from vs!*

[⁴ leaf 95. B.*] *Spud.* What is the manner of their church ales, which you say they vse; for they seem vn⁴couth and sfrage to mine eares?

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

[⁵ M 4, back. A.]

⁵ *Philoponus.*

The manner
of Church-ales
in Ailg[na].

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken *Bachus* beares all⁶ the sway, agaiust a⁷ *Christmas*, an⁸ *Easter*, *Whitsonday*, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of euery parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide half a score or twenty quarters of mault, wherof some they buy of the Church-stock, and some is giuen them of the Parishioners them selues, euery one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it⁹ is set to sale, either in the Church, or¹⁰ some other place assigned to that purpose.

The filthiest
beast, the
godlyest man.

Then, when the¹¹ *Nippitatum*, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this *neclar* of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he that fitteth the clofest to it, and spends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest¹²; but who either¹³ cannot, ¹⁴for pinching pouertie,¹⁴ or otherwise,¹⁵ wil not stick to it, he is counted one destitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In so much as you shall haue many poor men make hard shift for money to spend ther¹⁶at,¹⁷ for it¹⁸ beeing put into this *Corban*, they are perfwaded it is meritorious, & a good seruice to God. In this kinde of

[¹⁶ leaf 95, back. B.†]

¹ people B, E, F. ² to haue B, E. ³ them farre F.

* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

⁶ all *not in* B; all the *not in* E, F. ⁷ a *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ and B, E, F. ⁹ it *not in* B, E, F. ¹⁰ or in F. ¹¹ this B, E, F.

¹² and most in Gods fauour, because it is spent vpon his Church forsoth *added in* B, E, F. ¹³ either for want B, E, F. ¹⁴—¹⁴ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁵ for feare of God's wrath *added in* E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money bestowed. B.

¹⁷ and good reason *added in* B, E, F. ¹⁸ it *not in* B, E, F.

practife they continue fix weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer together, fwil¹ling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke as Apes,² and as ³blockifh as beafts.³ [¹ M 5. A.]

Spud. Seeing they haue fo good vtterance, it fhould feeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they beftowe that money which is got therby?

Philo. Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they fay: For they repair their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookes for feruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, furpleffes for Sir Ihon, and fuch other neceffaries; And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the⁴ parifhes befydes. Thefe be their ⁵exceptions, thefe be their⁵ excufes, and thefe be their pretended⁶ allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themfelues away in uifibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be efpied.

How the money is spent which is got by Churchales.

For if it wer fo *that* they beftowed it as they fay, do they think that the Lord will haue his howfe build⁷ with drunkenneffe, gluttony, and fuch like abomination? Muft we do euill that good may come of it? muft we build this houfe of lyme and ftone with the defola⁸tion and vtter ouerthrow of his fpirituall howfe, ⁹clenfed and wafhed in⁹ the precioufe blood of our Sauour Iefus Chrift? But who feeth not that they beftow this money vpon nothing leffe than in building and repaying of Churches ¹⁰and Oratories? For in moft places lye they not like fwyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall¹¹ downe, the¹² roofe all bare, and what not out of order? Who feeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn,¹³ couered in duft, fo as this *Epitaphe* may be writ with ones finger vppon it, *ecce nunc in puluere dormio?* (Alas!) behold I fleep in duft and oblyuion, not once fcarfe looked vppon, much leffe red vpon,¹⁴ and the¹⁵ leaft of all preached vppon. And, on the other fide, who feeth not (for ¹⁶this I fpeake but ¹⁷in way of *parenthefis*¹⁷) in *the* meane

Will the Lord haue his houfe build with maintenance of euill?

[⁸ leaf 96. B.†]

[¹⁰ M 5, back. A.]

The decay of Churches, which are lacerat, rent, and torn.

Sumptuousnes of their owne mansions

² Rattes B, E; Swine F.

^{3—3} mad as March Hares F.

⁴ their B, E, F.

^{5—5} golden reasons, thefe bee their faire B, E, F.

⁶ pretended B, E.

⁷ builded F.

† leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B. ^{9—9} purchased with F.

¹¹ fallen B. ¹² their B, E, F. ¹³ yea added in F. ¹⁴ on B, E, F.

¹⁵ the *not in* F.

¹⁶ for *not in* B, E, F.

^{17—17} to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.

tyme, their owne howfes and manfion places are curiously build, and fumppteoufly adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather beftow this drunken got-money vpon prophane vfes and their own priuat affaires, than vpon the howfe of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may fay ¹black is their eye¹: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they² fay; And when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as pleafe themfelues.

[² the A.]

[³ leaf 96, back. B.*]

Sp. Were it not better, & more confonant ³to the truth, that euery one contributed⁴ fomewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of ⁵templaries & ⁶oratories,⁵ than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you fay thei do?

[⁷ M 6. A.]

⁷*Philo.* It weare mucche better. And fo we read, the Fathers of the old Teftament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart fome-what to the building ⁹and reftauration⁹ of the Tabernacle which *Moyfes* erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was fuch aboundance of all things, as the Artificers, confulting with *Moyfes*, were glad to request the People to ftay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. Thefe People made no drunken Churchales to build their edefice¹¹ withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable coftes. But as their zeal was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, fo our zeal is more than frofen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and beftowing it vpon whordom, drunkenneffe, gluttony, pride, and fuch like abhominations: *God amend it!*

Churches⁸ are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power.¹⁰

Spud. How do they folemniſe their feaſtes and wakeffes there; and what order do they obferue in them?

Our zeal waxen cold and frozen in reſpect of the zeal of the former world.

The maner of keeping of Wakeffes, and feafts in Ailgna.

[¹² leaf 97. B.†]

¹²*Philoponus.*

THIS is their order therein: euery towne, pariſhe, and Village, ſome at one tyme of the Yeere, ſome at another (but ¹³fo that euery

[¹³ M 6, back. A.]

^{1—1} Domine, cur ita facis? F.

* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B. ⁴ contribute B. ^{5—5} Temples and Churches F. ⁶ or B, E.

⁸ Churches A. ^{9—9} and instauration E; not in F. ¹⁰ this side-note not in F. ¹¹ house of Prayer F. † leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

¹towne, parifh, & village¹ keep² his proper day affigned and appropriat to it felf, (which they call their Wak day) vfe³ to make great preparation and ordenaunce⁴ for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is fuch gluttony, fuch drunkenneffe, fuch faturitie⁵ and impletion vfed, as the like was neuer feen: In fo muche as the poore men that beare *the* charges of thefe feasts and wakeffes, are the poorer, and keep the Worfer howfes a long tyme⁶ after. And no marueil, for manie fpend more at one of thefe wakeffes than in all the whole yeer befides. This makes many a one to thrippe & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in feasts and wakeffes.

The great charges of Wakeffes.

Spud. Wold you not haue one freend to vifite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I difalowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat⁷ day more than at another (except bufines vrged it); why fhould one and *the* fame day continue for euer, or be diftinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why fhould there be more exceffe of meats and drinks at that day than at another⁸? why fhould they abftaine from bodely labor⁹.ij. or three dayes after, peradventure the whole week, fpending it in drunkenneffe, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo¹⁰miticall exercyfes.

Against wakes & feasts

[⁹ leaf 97, back. B. †]

[¹⁰ M 7]

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one Freend to vifite another, would you not haue them to congratulat their comming with fome good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of fuch exceffe of ryot & fuperfluitie as is there vfed. I thinke it conuenient for one Freend to vifite another (at fometimes) as oportunitie & occafion fhall¹¹ offer it felfe¹¹; but wherfore fhuld the whole towne, parifh, village, and cuntrey keepe one and the fame day, and make fuch gluttonous feasts as they doo? And therefore,¹² to conclude,¹² they are to no end, except it be to draw a great¹³ frequencie of whores, drabbes,¹⁴ theiues, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

Wherto wakeffes and feasts do very aptly tend.

¹—¹ one B, E, F. ² keeps F. ³ vseth F. ⁴ prouision E, F.

⁵ fulnesse F. ⁶ yeare F. ⁷ prefixed F. ⁸ any other E, F.

† leaf 97, back. The fruictes of Wakeffes. B.

¹¹—¹¹ bee offered F. ¹²—¹² in my opinion B, E, F.

¹³ a great *not in* E, F; frequencie of *not in* F. ¹⁴ drabbes *not in* B, E, F.

neffe, thieft, murther, fwearing, and all kind of mifchief and abhominacion; For thefe be the ends wherto thefe feaftes and wakeffes doo tende.¹

Spud. From whence fprang thefe feaftes and wakeffes firft of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, whan they were affembled together, and had offred Sacrifices to their wodden² Goddes, and blockifh ydols, made feaftes and banquets together before them, in ho³nour and reuerence of them, fo⁴ appointed the fame yeerly to be obserued in⁵ memoriall of the fame⁶ for euer. But whence⁷ foever they had their exordium,⁸ certen it is the deuill was the Father of them, to⁹ drown vs in perdition, and deftruction of body and foule: which GOD forefend¹⁰!

Sp. As I remember, you fpoke¹¹ of dauncing before, inferring that the fabaoth is¹² greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, fhew mee your iudgement.

*The horrible Vice of peftiferous dauncing, vfed¹³
in Ailgna.*

Philoponus.

DAuncing, as it is vfed (or rather abufed) in thefe daies, is an introduction to¹⁴ whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to vnclEANES, & an introite¹⁵ to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleafant exercyfe to the mind, or a holfome practife for the body¹⁶: yet¹⁷, notwithstanding, in Ailg[na] both men, wemen, & children, are fo skilful in this laudable fcience, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to *Cynoedus*, the¹⁸ profitit ribauld, nor yet to *Sardanapalus*, that effeminate varlet. Yea, thei are not afhamed to erect fcholes of dauncing,

From whence these annuall feasts and stationarie wakeffes had their beginning.
[³ leaf 98. B.†]
[⁷ M 7, back]

Scholes of dauncing erected.

¹ as farre as euer I could iudge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for iudge: F then adds:—& the best fruits that they bring forth.

² false F. † leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B.

⁴ and so B, E, F.

⁵ in a F.

⁶ them for the same B, E, F.

⁸ original F.

⁹ seeking thereby to F.

¹⁰ remoue farre from vs F.

¹¹ spake B, E, F.

¹² was B, E, F.

¹³ not in F.

¹⁴ all kind of added in F.

¹⁵ entrance F.

¹⁶ (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would haue it). And F.

¹⁷ And yet, E.

¹⁸ that B, E, F.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people¹ glory of their chritianitie & integritie of ²life. In dead, *verbo tenus Christiani boni vocitantur*, But *vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores*³ *reperientur*⁴: From ⁵the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but in life & maners farre worfer than the heathen or *Paganes*. Wherof if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that ⁶Land of *Sodoma* and *Gomorra*, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

[² leaf 98, back. B.]

[⁵ sign. M 8. A.]

Spud. I haue heard it said, that dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercyse for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and place conueniente, it is a certen folace⁷ to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie ⁸is true rather⁸: For this is ⁹(*basīs*¹⁰ *veritatis*) a ground of ¹¹truth,⁹ that whatsoever a carnall man, with vncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other side, what the spirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And seeing mans nature is too procliuē¹² of it selfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections¹³ to ¹⁴fin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints & inhibitions¹⁵ from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and buffing, what ¹⁶smouching & slabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chafft eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed¹⁷ foorth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp *Venus* cole or not, who is so blind

Dauncing a pleasure to sin be in dauncing.

What allurements to sin be in dauncing.

[¹⁴ leaf 99. B. †]

[¹⁶ M 8, back. A.]

¹ forsooth *added in F.*

* leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurements to sinne. B.

³ deteriores F.

⁴ inueniantur B, inuenientur E.

⁶ the B, E, F.

⁷ or recreation *added in B, E, F.*

⁸⁻⁹ is rather true B, E, F.

⁹⁻⁹ a maxime F.

¹⁰ basis et fundamentum B, E.

¹¹ or foundation of B, E; E *has* and *for* or.

¹² prone F.

¹³ enticementes F.

† leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosiue. B.

¹⁵ to stay him *added in F.*

¹⁷ shadowed F.

good-works, and not to spend in luxurious exercises ¹after our owne fantasies and delights.

Spud. But I haue heard them affirme that dauncing is prouable ³ by the word of God; for (say they) did not the women come forth of all the Cities of *Israel* to meet king *Saule*? and ⁴*Dauid*, returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, with pfalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, and other musicall Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them? Did not the *Israelites*, hauing passed ouer the red sea, bring forth their Instruments, and danced for ioy of their deliuerance?

* We must render accounts for time heer lent vs.
[¹ leaf 100. B. *]
[² N 1, back]

[Bible examples of dancing.]
1 Sa. 18.
Exo. 15.
Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in *Horeb* or *Sinai*? Did not king *Dauid* daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the Daughter of *Iephtah* daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld? Did not the women of the *Israelits* dance comming to visit good *Iudith*? Did not the Damsel daunce before King *Herod*? Did not *Christ* blame *the* people for their not dancing when he said, wee haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced?

2 Sa. 6.
Iudic. 11.
Iudic. 15.
Mat. 14.
Luc. 7.

Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce?'

Eccle. 3.

And dooth not the Prophet *Dauid*, in many places of his Pfalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Instruments of Musick?

⁵Wherefore (for thus ⁶ they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wherof some were guided by the instinction ⁷ of ⁸God his ⁸Spi⁹rit) haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by ¹⁰ their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

[⁵ sign. N 2. A.]
[⁹ leaf 100, back. B. †]

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et lali*: it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceiued & to slide from the trueth. Therefore the Apostle faith, follow mee; in all things as I follow *Christ*; but to *the* intent that they, who perpend ¹¹ the Examples of the Fathers and ¹²Scripture falsly ¹²wrested to maintaine their deuilish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie & grosse ¹³ignorance discouered, I wil compendi-

No maz without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B.

³ probable E, F.

⁴ and also king E, F.

⁶ this E, F.

⁷ instinct F.

⁸—⁸ Gods F.

† leaf 100, back. None withoute errors. B.

¹⁰ in B, E, F.

¹¹ pretende E, F.

¹²—¹² Scriptures fasly (*sic*) F.

¹³ not in F.

158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie]

oufly fet down the true fence and meaning of euery place, as they haue cyted them perticulerly. For the first, wheras they say that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Instruments of Ioy to meet *Dauid* and *Saule*, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer¹ the *Philistines*, their sworne Enemies? Was it in prayse of God, or to stirre vp filthie lust in them selues, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? ²Did men and women daunce together, as is now vsed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reason to say, such and ³such did so, therefore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poyسد in the^d balance of holy scripture, and therby to be allowed or, disallowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The *Israelitish* women, hearing of the fame of *Dauid*, and how he had killed their deadly enimie *Goliath*, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & finging songs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,⁴ who had giuen them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their distruction euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiquitarie dauncings,—for so I may call them because they be vsed euery where,—let the godly iudge. who seeth not rather *that* this example (let *Cerberus* ⁵the dog of hel alatrare what he⁵ list to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praise of God; ours, a lustful, baudie kinde of deamenour⁶ in praise of our selues: theirs, to shew their inward ioy of minde for the blessings⁷ of ⁸God bestowed vpon them; ours, to show our actiuitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful looue and such like wickednes infinit. But to their second allegation: *the Children* (say they⁹) of *Israel* danced, being deliuered out of the seruitude of *Pharo*, and hauing pa[†]sed ouer the red sea. I graunt

¹ against F.

* leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.

⁴ their God *added in* F.

⁵—⁵ and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.

⁶ dauncing F.

⁷ blessing F.

⁹ they say F.

† leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

r Sa. 18.

The first pillare of dauncing ouerthrowen.

[² N 2, back. A.]

No good consequent to say others did so, ergo it is good, or wee may doo the like.

[³ leaf 101. B.*]

The difference between the dances of our Forefathers and ours.

[⁸ sign. N 3. A.]

Their second Pillar shaken.

[¹⁰ leaf 101, back. B.†]

they did ſo, and good cauſe they had ſo to doo; For were they not emancipate¹ and ſet free from three great calamities and ²extream miſeries²? Firſt, from the ſeruile bondage of *Egipt*; from the ſwoord of *Pharo*, who purſued the rereward of their hoſte; and from the danger³ of the red ſea, their enemies beeing ouer-whelmed in the ſame.

[Why the
Iſraelites
danced.]

For theſe great and ineſtimable benefits and bleſſings, receiued at the hands of God, they played vpon Inſtruments of muſick, leaped, daunced, and fung⁴ godly ſongs vnto *the* Lord, ſhewing by theſe outward geſtures *the* inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for⁵ the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly againſt them? They danced for ioy in thanks⁶ to god, wee for vainglorie: they for looue to God, wee for looue of our ſelues: they to ſhew the interior ioy of the minde for ⁷God his bleſſing heaped⁷ vpon them; we to ſhew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curioſitie in the ſame; they to ſtir vp and to⁸ make them ſelues the apter to praiſe God; we to ſtir vp carnall appetites ⁹and fleſhlie motions: they to ſhewe their humilitie before God; and we to ſhew our pride both before God and *the* world. But how ſo euer it be, ſure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, conſiſting in meaſures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no ſuch leaſure in E¹⁰gipt¹¹ to learne ſuch vaine curioſity in that luſtfull¹² bawdie ſchoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this¹³ may be called a dauncing or not, at leſt not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modeſt leaping, ſkipping or moouing of the body to expreſſe the ioye of *the* mind in prayſe of God; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of our Sauour Chriſte, walked in the Temple, leapping, ſkipping & praizing God.

How the
Iſraelits
danced.

[? N 3, back. A.]

[¹⁰ leaf 102. B. †]
[¹¹ Egipt A.]
The dauncing
of our Forſa-
thers mai not
be called a
dauncing, but
rather a Godly
triumphing &
reioycing in
heart for ioy.

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at¹⁴ ſome wonderfull ¹⁵portent or ſtraunge iudgment¹⁵ of God¹⁶; and therefore made¹⁷ not a common practiſe of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were; much leſſe

¹ deliuered F. ^{2—2} extram (*sic*) miſeries at once F. ³ daungers E, F.
⁴ ſang F. ⁵ to E, F. ⁶ thanks-geuing E, F.
^{7—7} Gods bleſſings beſtowed F. ⁸ to *not in* B, E, F.
† leaf 102. A conſutation of dauncing. B. ¹² luſtfull *not in* B, E, F.
¹³ they E, F. ¹⁴ when E, F. ^{15—15} great bleſſing F.
¹⁶ was ſhewed *added in* E; was beſtowed vpon them F. ¹⁷ they made F.

Their 3. Reason examined. fet vp schools of it, and frequenting¹ nothing els night and² day, Sabaoth day and³ other, as we do. But to their⁴ third Reafon: The *Ifraelits* daunced before the Calf in *Horeb*. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therefore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therefore is ydolatrie good becaufe they committed it?

[5 sign. N 4. A.] ⁵ *Adam* difob[e]yed GOD, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, becaufe hee did fo?

Therefore wee muft not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be fhort, as it is a friuious thing⁶ to fay, becaufe they committed ⁷ Idolatrie, therefore may wee doo the like, fo it is no leffe ridiculous to fay, becaufe they daunced, therefore wee may doo the fame; for as it is not lawful to commit Idolatrie becaufe they did fo, fo is it not lawfull to daunce becaufe they daunced.

[7 leaf 102, back. B.*]

So that if this place inferre⁸ any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee muft neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are afhamed of their dances. Therefore of this place I need to fay no more, giuing *them* to note that this their dauncing, in refpect of the end therof, was farre diffonant⁹ from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.¹⁰

Their. 4. Reason.

Their fourth reafon: Did not *Dauid* daunce before the Ark? fay they. very true; and this place (as the reft before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women together moft excellentlie; For¹¹ *Dauid* danced him felfe alone, without either woman or muficall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of *Dauid* was no vsuall thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayfe of God for the deliuerie¹² of the Ark of God his teftament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was fo vehement for this great bleffing of GOD (fuch a feruent zeale he bore¹³ to ¹⁴ the truth), that it¹⁵ burft forth into

[11 N 4, back. A.]

[14 leaf 103. B.†]

¹ frequented E, F.

² nor F.

³ nor F.

⁴ the B, E.

⁶ reason E, F.

* leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproued. B.

⁸ conferre E, F.

⁹ different F.

¹⁰ lawfull F.

¹² deliuerance B, E, F.

¹³ did beare F.

† leaf 103. Why *Dauid* daunced. B.

¹⁵ he B, E, F.

¹ exterior action,¹ *the* more to induce others to prayse God alfo. Would God we would dance, as *Dauid* daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alfauing woord out of the hands of that *Italian Philifin* & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of *Roome*! for in this respect I would make one² to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as *Dauid* did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man feeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude³ dancings and baudie choruffes, as they did by citing⁴ the former places; that is, iust nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see neuer the wurffe.

Why Dauid
daunced be-
fore the Ark.

Their fift reason: Did not *Ieptath* his daughter meet her Father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vpon Instruments of Ioy⁵? *Ieptath*, going foorth to warre against the *Amonites*, promised the ⁶ Lord (making a rashe vowe) that if it would please his Maiestie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her Father, playing vpon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what proueth this for their daunces? Truly, it ouerthroweth them,⁷ if it be well considered: for first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: She in prayse of God, we in prayses of our felues: she for ioy of her Fathers good successe, we to stere vp filthie and vnclane motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babish⁸ leuitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreouer, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselues (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselues; for so importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

Their fift Re-
son examined.

[⁶ sign. N 5. A.]

[⁷ leaf 103, back. B.†]

Wherfore &
how the
Daughters of
Iephthah
daunced.

[Each sex must
dance by itself.]

Their⁹ .vi. Reason: Did not *the Israelitish* wemen daunce before *Iudith*, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is thus:

Ther .6. Reason.

[*Iudith*, Ca. 15, B, E.]

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the *Israelits*, the chofen

¹—¹ outward shew of the same F.

² my selfe added in E, F.

³ lasciuious added in F.

⁴ citing not in E, F.

⁵ musicke F.

† leaf 103, back. Jephtha his daughters daunce. B.

⁶ wanton E, F.

⁹ The E, F.

[¹ N 5, back. A.] people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out
¹ their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge
power, and besieged them on euery side.

Iudith cutteth
of the head of
holofernes.

The *Ifraelits*, seeing themselues *circumvalled*,² and in great
daunger on each side, suborned good *Iudith*, a vert[u]ous, Godlye
Woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vn-
possible for them in the eyes of *the world* to haue escaped) to repaire
to *Holofernes*, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction :
who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it
happely to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne fauchine,³

[⁴ leaf 104. B.*] wrap⁴ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, sleepingly⁵ posselt
as he was with *the spirit* of drunkenesse: this done, the Women
of *Ifraell* came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and
to congratulat her prosperous succeffe with instruments of musick,
singing of Godly songs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and prayse to
God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not that these
women sang, daunced, and played vppon instrumentes in prayse of
God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the
world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of
Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was
an infinite number of People by, yet the Text saith, there daunced

The vnlawfull-
nes of daunc-
ing of men
and women
together.

[⁶ sign. N 6. A.] ⁶ none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of
it in respecte of Man.⁷ And this being but a particular fact, of a fort
of imprudent⁸ Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and
thinke it lawfull or good because they did practife it?

A custome to
daunce in
praysse of God.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had ⁹powred forth⁹
any notable blessing vpon his People, from his Heauenly Pallace,¹⁰ the
People, in honour, praise, and thankesgiuing to God for them,¹¹ would
play vppon their instruments, sing Godly Songs, daunce, leape, skip,
and triumphe, shewing forth the ioye of their mindes, with their
thankfulnesse to God, by all exterior geftures that they could deuysse:

[¹² leaf 104, back.
B.†]

¹² Which kinde of thankfull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold

² about *added in B, E*; compassed about F.

* leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B.

⁷ men & women together E, F.

⁹—⁹ bestowed F.

¹⁰ Consistorie B, E, F.

³ Faulchone F.

⁵ sleeptyng B, E, F.

⁸ simple F.

¹¹ it E, F.

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did¹ follow, leauing all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damofell daunce before Kinge *Herode*, when the head of *Iohn Baptift* was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodneffe it bringeth: For was not this the caufe of the beheading of *Iohn the Baptift*? See whether dauncing styreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if *Herode* with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her ²behaviour, that he promised her to giue her whatsoeuer she wold desire, though it were half of his Emperie³ or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with bussing and kissing, slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I haue heard many impudently say that they haue chosen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainly proueth the wickedneffe of it.

Ther .7. Reason.

Dauncing styreth vp lust.

[² N 6, back. A.]

Their .viij. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not dauncing, saying, 'we haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced'? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Mintrell, as that he allowed ⁴of dauncing, or reproued them for not exercysing the same. This is a Metaphoricall ⁵or Allegoricall⁵ kinde of speech, wherin our Sauour Christ goeth about to reprooue and checke the styfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of *the Scribes* and *Phariseis*, who were neither moued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospell by the austeritie of *Iohn the Baptiste*, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning sort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauour him selfe, breaking vnto them the ⁶pure *Ambrosia*, the ⁶*Caelestial Manna*, the word of life, in ioy⁷full and gladfome maner.

Their .8. Reason.

Luc. 7.

[⁴ leaf 105. B.†]

The more than obdurat hardnes of the Iewes.

[⁷ sign. N 7. A.]

Ihon the Baptift he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Sauour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tydings of *the Gospell*, yet at neither of these ⁸kinde⁹ of concions⁸ they were any whit moued,

¹ would B, E, F. ³ Empire B, E, F. † leaf 105. The contumacie of the Iewes. B.
⁵—⁵ not in F. ⁶ that E, F. ⁸—⁸ kinds of preachings F. ⁹ kindes E.

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherefore he sharply rebuketh¹ them by a similitude of foolish Children, fitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted fence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at left maketh nothing for them) allowing a certain kind of spirituall dauncing,² and reioyng of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyfe men determine.

[² leaf 105, back. B.*]

Eccle. 3.
Their .9. Reason.

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce'? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For faith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning fotime, now and than, as the *Israelites* did in prayse to³ GOD, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leaue vs. But what and if *Salomon* speaketh here⁴ of a certain kind of spirital dauncing and reioyng of the heart in praise to⁵ GOD? This is easly gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (*vz.* there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyfe for the vnspeakable treasures purchascd vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lasciuious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may see and⁶ iudge.

Salomon meaneth a certain kind of a spirituall dauncing or reioy[sing] of the heart.
[⁴ N 7, back. A.]

Their vltimum refugium.

[⁷ leaf 106. B.†]

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their *ultimum refugium*: That is, Doth not *David* both commend, and also commaunde, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in⁷ diuerse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certain kind of spirituall dauncing and reioyng of the heart to⁸ the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes,⁹ skip like goats,¹⁰ & leap like

¹ rebuked F. * leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

³ of B, E, F.

⁵ of F.

⁶ and A.

† leaf 106. Why our feete were giuen vs. B.

⁸ in B, E, F.

⁹ Goates F.

¹⁰ Does F.

mad men: For to *the* end our feet were not giuen vs, but rather to represent *the* image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

Why our feet were giuen vs.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of daun¹cing² as wicked and prophane?

[¹ sign. N 8. A.]

Ph. All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauning in publique assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,³ by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauning which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatly or publicquely, is at no hand to be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vsed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure priuatly (euery sex distinct⁴ by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercise, being vsed moderatly and in *the* feare of God. And ⁵thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and vnclene dauning, yet I condemne not al kind of dauning generally; For certen it is, the exercise it self, in it own nature, ⁶qualitie & proprietie,⁶ though to some it is lawfull, to other some vnlawfull in dyuerse respects, is both ancient & general, hauing been vsed euer in all ages, as wel of *the* Godly, as of *the* wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my iudgement, as it is vsed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercise,⁷ without any difference or respect had either to time, Person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and ⁸frequencies⁸ of People, with such beaftlie flabberings, buffings⁹ & smouchings, and ¹⁰other filthie gestures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is vnpossible to be vsed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middest of a hote burning¹¹ fire, and not to consume.¹² But these abuses, with other *the* like (as there be legions moe in it) being cut of from the exercise it selfe, the thing¹³ remayneth ¹⁴very commendable¹⁴ in some respects. Or els, if our daunces

What dauning is condemned by the word of God.

[⁵ leaf 106, back. B.†]

[Dauning how lawfull, how vnlawfull, E, F.]

[⁷ N 8, back. A.]

[Dauning vnpossible to be vsed without hurt E, F.]

² then added in F.

³ I comes after God in F.

⁴ distinct F.

† leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B.

⁶—⁶ and quality F.

⁸—⁸ great meetings F.

⁹ kissinges B, E, F.

¹⁰ with B, E, F.

¹¹ glowing F.

¹² burne B, E, F.

¹³ thing it self B, E, F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ more tollerable B, E, F.

166 Men & wom[en] to dance afunder. The Anatomie

tended, as I haue said, to the setting foorth of God his glorie (as the daunces vsed in ¹preter time¹ did) to draw others to pietie and fancitie of life, and to ²praise and reioyce in ³God, to recreate *the* minde oppressed with some ⁴great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them felues, and Wemen by *them* felues, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to *the* great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

[⁴ leaf 107. B.*]

Why men shold daunce by themselves and women by themselves.

Spud. And wherfore would you haue Men to daunce by them felues, and Women by them felues?

[⁶ sign. O r. A.]

⁷ Why men shold daunce by themselves and Women by them-selues.

Philo. Because ⁵it is, without all doubt, a ⁶prouocation to lust and venery,⁵ and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therefore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni*,⁸ Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a ⁹man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shewe mee what Fathers and Councils haue iudged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

Philo. If I should ¹⁰goe foorth to ¹⁰shew all the inuectiues of Fathers, all the decrees of council, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher¹¹fore of many I wil selekt a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. *Syrach* saith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a finger or a dauncer, neither heare her, leaft thou be intrapped in her craftines. *Christostome*, dylating vpon *Mathew*, saith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visibill to *the* eye, yet palpable¹² to *the* minde. *Theophilus*, writing vpon *Mark*, the sixt Chapter, saith, *Mira collusio saltat per puellam*¹³ *Diabolus*: This is¹⁴ a

[¹¹ leaf 107, back. B.†]

Testimonies of Fathers, council, and Writers against dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.

¹—¹ former ages F. ² to the E, F. ³ reioycing in B, E, F.

* leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

⁵—⁵ otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.

⁷ This repeated side-note not in B, E, F. ⁸ *Cloacæ* F. ⁹ a *not in* F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* F. † leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

¹² sensible F. ¹³ *illam* E, F. ¹⁴ There is B.

wun^derful deceit, for the deuil danceth amongft them for company. [¹ O 1, back. A.]
Augufine, writing vpon the 32. Pfalme, faith, it is better to digge all Augustine.
 the Sabaoth day then to dance. *Erafmus*, in his Booke *de contemptu* Erasmus.
Mundi, faith, Whofe minde is fo well difpofed, fo ftable, or wel fetled,
 which thefe wanton dances, with fwinging of armes, kicking of legs,
 playing vpon instruments, and fuch like, would not² ouercome and
 corrupt? Wherefore, faith hee, as thou defireft thine owne credit and
 welfare, efchew thefe fcabbed and fcuruy companie of dauncers.

Ludovicus Viues faith, amongft all pleasures, dauncing and volup- Lodouicus
 tuoufnes is the kingdome of *Venus*, and the empire of *Cupid*: wher- viues.
 fore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ftay at ³home, and to break [³ leaf 108. B.*]
 either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and
 armes of thy⁴ minde & foule, as thou dooft in filthie fcuruy daunc-
 ings. And, as in all Feasts and paffimes, dauncing is the laft, fo it is
 the extream of all other vice. And again, there were (faith he) from
 far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of *the world*, who,
 when they faw men daunce, ran away merueloufly affraid, crying out,
 and thinking them to haue been mad. And no meruaile, for who,
 feing them ⁵leap, skip,⁵ & trip like Goates ⁶& hinds,⁶ if hee neuer
 faw them⁷ before, would ⁸not think them either mad, or els poffeft [⁸ sign. O 2. A.]
 with fome furie? *Bullinger*, paraphrafting vpon *Mathew* 14, faith, Bullinger.
 After feafting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all
 filthynes and vncleannes.

Dauncers
thought to be
mad-men.

Maifter Caluin, writing vpon *Iob*, *Ser. 8, Cap. 12*, calleth daunc- Caluin.
 ing the cheefe mifcheef of all mifcheefs, faying, there be fuch vnchast
 geftures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Marlorate, vpon *Mathew*, faith, whofoeuer hath any care either of
 honeftie, fobrietie, or grauitie, haue long fince bad *adieu* to all filthie
 dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be fober, daunceth,
 except hee be mad.

⁹*Saluftius*, commending *Sempronia*, that renowned whore, for Salust.
 many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great skil in daunc- [⁹ leaf 108, back.
B.†]
 ing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inftrument of lecherie.

² not be B.

* leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheefest mifcheef. B.

⁴ the E, F.

⁵—⁵ leap like Squirrilles, skippe like hinds B, E, F.

⁶—⁶ as thei doe B, E, F.

⁷ any B, E, F.

† leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of sinne. B.

Cicero.

Cicero saith, a good man would not dance in open assembles, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of *Laodecea* decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any follemne feaft.

In an other Council it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[¹ O 2, back. A.]

¹The Emperour *Iustinian* decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All Writers,
bothe holy and
prophane,
against
dauncing.

Dauncing a
World of sin.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, counsels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the ²quagemire or plash² of all abhominatiō, and therefore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of *the* flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth boudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to *the* stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sinne.

[³ leaf 109. B.†]

³*Spud.* Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,⁴ who inuented this noble science, or from whence ⁵sprang it⁵?

Who inuented
dauncing, and
from whom it
sprang.

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and diuers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous *Pagans* and Infidels, who, hauing offered vp their sacrifices, ⁶victimats,⁷ and holocaustes,⁶ to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

[⁸ sign. O 3. A.]

And this may be prooued by the *Iraelits* themselues, who, hauing seen and learned the same ⁸practise in *Egipt*, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of *Horeb*. some again suppose that *Pyrrhus*, one of *Sibils* Preists, deuised it in *Creet*. Others holde that the Priests of ⁹*Mars*, who in *Roome* were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, inuented it. Others think *that* one *Hiero*, a truculent¹⁰ and bloody Tirant in *Sicilia*, who, to fet vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall
who inuented
dauncing.

²—² quagemire or puddle F.

⁴ shewe me, *added in* B, E, F.

⁷ victimats *not in* B.

† leaf 109. Who inuented Dauncyng. B.

⁵—⁵ it sprang F.

⁶—⁶ and oblations F.

⁹ of of F.

¹⁰ Turculent F.

infurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inuenting therof: for when the *Sicilians* sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speak to another, they inuented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exterior gestures of the body; which vse afterward grew¹ into custome, and now into nature. But what soeuer men say of it, or from whence soeuer it sprang, *S. Chrysofom* saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the Deuils breft, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the egges of a *Cokatrice* may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,² then may³ it be prooued that³ dancing is⁴ good, and an exercise fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.⁵ *Wherfore God of his mercy take it away⁶ from vs!*

[¹ leaf 109, back B.*]

Vnpossible that dancing should be good

[⁶ O 3, back. A.]

Spud. What say you of⁷ Mufick? is it not a laudable science?

Of Mufick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.

Philo.

I Say of Mufick as *Plato, Aristotle, Galen,* and many others haue said of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,⁸ smoothe sweetnes in⁹ alluring the auditorie¹⁰ ¹¹to nicenes^{12,11} effeminacie,¹³ puffillanimitie,¹⁴ & lothsomnes of life,¹⁴ ¹⁵so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-felf¹⁵; for as honie and such¹⁷ like sweet things,¹⁷ receiued into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make¹⁸ the stomack so¹⁹ quafie,²⁰ ²¹nice and weake, that it is not able to admit²¹ meat of hard digesture: So sweet Mufick at the first delighteth the eares, but after²² ward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and²³

A comparison betwixt honie and dancing.¹⁶

[²² leaf 110. B.†]

* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.

² body to weare B, E, F. ^{3—3} not in E, F. ⁴ be for is in E, F.

⁵ els E, F. ⁷ to F. ⁸ nice not in B, E, F.

⁹ in it B, E, F. ¹⁰ hearers F. ^{11—11} to a certaine kind of F.

¹² niceness not in B, E, F. ¹³ and added in F. ^{14—14} not in F.

^{15—15} muche like vnto Honey B, E, F. ¹⁶ musicke B, E, F.

^{17—17} other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete things F.

¹⁸ maketh for they make B, E, F. ¹⁹ so not in B, E, F.

²⁰ queasie F. ^{21—21} and vnable to receiue B, E, F.

† leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B. ²³ weake and not in B, E, F.

Wits dulled
by Musick.
[² sign. O 4. A.]

quasie,¹ and inclined to all licencioufnes of lyfe whatfoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharped² (but³ obtufed) by beeing whetted³ vpon foft stones, fo good wits, by hearing of foft musick, are rather dulled then sharped, and made apt to all wantonnes and finne. ⁴And therefore⁴ Writers affirme *Sappho* to haue been expert in musick, and therefore whorish.

Authors of the
bringing in of
musick.

Tyrus Maximius faith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyfon to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon⁵ musicall Instruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of Musick, and faith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as pricks vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that meafure Musick by found and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wife concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I haue heard it said (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beaft, reuieth the fpirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter⁶ to the feruice of GOD.

Musick the
good gift of
God.
[⁷ O 4, back. A.]
[⁸ leaf 110, back.
B. †]

Philo. I graunt Musick is a good gift of GOD, and that it delighteth bothe man⁷ and beaft, reuieth the fpirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh⁸ it reder⁹ to ferue GOD; and therefore did *Dauid* bothe vse musick him self, & alfo commend the vse of it to his pofteritie (and beeing vfed to that end, for mans priuat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in
publique assem-
blies and
conuenticles.

But beeing vfed in publique affemblies and priuate conuenticles,¹⁰ as directories¹⁰ to filthie dauncing, thorow the fweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it efraungeth the mind, fireth vp filthie luft, womannifeth the minde, rauifheth the hart, enflameth concupifence, and bringeth in vncleannes. But if musick openly were vfed¹¹ (as I haue said) to the praife¹² and glory of God, as our Fathers vfed it, and

¹ queasie F. ^{3—3} dulled by whetting F. ^{4—4} And hereof is it that F.

⁵ of B, E, F.

⁶ and readier added in F.

† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B.

⁹ apter F.

^{10—10} as a Directorie B, E, F.

¹¹ openly follows used in B, E, F. ¹² prasie A.

as was intended by it at the firft, or priuatly in a mans fecret Chamber or houfe, for his owne folace or¹ comfort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, folicitude,² care, forrowe, and fuch other perturbations and moleftations³ of the minde, the only ends wherto true Mufick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.⁴ If Mufick were thus vfed it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to ferue God the better; but beeing vfed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannifh, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mifcheef.⁵

How musicke were tollerable & good.

Spud. What fay you, then, of Mufitions & Minftrels, who liue only vpon the fame art?

⁶ *Philo.* I thinke that all good minftrelles, fober and chafte muficians (fpeking of fuche drun⁷ken fockets and bawdye parafits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and finging of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie fongs in Tauernes, Ale-houfes, Innes, and other publique affemblies,) may daunce *the wild Moris* thorow a needles eye. For how fhould they bere chafte minds, feeing that their exercyfe is the pathway to all vn-cleanes.⁸ Their is no fhip fo⁹ balanced with mafsie matter,⁹ as their heads are fraught¹⁰ with all kind of bawdie fongs, filthie ballads and fcuriue rymes, feruing for euery purpofe, and for euery Cumpanie.

[⁶ sign. O 5. A.]
The fcarcity of good mufitions and minftrelles.
[⁷ leaf III. B.†]

¹¹ Who be¹² more bawdie¹² than they? who vn-cleaner than they? who more licentious and loofe¹³ minded¹⁴? who more incontinent than they? and, briefly, who more inclyned to all kind of infolencie and lewdnes than they? wherefore, if you wold haue your fonne foft, womannifh, vn-cleane, fmoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, fcurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vn-femely talking; brifly, if you wold haue him, as it weare, tranfnatured into a woman, or worfe, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhomination, fet him to dauncing fchool, and to learn muficke, and than fhall you not faile of your purpofe. And if you would haue your daughter whoorifh, bawdie, and vn-cleane, and a filthie fpeaker, and fuch like, bring her vp in¹⁵ mufick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you haue won the goale.

The marchandise of minftrelles and mufitions.

The wickednes of mufitions and minftrels.

[¹⁵ O 5, back. A.]
How to haue Children lerned in all wickednes.

¹ and B, E, F.

² to mitigate F.

³ passions F.

⁴ lawful F.

⁵ vn-cleannes F.

† leaf III. Good Mufitions scarce. B.

⁶ Baudry & filthines F.

⁹⁻⁹ laden with merchandize F.

¹⁰ pestered F.

¹¹ As for example *added in B*; For prooffe whereof *added in E, F.*

¹²⁻¹² baudier F.

¹³ looser E, F.

¹⁴ then they *added in F.*

[¹ leaf 111, back.
B.*]
The scarcytie
of dyuines.

¹ And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of ² acceptation³) to be a Pyper, or ⁴ bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minftrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of ⁵ dyuines, so few there be ⁶ as they ⁷ maye hardly be seene.⁶

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we haue lycenfes from iustices of ⁸ peace to pype & vse our minftralsie to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

But haue you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace,⁹ Christ Iesus? If you haue so, you may be glad; if you haue not (for the Worde of GOD is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemne them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and straglers ¹⁰ from the Heauenlye Country,¹⁰ be arrested of the high iustice of peace,¹¹ Christ Iesus, ¹² and be punished with eternall death,¹² notwithstanding your pretended ¹³ licences of earthly men. Who ¹⁴ shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of GOD at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw¹⁵ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iustices of peace? shall their licences? Oh, no: ¹⁶ For neither ought they to graunt anye licences¹⁷ to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

Licences
graunted to
musitions &
minstrels to
exercyse their
mystery or
facultie of
mischief.

[¹⁵ sign. O 6. A.]

No lycences to
do hurte withall
are to be
graunted.

[¹⁸ leaf 112. B.†]

¹⁸ Giue ouer, therefore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minftrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your prouocations¹⁹ and intyfyng allurementes, shalbe powred vppon your heads at the day of

A Caue[al]t to
musitions,
minstrelles,
& all others
of that ²⁰ stampe.

* leaf 111, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.

² of worldly B, E.

³ the account of the world F.

⁴ or a F.

⁵ of good F.

^{6—6} that small skil in Arithmeticke will suffice to number them F.

⁷ any B, E.

⁸ of the B, E, F.

⁹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

^{10—10} *not in* B, E, F.

¹¹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

^{12—12} *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ presented A, pretended B, E, F.

¹⁴ Then who F.

¹⁶ It wil not goe for payment at that day *added in* F.

¹⁷ licencens A.

† leaf 112. A Caueat for Minstrelles. B. E *has*: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on the Sab.

¹⁹ example F.

²⁰ twat A.

of Abufes. Cardes and dice, flaightly theft. 173

Iudgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like¹ their humour.²

Spud. Is it not lawfull vppon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tenniffe, and fuche other pleafaunt exercyses, wherein Man taketh pleafure and delight?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other exercyses vsed vnlawfully in Ailgna.

³ *Philoponus.*

[³ O 6, back. A.]

THEse be no Sabaothlike⁴ exercyses for any Christian man to follow any day at all, much lesse vppon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold haue to be consecrat to himselfe, and to be spent in holy and Godly exercyses, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowls, tenniffe, and such like, thei are *furta officiosa*, a certen kind of smooth, deceptfull, and sleightie theft, wherby many a one is spoiled of all that euer he hath, sometmes of his life withall, yea, of body and soul for⁵ euer. And yet (more is the pitie) these be the onely exercyses vsed in euery mans howse, al the yeer thorow; But specially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els vsed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, they⁶ think they haue a commission and prerogatiue that time to do what they lust,⁷ and to folow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priuiledged at that tyme to doo euill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes⁸ to be. Can anie⁹ time dispense with them, or giue them libertie to sin? No, no: the soule which finneth shall dye, at what time so euer it offendeth. But what will thei say? Is it not Christmas? must we not be mery? truth it is, we ought, both than and at¹¹ all tymes besides, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyse; not to swil and gull¹² more that time than at any other time, nor¹³ ¹² to lauish foorth more at that time than¹⁴ at another¹⁴ time.¹⁵

Exercises vn-lawfull vpon the Sabaoth day.
Furta officiosa.

[⁵ leaf 112, back. B. 7.]

All wicked games vsed in Christmas tyme.

No tyme priuiledged¹⁰ a man to sinne.

[¹¹ sign. O 7. A.]

¹ please E, F. ² daintie humours F. ⁴ not in F.

† leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vsed in Christmas. B.

⁶ for that they F. ⁷ list B, E, F. ⁸ exercises B, E, F. ⁹ anie not in F.

¹⁰ priuiledgeth E, F. ^{12—12} in more then will suffice nature, nor F.

¹³ not A. ^{14—14} at any other B, E, F. ¹⁵ times A, B, E, F.

The true
keeping of
Christmas.

[⁶ leaf 113. B.*]

Wickednes in
Christmas.

Unlawful for
one Christian
to play with
another to
win his
money.

[¹¹ O 7, back. A.]

[Gamynge worse
then open theft
E, F.]

[¹⁵ leaf 113, back.
B. †]

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat¹) vppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iesus Christ,² not onely³ that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selues thankful to his⁴ Maiestie for the fame. Notwithstanding, who⁵ is ignorant⁵ that more mischief is that time committed than in all the yeere besides? ⁶ what masking and mumming! wherby robbetrie, whordome,⁷ murther,⁸ and what not,⁸ is⁹ committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere byfydes! to the great dishonor of GOD, and impouerishing of the realme.

Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at any kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their priuat recreations, after some oppreffion of studie, to driue away fantasies¹⁰ and fuche like, I doubt not, but they may, vsing it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of¹¹ GOD; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for desire onely of his Brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no¹² hand lawfull, or¹³ to be suffered.

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or sleight, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes¹⁴ are no better; nay, worfer than open theft; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of¹⁵ it. The commaundement saith, thou shalt not couet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

¹ in the secrete cogitations of our myndes *added in B, E, F.*

² God and man *added in B, E, F.*

³ at *added in E, F.*

⁴ blessed *added in F.*

⁵⁻⁵ knoweth not E, F; is so *for* is B.

* leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B.

⁷ and sometimes *added in B, E, F.*

⁸⁻⁸ *not in B, F.*

⁹ what no, tis A.

¹⁰ or melancholy passions *added in F.*

¹² not at any *for* at no F.

¹³ nor F.

¹⁴ games B, E, F.

† leaf 113, back. Gamynge houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The *Apostle* forbiddeth vs to vse deceit in bargaining, in buying or felling; much lesse than ought we to vse deceit in gaming.

Our Sauour Christ biddeth euery man do to another as he would another should do vnto him. Which rule, if it weare dylie obserued, weare sufficient to with[d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of ¹indyrect and ¹vniust dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man should winne thy money, so thou oughtest not ³to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou wouldest be done by.

A rule to
restraine
vnlawfull
gameing.²
[³ sign. O 8. A.]

Spud. If gameing for money be so vnlawfull, wherfore are there howses⁴ and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truly great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: For are they not the very feminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abhomination, whatsoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

Gaming
houses with
their wicked-
nes.

And therefore I marueile, *that* those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can euer⁵ haue light hearts, or once to⁶ looke ⁷vp towards Heauen, *that* not onely suffer this manifest theft in their howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourish⁸ the fame.

[⁷ leaf 114. B.]

The *Apostle* faith, not onely they that doo euill *digni sunt morte*, are worthie of death, but also *qui consentiunt facientibus*, those who consent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked excercyse, I befeeche you.

For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of GOD; doth not stinkinge Whordome, Theft, Robberie, Deceit, Fraude, Cofenage, fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; ⁹doth not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherfore I will not doubt to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the

[⁹ O 8, back. A.]

¹—¹ not in F.

² gamening A.

⁴ gamyng houses B, E, F.

⁵ neuer F.

⁶ to not in B, E, F.

† leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

⁸ vphold F.

shambles, or blockhowfes of the Deuill, wherin he butchereth Christen mens foules infinit waies, God knoweth : the Lord suppreffe them !

Spud. Weare there euer anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or haue the Godly in any age misliked it ?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians haue detested it, and holfome lawes haue been promulgat¹ against it.

Oclavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

² *Cicero* obiected to *Marcus Antonius* his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The noble *Lacedemonians* sent their Ambassadours to *Corinth* to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthrifitie games, returned back again (*infecta pace*) their peace vnconcluded, saying it should neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gamesters.

The same *Lacedemonians* sent to *Demetrius*, in derision of his diceplaying, a paire of ³ dice of gold. Sir *Thomas Eliot* (that worthy Knight) in his 'Book of gouernance' asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, dissolut, remife, and vaine, that is a Dice-player⁴ or gamester ?

Publius saith, *Quantò peritior est aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est, & vita, & moribus* : How much conning a man is in gaming and diceplaying, so much corrupter he is both in life and maners. Iustinian made a lawe that none should play at dice, nor cards, for no cause, neither priuately nor openly.

Alexander Seuerus banished all gamesters out of his dominions ; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiscat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor esteemed of anie.

⁶ *Ludouicus* ordeined that al gamesters shold depart⁷ his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

K. Richard the second forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

¹ published F.

* leaf 114, back. Lawes against Gamynge. B.

⁴ Dici-player A.

⁶ this side-note not in E, F.

† leaf 115. Punishment for Gamynge. B.

⁷ out of added in F.

Lawes and sanctions diuulgat against gaming.

[² leaf 114, back. B.*]

The infamy purchased by gaming.

[³ sign. P 1. A.]

⁵ Laws against gaming.

[⁶ leaf 115. B.†]

K. Henrie the fourth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned fix daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming. Punishment for gaming.

K. Edward the fourth ordeined, who fo kept gaming howfes should fuffer imprifonment three yeeres, and forfait xx. li.¹ & the Players to be imprifoned two yeers & forfait .x. pound.

K. Henri the feuenth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned all a day, and the ²Keeper of the dicing howfe to forfait for euery offence vi. fhil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behauiour. The penalty for those that keep gaming howfes. [2 P 1, back. A.]

K. Henrie the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing houfes should forfait xl. fhil., and the Players to forfait vi. fhil. viij.d., with many³ good lawes and fancies⁴ fet fourth againft this raging Abuse of gaming; which, ⁵to auoid tediousnes⁵ I omit, befecching *the Lord* to root vp and fupplant thefe, and all other stumbling blocks in his church ⁶what fo euer.⁶

Sp. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abufes before, you faid, *the fabaoth day* was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, ⁷hawk- ing, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon *the* faid day. Is it not lawful, *than*, to follow thefe exercifes vpon the fabaoth day neither? [7 leaf 115, back. B. 1]

Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vfed vnlawfully⁸ in AILGNA.

Philoponus.

THEse Hethnicall⁹ exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which *the Lord* ¹⁰hath confecrat¹⁰ to ¹¹holy vfes,¹¹ for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any refpect tollerable, or to be fuffered. For is not¹² the baiting of a Bear, besides that it is a filthie, flinking, ¹³and lothfome game, a¹⁴ daungerous & ¹⁵perilous exercyfe? [13 sign. P 2. A.] wherein a man is in daunger of his life euery minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not fo, yet what exercyfe is this meet

¹ pound B, E, F.

³ other added in F.

⁴ statutes F.

^{5—5} least I might seeme tedious F.

^{6—6} & common wealth F.

† leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B. ⁸ vpon the Sabboth day added in F.

⁹ Heathnish F.

^{10—10} would haue consecrated B, E, F.

^{11—11} his seruice F.

¹² is not *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁴ is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and *not in* F.

¹⁵ and a B, E.

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beaft to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they ¹be bloody¹ beafts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirft after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to set foorth the glorie² & magnificence of ³the great³ God, & for our vse; & therefore for his sake⁴ ⁵not to be abused.⁵ It is a [com]mon saying amongft all men, borrowed from the french, *Qui aime Iean, aime son chien*; ⁶ loue me, loue my dog: so, loue God, loue his creatures.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think *that* the abuse therof⁷ resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse *the* creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think *that* the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

⁸And some, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre affotted that they will not sticke to keep a dosen or a score of great mastiues ⁹and bandogs,⁹ to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.¹⁰ pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (say they¹¹), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the¹² Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsooth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting¹³ these Gentlemen of such reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by such vnfaourie exercyses, his Heauenly Maieftie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his ¹⁴heauie

No Creature
to be abused.

[⁴ leaf 116. B.*]

God is abused
when his
Creatures are
misused.

Keeping of
mastiues and
bandogs.

[⁸ P 2, back. A.]

[¹⁴ leaf 116, back.
B.t]

¹—¹ bloody be F.

² power added in B, E, F.

³—³ our B, E, F.

* leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.

⁵—⁵ we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.

⁶ that is added in F.

⁷ done to his dog F.

⁹—⁹ not in B, E, F.

¹⁰ yea, an hundred B, E, F.

¹¹ say they not in B, E, F.

¹² the not in F.

¹³ fitting F.

† leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [= Parys] garden. B.

wrath, his fearfull iudgements,¹ and dreadfull vengeance vpon the Beholders of these vanities.²

A Fearfull Example of God his Iudgement vpon the prophaners of ³his Sabaoth.³

[Accident at the Bear-House in Paris Garden, Southwark, on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1583.]

Vpon the 13. day of Ianuarie last,⁴ being the Sabaoth day, *Anno* 1583, the⁵ People, Men, Wemen, and Children, ⁶both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking⁶ to ⁷those infamous places, where these wicked exercyses are vsuallie practised, (for they haue their courts, gardens, & yards for *the* same purpose)⁸ when they were⁸ all come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries, and in midst of al their iolytie & pastime, all the whole building (not one stick standing) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation⁹), wherof seuen were killed dead, ¹⁰some were¹⁰ wounded, some lamed, and other some brused and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to squasht,¹¹ some their legges broken, some their arms, some their backs, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should haue hard a woful crie, euen pearcing the skyes, parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wyues ¹³their Husbands, and Husbands their wyues, marueilous to behold ¹⁴! This wofull spectacle and heauie iudgement, pitifull to heare of, but most ruefull to behold, did¹⁵ *the* Lord fend¹⁶ down from Heauen, to shew vnto the whole World how greeuously he is offended with those that spend his Sabaoth in such wicked exercyses; In *the* meane tyme, leauing his temple desolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to shun the same for feare of ¹⁷like or worfer¹⁸ Iudgement to come!

[7 sign. P 3. A.]

A wofull crie. ¹²

[¹³ leaf 117 B.f.]

[¹⁷ P 3, back. A.]

* Paris—(F. J. F.) ¹ iudgment B, E, F. ² as hereafter followeth B, E, F. ^{3—3} the Sabbaoth daie B, E, F. ⁴ last *not in* F.

⁵ there resorted an infinite number of *for* the E, F.

^{6—6} of each sort E, F.

^{8—8} and beyng B, E, F.

⁹ by estimation *not in* B, E, F. ^{10—10} were some F. ¹¹ quasht B, E, F.

¹² *this side-note not in* F. † leaf 117. A wofull spectacle at the Theaters.

¹⁴ haue heard F.

¹⁵ did *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁶ sent B, E, F.

¹⁸ sharper B, E, F.

*A fearfull Iudgement of God, shewed at
the Theaters.*

THE like Iudgement (almost¹) did the Lord shew vnto them a litle befor, being affembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies² practised: For he caused *the* earth mightly to shak and quauer, as though all would haue fallen down; wherat the People, fore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of *the* turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood) to the ground; wherof³ some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another,⁴ & many fore cruft and brused; but not any but they went away fore⁵ affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither *the* one nor *the* other fray them from these diuelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his⁶ wrath; *which God forbid!* The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maiefrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be honored and their consciences disburthened^{7,8}.

Befids these exercyses, thei flock, thick & three fold, to *the* cockfeights, an exercyse nothing inferiour⁹ to *the* rest, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cose¹⁰nage, scoulding, railing, conuitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of¹¹ one another of their goods, & *that* not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blaunch & fet out these mischiefs *withall* (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & fet howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to *the*¹² purpose, flags & enignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim *the* same, to th' end *that* many may come to the dedication¹³ of this solemne feast of mischief: ¹⁴the

¹ in effect F. ² fooleries there F. ³ whereby F.

⁴ another where F. ⁵ sore B, E, F; store A.

† leaf 117, back. Cockfighting in Ailgna. B. ⁷ discharged F.

⁸ *A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F:—Cockfighting in Ailgna; F has:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabboth day in England.* ⁹ *not in F.*

¹¹ of *not in F.* ¹² that B, E, F. ¹³ celebration F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ *not in B, E, F; A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has:—Hawking and hunting vpon the Sabboth day in England.*

A wofull
spectacle.

[⁶ leaf 117, back.
B.†]

Cockfeight-
ing vpon the
Sabaoth.*
[* day added in
F.]
[¹⁰ sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed
times for
exercise of
dyuelries.

Lord supplant them!¹⁴ And as for hawking & hunting vpon the fabaoth day,¹ it is an exercyfe vpon *that* day no leffe vnlawful than the other; ²For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much leffe every day ³in his life,³ as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherefore⁴ let Gentlemen take heed; for, be iure, accounts must be giuen at the day of iudgement for⁵ euery minut of time, both how they haue spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be sure no more libertie is giuen them to mispend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is giuen to the poorest and meanest person *that* liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in *the* volume of *the* sacred scripture,⁶ that was a good man and a Hunter.

Hawking & hunting vpon the sabaoth.

[² leaf 118. B.*]

No more libertie giuen to one than * another for mispending of their goods.
[* then to F.]

Efau was a great hunter, but a reprobat; *If⁷maell* a great hunter, but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet ⁸a reprobat⁸ and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time⁹ of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue some in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a fort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one year, than they will impart¹⁰ to the poore members of Christ Iesus in vii. yeers, peradventure, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradiſe persisted in innocency, all beasts what so euer weare obedient to him, and came and prostrated¹¹ themselues be¹²fore him; But euer since his fall they haue fled from him, & disobeyd him, because of his sin; that seeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeyd¹³ him. For so long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him, but so soone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, & became enemies to him; as it were, seeking to reuenge *the*¹⁵ iniurie which man had don vnto¹⁶ GOD in disobeying his lawes. Wherefore the cause why all beasts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to¹⁷ vs, is our disobedience to

[⁷ P 4, back. A.]

No good hunters [in] scripture.

Cost bestowed in haukes and dogges.

[¹² leaf 118, back. B.f]

When all beasts weare obedient to man, & wherefore they rebell.

¹ day *not in* E, F.

* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntynge. B.

³⁻³ *not in* F.

⁴ And therefore F.

⁵ of F.

⁶ Scriptures F.

⁸⁻⁸ an abiect E, F.

⁹ times F.

¹⁰ giue F.

¹¹ humbled F.

† leaf 118, back. Why beastes rebell against man. B. ¹³ disobey F.

¹⁵ that E, F.

¹⁶ to F.

¹⁷ vnto F.

the LORD, which we are rather to forow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

[¹ sign. P 5. A.]
For pleasure sake only no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God.

¹If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seeke after their liues, it is lawfull to vse them, in the feare of God, *with* thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or² rather a³ pseudo-christian,³ that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and plefaunt delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth vp the corne of *the* poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise⁴ in preiudicing⁴ him, as hunters doo? wherefore God giue them grace to see to it, and to mend⁵ it⁶ betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leaue the⁷ euil and to doo good, leaft the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and consume vs from of⁸ the vpper face of the Earth.⁹

Hurt by hunting to poore Men.
[⁶ leaf 119. B.†]

Not lawfull to keep court[es] Leets, Markets and Fayres, vpp- on the Sabaoth day.

Spud. What say you to keeping of Markets, of¹⁰ Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vse the same vpon any¹¹ day?

Philo. No truely; for can you¹² serue God & the deuil together? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to¹ the deuil? can we serue two Maisters,¹³ and neither offend the one nor¹⁴ the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For faith he, '*Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall¹⁵ thy power, withall thy strength,*' and so forth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to giue ouer our selues so wholly and totally to the seruice of God al *the* daies of our life, but ef-

[¹³ P 5, back. A.]

² or not B, E, F.

^{3—3} cruel Tartarian F.

^{4—4} annoying F.

⁵ amend F.

† leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

⁷ the *not* in B, E, F.

⁸ of *not* in B, E, F.

⁹ *A new chapter-heading follows this in* B, E, F:—Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth daie in Ailgna [England F.].

¹⁰ of *not* in F.

¹¹ that E, F.

¹² we F.

¹⁴ nor displease E, F

¹⁵ withall A.

pecially vpon the Sabaoth day, being conf¹crate to that end, we may not intermedle with these prophane exercises vpon that day. For it is more then manifest *that* these faires, markets, courtes, and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs in the true² feruice of God, and an abuse of *the* Sabaoth, but also lead vs the path way to hel. For what cofonage is not there practised? what falshod, deceit, & fraude is not there exercised? what difsimulation in bargaining? what setting forth³ of fucate³ & deceivable wares, is not there frequented⁴? what lying, swering, forswering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & sometimes murther, either there or by *the* way thither, is not euery where vsed⁵? In courtes & leets, what enuie, malice, & hatred is noorished⁶? what expostulation, railing, scoulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? ⁷what opression of *the* poore, what faouoring the⁸ rich, what iniustice & indirect dealing? what bribing, deceiuing, what poling & pilling is there⁹ practised? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we must haue these goodly pageants played vpon *the* sabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in *the* week. And heerby¹⁰ *the* sabaoth is contaminat,¹⁰ Gods woord contemned, his commandements difanulled, his sacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, &, ¹¹*in summa*, his blood trod vnder feet, and all mischeef maintained. ¹²*The Lord cut of these, with all other sin, both from their soules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edified*¹²!

Spud. Is *the* playing at football, reding of mery bookes, & such like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

Ph. Any exercise which *withdraweth* vs from godlines, either vpon *the* sabaoth¹³ or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbidden.¹⁴ Now, who is so grossly blinde, *that* seeth not *that* these foresaid exercises not only *withdraw* vs from godlines & vertue, but also haile & allure vs to

[¹ leaf 119, back. B.*]

Abuse of the Sabaoth by Fayres, markets,*

[* maskets A.]

The euil in Fayres and Markets.

The euils in Courtes and Leets practised.

[⁷ sign. P 6. A.]

[¹¹ leaf 120. B.†]

Playing at Football

* leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

² true *not* in F.

^{3—3} counterfeit F.

⁴ vsed B, E, F.

⁵ committed B, E, F.

⁶ noorished A.

⁸ of the F.

⁹ the (*sic*) F.

^{10—10} it commeth to passe that the Sabboth is prophaned F.

† leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.

^{12—12} *not* in B, E, F. *A new chapter-heading follows*, Plaiyng at Footeball

* in Ailgna.* (*—* vpon the Sabboth and other dayes in England F.)

¹³ day *added* in F.

¹⁴ forbidden (*sic*) F.

Foot-ball a
friendly kind
of fight.

[¹ P 6, back. A.]

Hurt by foot-
ball playing.

[⁴ leaf 120, back.
B.†]

Foot-Ball
playing a mur-
dering Play.

[¹² sign. P 7. A.]

Reading of
wicked
bookes.

[¹⁴ leaf 121. B.†]

wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I proteſt vnto you it may rather be called a friendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murdering praſiſe, then a ſelowly ſporte or paſtime. ¹For dooth not euey one lye in waight for his Aduerſarie, ſeeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his noſe, though it be vppon hard ſtones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place ſoeuer it be, hee careth not, ſo he² haue him down. And he that can ſerue *the* moſt of this faſhion, he is counted the only ſelow, and who but he? ſo that by this meanes, ſomtimes their necks are broken, ³ſometimes their backs,³ ſometime their legs, ſometime their armes; ⁴ſometime one part thruſt out of ioynt, ſometime an other; ſometime⁵ the⁶ noſes gush out with blood, ſometime⁵ their eyes ſtart out⁷; and ſometimes hurt in one place, ſometimes in another. But whoſoeuer ſcapeth away the beſt, goeth not ſcotfree, but is either fore⁸ wounded, craiſed⁹,⁸ and bruſeed, ſo as he dyeth of it, or els ſcapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they haue the¹⁰ ſleights to meet one betwixt two, to daſhe him againſt the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the ſhort ribbes with their griped fiſts, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a¹¹ hundred ſuch murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, diſpleaſure, enmitie, and what not els: and ſometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murder, homicide, and great effuſion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

¹²Is this murdering play, now, an exerciſe for the Sabaoth day? is this a chriſtian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepenſed malice, or ſet purpoſe? is this to do to another as we would with another to doo to vs? *God make vs more careful ouer the bodyes of our Bretheren!*¹³

¹⁴And as for the¹⁵ reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vn-lawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but alſo vppon any other day; as

² he maie B, E, F.

³⁻³ not in F.

† leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B.

⁵ ſometimes F.

⁶ their B, E, F.

⁷ of their heads *added in F.*

⁸⁻⁸ cruſhed F.

⁹ craiſed *not in B, E.*

¹⁰ the *not in B, E, F.*

¹¹ an F.

¹³ *A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F.* Readyng of wicked bookes in Ailgna. [England. F.]

† leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

¹⁵ the *not in F.*

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian foules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vngodly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the foule, & corrupt *the* minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.¹

The euil
comming by
reading euil
Bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whofoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhoneft foeuer, or vnseemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plausibly² admitted and² freendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this issue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurrilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyest and sa³gest bookes that be: for⁴ if it be a godly treatise, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a flourish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the *Bible*, the⁵ blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed; That woorthie⁶ Booke of *Martyrs*,⁷ made by that famous Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister *Iohn Fox*, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be⁸ reuerenced; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophaze schedules, facraligious libels, and hethnicall pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may⁹ vendicate to them selues no final commendations⁹ at the hands of the deuil for inuventing the same) corrupt mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, suppress vertue & erect vice: which thing, how should it be otherwise? for are they not inuented & excogitat by *Belzebub*, written by *Lucifer*, licensed by *Pluto*, printed by *Cerberus*, & set a-broche to sale by the infernal furies themselues, to *the* poysoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt¹⁰ thorow these

[³ P 7, back. A.]

[⁷ leaf 121, back. B.*]

[The hurte that
wicked books
bryng E, F.]

[¹⁰ 'Q 1', A.
wrongly signd;
leaf P 8 is misst;
the catchword is
right.]

¹ present *not in F.*

²—² receiued F.

⁴ but B, E, F.

⁵ that B, E, F.

⁶ renowned F.

* leaf 121, back. Hethnicall bookes in Ailgna. B.

⁸ to be *not in F.*

⁹—⁹ challenge no small reward F.

wicked bookes, fhallbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might al thefe inormities and Abufes be reformed? For it is to fmall purpofe to fhew *the* abufes, except you fhewe withall how they might be reformed¹

[² leaf 122. B.*]

[The Lawes
againſt Evil
Doers are not
enforct.]

Philo. By putting in practife and executing ²thofe good lawes, ³wholfome fancies³, and Godly⁴ ftatutes, which haue beene heretofore, and daily are, fet foorth and eſtabliſhed, as God be thanked, they⁵ are manie. The want of the due execution wherof is *the* caufe of all thefe miſchiefs, which both rage and raigne amongft vs.

Spud. What is the caufe why theſe lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt⁶ of the inferiour Magiſtrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, diffranchiſed and diſpenſed withall; for, as the ſaying is, ⁷*quid non pecunia poteſt*: what is it but money will bring to paſſe⁷? And yet, notwithstanding, ſhall it be don inuiſibly in a clowde (vnder *benedicite* I ſpeake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the ſame are ⁸dalie executed⁸. This fault is the corruption of thoſe that are put in truſt to ſee them executed, as I haue ⁹tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes
are not executed
as they ought
to bee E, F.]

[⁹ P 8, back
(wrong Q 1, bk.)
A.]

Spud. This is a great ¹⁰corruption &¹⁰ Abufe, doubtles, and worthie of great puniſhment.

Ph. It is ſo truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publique weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money ſhould buy them out. For what is that els, but to ſell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droſſe, yea, mens ſouls for corruptible mo¹¹ney? Therefore, thoſe that ſell them are not onely Traitors to God, to their Prince and Countrey, but are alſo the Deuils Marchants, and ¹²ferrie the bodies and ſoules of Chriſtians, ¹³as

[¹¹ leaf 122, back.
B.†]

[They that buy

¹ amended B, E, F.

* leaf 122. How to reforme Abufes. B.

³⁻³ not in F.

⁴ Godly A; Godly B, E, F.

⁵ there B, E, F.

⁶ corruption F.

⁷⁻⁷ Pecunia omnia poteſt, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

⁸⁻⁸ duly excuted (*sic*) B, E, F.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B.

¹² to B, E, F.

¹³⁻¹³ as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in *Charons boate*^{1 13} to the *Stigian* flood of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for euer.

or sell lawes for money are traitors to God E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to GOD, their Prince, and Country also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, GOD be praised, al² the lawes in *Ailgna* be), why shuld they be suppressed³ for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulged,⁴ but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer seene the light.

And why were lawes intituted⁵, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull⁶ the same againe, vpon speciall⁷ causes & considerations, but no inferiour maiestrat or subiecte what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne⁸ soule, as the Word of GOD beareth witnessse.

[None maie stay the course of the lawes, but the Prince E, F.]
[7 sign. Q 2. A.]

And therefore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in *Ailgna*) vppon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before GOD, as euer was *Iudas* of the death⁹ of Christe Iesus.

[9 leaf 123. B.†]

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abomination amongst them, I am perswaded the¹⁰ daye of Iudgement is not farre of; For when iniquity shall haue filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all¹¹ appeare, as *Christ* witnesseth in his *Euangelie*.

[The day of Judgment is not far off.]

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,¹² strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Iudgements¹³ hath he sente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence¹⁴ & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the

[The wonderfull

¹ ouer the Sea of this world *addd in* B, E, F.

² the most of B, E, F.

³ bought out F.

⁴ published F.

⁵ constitute B, E, F.

⁶ annul F.

⁸ *not in* F. † leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B.

¹⁰ that the E, F.

¹¹ all things E, F.

¹² *not in* F.

¹³ tokens F.

¹⁴ impenitencie E, F.

signes and tokens ; which the Lord hath sent to warne vs of the daie of iudgement E, F.]
[¹ Q 2, back. A.]

same Earth to remooue from place to place? the seas and waters to roare, swell, & brust out, and ouerflow their bankes ¹to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to send foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull coniunctiōns of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres haue not been ² heard of? haue not the clowdes distilled downe abundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al things vppon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets, blasfing starres, fire ³Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her operation in sending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglesome monsters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it seemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet ⁴we are ⁴ nothing at all amended: (alas) what ⁵ shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal iudge vs righteously? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this life vnspcakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they shall be punished in fire and brimstone amongest the terrible Company of vgglesome ⁶Deuills, world without end, how light so euer they make account of it in this World.

[³ leaf 123, back. B.*]

[All God's Creatures are wroth with us, but we don't mend.]

[⁶ sign. Q 3. A.]

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at ⁷ it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not ⁸ otherwyte. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruants; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobat, prepared for the Deuil & his Angels, or els the word of God is in ¹⁰no wyfe to be credited; which blasphemie once to think ¹¹, God keep all his Children from!

[⁹ Materiall hell after this life E, F.]

[¹⁰ leaf 124. B.†]

² scene or *added in* F. * leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B.

⁴—⁴ are we F.

⁵ that A, B, E; what F.

⁷ of F.

⁸ and not F.

⁹ A materiall F.

† leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B.

¹¹ think of F.

Spud. But they will easly auoid this; for they say it is writ¹, at what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I wil put all his sin² out of my remembrance, faith *the* Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the laft, they will with no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worfe³ than *Tartarians*³, and more to be auoided than *the* poison of a ferpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body & foul for euer. Wherefore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and⁴ auoid them; For it is truely said *cum bonis bonus eris, et cum peruerfis peruerferis*⁵: with the good thou shalt⁶ learne good, but with the wicked thou shalt⁶ be peruerted.

[Men who put off repentance till their deaths are but Devils.]

[⁴ Q 3, back. A.]

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating⁷, and detesting of sinne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he seeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therefore this can be no true repentance; For there is⁸ two maner of re⁹pentances, *the* one a true repentance to life, the other a false repentance to death. As we maye see by *Iudas*, who is said to haue repented, and, which is more, to haue confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to haue made restitution, and yet was it a false repentance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

[No true repentance which is deferred to the last gaspe E, F.]

[⁹ leaf 124, back. B. f.]

[Two maners¹⁰ of repentance, a false repentance, and a true repentance E, F.]

Peter repented and weept bitterly, and was faued therby, though he neither made confession nor satisfaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a¹¹ true repentance, springing of faith, it can ferue them no more to life, than the pretended repentance of *Iudas* did ferue him to saluation.

[¹¹ sign. Q 4. A.]

¹ written F.

² wickednes E, F.

³⁻³ then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoever F.

⁵ peruerteris B, F.

⁶ shalt F.

⁷ not in F.

⁸ are E, F.

+ leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B.

¹⁰ maner of repentances F.

190 Repentance not to be deferred. The Anatomie

Let them beware, for *Cain* repented, yet is he condemned. *Eſau* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Antiochus* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Iudas* did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why ſo? Becauſe their prolonged repentaunce ſprange not of faith, &c.¹

Thus they may ſee, that euery light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynough to ſay at the laſt, I repent, I repent; For vnles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare ſo that man had *liberum arbitrium*, free wil² of himſelf to repent truly when he wold, and that God³ promiſed in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the giſte of God, *de ſurſum veniens a patre luminum*, com⁴ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaſeth⁵ him; & of him are we to craue it inceſſantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwiſe to preſume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we haue nothing leſſe than a true repentance.

[Every light affection is no true repentance E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 125. B.†]

[⁶ Q 4, back. A.]

[Of true and feigned repentance.]

⁶ *Spud.* Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and forrow of the⁷ heart, conceiued for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the ſame) [f]erueth to ſaluation thorow the mercie of God in Chriſt, ſo fained repentance ſaueth not from perdition. And, therefore, we muſt repent dayly and howrely, and not to⁸ deferre our repentaunce to the laſt gaſpe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the laſt caſt⁹ (as they ſay) will hazard his body and ſoule to eternall damnation for euer? Whereas, by daily repentaunce, he maye aſſure him ſelſe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlaſting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the moſt precious blood of his deare Sonne, Ieſus Chriſt, our alone Sauour and Redemer, to whome be praiſe for euer!

¹ & of an inward hatred vnto ſin, &c. F.

² and power *added in F.*

³ God had F.

† leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

⁶ ſhall pleaſe B, E, F.

⁷ the *not in F.*

⁸ did not *for* not to F.

⁹ gasp F.

Spud. Now muft I needs fay, as the Wyfe King *Salomon* faid, all things are vaine and ¹tranfitorie, and ² nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: the workes of men are vnperfect and lead to deftruction, their exercyfes are vaine and wicked altogether.

All things are vaine and vanie it-selfe. [† leaf 125, back. B.†]

Wherefore I, fetting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth consecrate ³ my felfe to the feruice of my God, and to follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

[³ sign. R 1. A.]

And I moft hartelie thanke the Lord⁴ God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promifing, by the affiftance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my poffible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God giue you grace fo to do, and every Chriften man els, and to auoid all the vanities and deceiuable pleafures of this life; for certainly they tread⁵ the path to eternal deftruction, both of body and foule for euer, to as many as obey them.

The ioyes of this life tread the path to death.

For it is vnpoſſible to wallowe in the delights and pleafures of this World, and to lyue in ioy for euer in *the* Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, hauing ſpent the daye, and alfo *conſummate*⁶ our iorney, we muft now depart, befeaching God that we may both meete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigⁿ and lyue with him for euer, through Ieſus Chriſte our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour & glorie
for euer more.
Amen.

*FINIS.*⁷

† leaf 125, back. A Christian proteftation. B.

² and that F.

⁴ Lord my E, F.

⁵ leade E, F.

⁶ ended our F.

⁷ F then concludes with this line:—God haue the praise, both now and alwaies.
Amen.



[sign. R 1
back. A.]

¹ ¶ Faults escaped in printing.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xi	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	<i>initimur</i>	<i>nitimur</i>
In D	xiiiij [p. 50]	9 [l. 1]	<i>tanke meriades</i>	<i>tankeque meryades</i> ²
In D	xv	16	supplied	applied [p. 52, l. 11]
In F	i	19	Read thus :	
	[See p. 65, 4th paragraph]		<i>Spud.</i> I pray you shew me the opinions of the Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.	
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [l. 8]	Antiquities	Antiques ²
In F	xvj	5	peftering	peftering
In I	iiij [p. 105]	26 [l. 9]	refug meat	refufe meate
In I	iiij [,,]	27 [,,]	patrings	parings
In I	viiij [p. 108]	16 [l. 23]	<i>appetitum</i>	<i>appetitui</i>



[sign. R 2. A.]

Perused, authorized, &
allowed, according to the order
appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniu-
ctions.



At London
Printed by Richarde
Iones: dwellinge at the Signe of the
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto
Holborne Bridge.
1583³.



[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll:—*Qvel
che. mi. molestava. accendo. et. ardo. This plate is not in B, E.*]

¹ this page '192' not in F.

² The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.

³ 1585 E, 1595 F.

EXTRACTS
FROM
PHILLIP STUBBES'S
Life of his Wife.

1591.

A Christal Glasse for Christian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

*An excellent Discourse, of the godly life
and Christian death of Mistrresse Katherine Stubbes
who departed this life in Burton vppon
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day
of December. 1590.*

With a most heauenly confession of the Christian
Faith, which she made a little before her departure:
together, with a most wonderfull combate be-
twixt Satan and her foule: worthie to
be imprinted in the tables of eue-
ry Christian heart.

Set downe worde for worde as she spake it, as neere
as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen so saith the
Spirite, for they rest from their labours, and their workes
follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the
**Rose and Crowne neere Holborne
Bridge. 1591.**

A Chrifall Glas, for Chri-
 ftian women : wherein they may fee a wonderfull
 and true example of a right vertuous life and
Chriftian death: as by the difcourfe following, to

their further inſtruction and comfort,
 it may appeare.

[leaf A 2]

[Sidenotes by
 F. F. F.]



Alling to remembrance (moſt Chriſtian Reader) the
 finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God,
 and to edifie one another in the way of true godli-
 neſſe, I thought it my duetie as well in reſpect of the
 one, as in regarde of the other, to publiſh this rare
 and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Chriſtian
 death, of miſtreſſe *Katherine Stubbes*, who whileſt ſhe liued, was a
 myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true
 Chriſtianitie. She was of honeſt and wealthie parentage, and her
 father had borne office of worſhip in his companie : he was zealous
 in the truth, and of a ſound Religion. Her mother was a Dutch
 woman, both diſcreete and wiſe, of ſingular good grace and modeſtie :
 and, which did moſt of all adorne her, ſhe was both religious, and
 verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London
 certain yeares, it pleaſed God to bleſſe them with children, of whom
 this *Katherine* was yongeſt faue one. But as ſhe was yongeſt faue one
 by courſe of nature : ſo was ſhe not inferiour to any of the reſt, or
 rather farre excelled them all without compariſon by manie degrees,
 in the induments and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age
 (her father being dead) her mother beſtowed her in marriage to one
 maiſter *Stubbes*, with whom ſhe liued four yeares, and almoſt an
 halfe, verie honeſtly and godly, with rare commendations of all that
 knewe her, as well for her ſingular wiſedome, as alſo for her modeſtie,
 courteſie, gentleneſſe, affabilitie and good government. And aboue

I publiſh my
 wife's Life, to
 glorify God and
 edify men.

Her Father, a
 citizen.
 Her Mother,
 Dutch.

My wife, their
 yongeſt child
 but one.

At 15 ſhe married
 me, and livd with
 me 4 years.

She was zealous
for the truth, and
opposd Papists
and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

She was seldom
without a Bible
or good book in
hand.

She was always
asking me to
explain texts.

She sufferd no
disorder in her
house.

She never
scolded or
brawld;

or gossipt.

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she seemed to surpasse manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenance or credite soeuer they seemed to be, she would not yeeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would most mightily iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntruthes, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuersant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would spend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: asking him: "what is the sence of this place, and what is the sence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What obserue you of this place, and what obserue you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that *Dauid* was, when hee saide: 'The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauour Christ, who biddeth vs to search the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. Shee obeyed the commaundement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be silent, and to learne of their husbands at home. Shee would suffer no disorder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed. And so gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that shee was neuer heard to giue any the lie, nor so much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knowen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the least childe that liued: much lesse to scolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And so solitarie was shee giuen, that shee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and disdain of others.

When her husbande was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that could get her

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what soever: neither was she given to pamper her body with delicate meats, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as she excelled in the gift of sobrietie, so she surpassed in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerse yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwise. She coule neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of scurrilitie, neither swearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reprove them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for such deserts. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to sweare or blaspheme God any maner of way: but alwayes her speech were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh. And for her conuersation, there was neuer any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so continently she liued, and so circumspectly she walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so farre from perfwading her husbände to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that shee woulde perfwade him to bee more beneficiall to them. If she sawe her husband merrie, then shee was merrie; if hee were sadde, she was sadde; if he were heauie, or passionate, shee would endeouour to make him glad; if he were angrie, she would quickly please him, so wisely shee demeaned her selfe towards him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wise counsaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and submission, seeke to perfwade him. And so little given was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours maruayled why shee was no more carefull of it, and would aske her sometimes, saying: "Mistresse *Stubbes*, why are you no more carefull for the things of this life, but sit alwayes poring vpon a booke, and studying?" To whome she woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemy to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. *Iohn* biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

She'd not go to parties alone.

[leaf A 3]

She abhorred pride and foul talk;

liued continently, and shund all show of euil.

She was generous: sympathizd with her husband, and never crosst him.

She cared not for this world, but for God.

[leaf A 3, back]

not in me. Againe, Chrift biddeth mee, firft feeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteoufneffe thereof, and then all thefe worldly things fhall be giuen to me. 'Godlineffe is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.' I haue chofen with good *Martha* the better part, which fhall neuer be taken from me. Gods treafure (fhee would fay) is neuer drawne drie. I haue inough in this life, God make me thankful, and I know I haue but a fhort time to liue here, and it standeth me vpon to haue regard to my faluation in the life to come." Thus this godly yong woman helde on her courfe three or foure yeares after fhee was married: at which time it pleased God, that fhe conceived with a man childe: after which conception fhe would fay to her hufband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that fhe fhould neuer beare more children, that that childe woulde bee her death, and that fhee fhoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, fo it came to paffe.

She felt she
should not live
long,

but should die
in child-birth.

The time of her account being come, fhee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much fpeeде, and as fafely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, fhe grewe fo ftrong, and luftie, that fhe was able within foure or fiue dayes to fit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the houle, being throughly well, and paff all daungers, as euerie one thought. But prefently vpon this fo fudden recouerie, it pleased God to vifite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which ficknes fhe languifhed for the fpace of fix weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, fhee was neuer feene, nor perceiued to fleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderftanding, fence, and memorie, to the laft breath; prayfed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her sickeneffe, which was both long and grievous, fhe neuer fhewed any figne of difcontentment, or of impacience: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, founding either of defperation, or infidelitie: of miftruff, or diftruff, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and refolute in her God. And fo defirous was fhe to be with the Lorde, that thefe golden fentences were neuer

Her boy was
born,

and she did very
well,

till a burning
ague seized her.

She never slept
an hour together
for 6 weeks;

but in all her
suffering, no
impatient word
escaped her.

forth of her mouth, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4]

And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliver me from this bodie subiect to sinne? Come quickly, Lord Iesus, come quickly! Like as the heart desireth the water springs, so dooth my soule thirst after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of my God, then to dwell in the tentes of the wicked:" with manie other heauenly sentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her sicknesse absolutely, that God would take her out of this miserable worlde: and when her husband and others would desire her to pray for health, if it were the will of God: Shee would answer, "I pray you, pray not that I should liue, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life, and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death, and therefore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God, that the sentence of my death is giuen already, by the great Iudge, in the Court or Parliament of heauen, that I shall nowe depart out of this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might liue here, but pray to God to giue me strength, and patience, to perseuere to the ende, and to close vp mine eyes in a iustifying faith in the blood of my Christ." Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together, "Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for thy Christ his sake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send thy fergeant to arrest me, send thy purseuant to apprehend me, thy herauld to summon me: oh send my Iailour to deliver my soule out of prison, for my bodie is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to my soule. Oh sende thy holie Angels to conduct my soule into the euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as it were in a slumber, her eies closed, & her lips vttering these words very softly to her selfe: "Oh my sweete Iesus, oh my loue Iesus: why not nowe, sweete Iesus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh sweete Iesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Iesus!" repeating them many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly speeches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worser worde was there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

She desired to be set free, and to be with Christ.

She knew death was the door to everlasting life.

She prayd God to send and fetch her.

She calld on Iesus.

[leaf A 4, back]

She often smil'd
sweetly,

seeing visions
and heavenly
sights.

She took leave
of her boy, and

bequeatht him
to me as the
Lord's.

She repented of
having been too
fond of her little
dog.

[leaf B]

sicknesse. She was accustomed many times as she lay, verie suddenly to fall into a sweete smiling, and sometimes into a most heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenance seemed as though she greatly reioyced at some glorious fight. And when her husband would aske her why she smiled and laughed so, she woulde say, "if you sawe such glorious visions and heauenly fights as I see, you would reioyce and laugh with me: for I see a vision of the ioyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I shall go to; and I see infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen." In regard whereof, she was willing to forsake herselfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world besides. And so calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, she tooke it in her armes, and kissing it, said: "God bleffe thee, my sweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:" and kissing it againe, deliuered it to the Nurse, with these words to her husband standing by: "Beloued husband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forsake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne selfe, and esteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iesus Christ. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, see that he be brought vp in the exercise of true Religion."

The childe being taken away, she spyeed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time she loued well,) lying vpon her bed: she had no sooner spied her, but she beate her away, and calling her husband to her, said: "Good husband, you and I haue offended God grieuoufly in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities!" And afterward coulde shee neuer abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Hauing thus godly disposed of all things, she fell into an extasie, or into a trauce or fownde, for the space almost of a quarter of an houre, so as euery one thought she had beene dead. But afterward she, comming to her selfe, spake to them that were present, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) saying: "Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you haue taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beseech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heauen. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glasse is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perwaded, for three causes, to make a confession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly resolu'd in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the spirite of God hath taught me out of his blessed and alsauiing worde. The second cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde iudge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iesus Christ, and so by your rash iudgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and last cause, is for that, as you haue bene witnesses of part of my life, so you might bee witnesses of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not haue you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vnesse they be reprobates: for *Paul* sayeth, *Rom. 8*, 'If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.' This blessed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you giue me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am sealed to the day of redemption."

She wisht to make confession of her faith,
1. to confirm others;

2. to testify that she died a Christian;

3. that her friends might be witnesses of her belief.

*A most heauenly confession of the Christian faith,
made by this blessed seruant of God Mistresse
Stubbes a little before she died.*

My Wife's
Confession of
Faith.



Although the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnspeakeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor expresse'd in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleue, as farre as he hath reuealed himselfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God shall illuminat my heart. I beleue therefore with my heart, and freely confesse with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleue, is a most glorious spirite, or spirituall substance, a diuine essence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

effencial being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maieftie, inuifible, inacceffible, incomprehenfible, and altogether vnſpeakable. I beleuee and confeffe, that this glorious Godhead, this bleſſed ſubſtaunce, eſſence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Perſons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ſpिरite, diſtinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the ſame in nature, in eſſence, ſubſtance, deitie, maieſtie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie.

I believe in God in 3 Persons,

&c., &c., &c.

[.]

“When God had caſt *Adam* into a deade ſleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his ſide, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her ſtreight way, and called her by her name. Coulede *Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead ſleepe, whileſt ſhe was in making? And ſhall not we being reſtored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was *Adam* in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee leſſe in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and ſee as it were but in a Glaffe, and ſhall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignoraunce ſhall bee done away?

I believe that we shall know each other in heaven.

Dives in hell knew Abraham and Lazarus in heaven.

“In the 16. of *Luke*, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe *Abraham* and *Lazarus* in heauen. Then I reaſon thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do knowe thoſe that be in heauen ſo farre aboue them: how much more ſhall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade alſo in the 17. of *Matth.* howe our Sauour Chriſt, meaning to ſhewe vnto his diſciples, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, as it were a ſhadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is ſayde to bee tranſfigured before them, and his face did ſhine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them *Moyſes* and *Elias*, ſayeth the text.

Much more shall we know one another in the life to come.

“Then it followeth, that if the Diſciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in ſhadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe *Moyſes* and *Elias*, the one whereof dyed almoſte two thouſande yeares before, the other not much leſſe, howe much more ſhall wee knowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my fait¹, this is my hope, & this is my trust; this hath [leaf C 2, back] the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that hast begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I beseech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and sauour." And she had no sooner made an end of this most heauenly confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iesus, on whom she constantly beleued. And wheras before she looked with a sweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the sudder, she bent the browes, she frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vgglesome, and displeasent thing, she brust foorth into these speeches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were scornefully and disdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

When she had ended, Satan was ready to attack her

She scowld at him, and scorned him.

A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule, and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ.

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords seruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chofen and elected in Christ to

Hell-hound,

euerlasting saluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maist get the[e] packing, thou damned dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. But what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a sinner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a sinner, and a grieuous sinner, both by originall sinne, and actual sinne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therefore, Satan, I bequeath my sinne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to saue sinners (as he saith himselfe) and not the righteous: 'behold the

be off!
Damned dog,
be gone!

Tho' I am a sinner,

[leaf C 3]

yet Christ's
blood has
cleansd me.

All my sins are
pardond for his
name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid
my debt to God
for me.

Firebrand of
Hell, avoid!

[leaf C 3, back]

Pack! Or I will
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (faith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out: 'the blood of Iefus Christ doth cleanse vs from al finne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleeeue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iefus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Chrifts righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and satisfaction for all my finnes. But what sayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable finner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being assured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names sake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heaue laden with the burden of finne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Chriftes armes were spred wide open (Satan) vpon the Croffe (with that she spred her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent finners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footfoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Doeft thou say, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deserts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Chrifts righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his works my works, his deserts my deserts, & his precious blood a full satisfaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a iust God, thou saiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my finnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iefus hath paid the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therefore, thou dastard, auoid, thou cowardly souldier, remooue thy siege, and yelde the field wonne, & get thee packing, or else I wil cal vpon my grand-captaine Christ Iefus, that valiant *Michael*, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had scarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a sweet smiling laughter, saying, "Now is he gone, now is he gone! do you not see him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath lost the felde, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iesus Christ, who hath sent his holy Angels to keepe me." And speaking to them that were by, she said, "would God you saw but what I see! Do you not see infinite millions of most glorious Angels stand about me, with fire charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet *Elizeus*. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall see him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I haue fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miserie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduerfitie, whatfoeuer. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Christ shall giue to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to herselfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iesus, come, my loue Iesus, oh fende thy pursuant (sweet Iesus) to fetch me! Oh (sweet Iesus) strengthen thy seruant, & keepe thy promise!" Then sang she diuers Psalmes most sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, she desired her husband that the 103. Psalm might be sung before her to the Church. And further, she desired him that hee would not mourne for her, alledging the Apostle *Paul*, where he saith: 'Brethren, I woulde not haue you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to be reioyced for: for that she should passe (she saide) from earth to heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himselfe. After which wordes, very suddenly, she seemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-

Then she laught, for Satan ran off like a beaten cock.

She saw millions of Angels about her.

By Christ's might she had won the victory.

She called on Iesus to fetch her.

She sang Psalmes sweetly.

She bade me not mourne for her.

[leaf C 4]

She lookt cheerfully,

208 A Christall Glasse for Christian women.

fully, as though she had feene some glorious fight : and lifting vp her whole body, and stretching foorth both her armes, as though shee would imbrace something, said : " I thanke my God, through Iesus Christ, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my soule out of prison ! Oh sweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, sweet death ! neuer was there any guest so welcome to mee as thou art ! Welcome, the messenger of euerlasting life : welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlasting life : welcome (I say), and thrife welcome, my good Iayler ! do thy office quickly, and set my soule at libertie. Strike (sweet death), strike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit ! Sweete Iesus, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit ! Blessed spirit of God, I commit my soule into thy handes ! Oh most holy, blessed, and glorious Trinitie, three persons and one true euerlasting God, into thy blessed handes I commit both my soule and my bodie : " at which wordes her breath staied ; and so, neither mouing hand nor foot, she slept sweetly in the Lord.

and welcomd
death ;

commended her
spirit to her
God,

and then slept
sweetly in the
Lord.

She was but 18
when she died.
May we all
follow her
example !

Thus hast thou heard (gentle Reader) the discourse of the vertuous life and christian death of this faithfull seruauent of God, Mistresse *Katherine Stubbes* : which is so much the more wonderfull, in that she was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when she departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to those vnspeakeable ioyes wherin she now resteth, through Iesus Christ our Lorde ; to whome with the Father, and the holy Ghost, be all honour, glorie, praise, dominion, and thanksgiuing, both nowe and euermore. Amen.

F I N I S. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM

THE 1610 EDITION OF

PHILIP STUBBES'S

PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,

WITH

A SHORT TREATISE

OF

PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,

WRITTEN IN 1592.

[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are bordered.]

Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*,

ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>¶ 1. Blank. ¶ 2. Title.
 ¶ 3. The Epistle Dedicatorie.
 ¶ 8. † The Preface.
 A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meate.
 A 3. Thankesgiuing after meate.
 A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate.
 A 4, bk. An other praier after meate.
 A 5. A praier before meate.
 A 6. A thankesgiuing after meate.
 A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the foure Tearmes of the yeare. (A 8, back, blank.)
 B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.
 B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.
 B 5. Meditations in the morning.
 B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.
 C 1. A praier for the morning.
 C 4. Precepts at thy going forth of thy Chamber.
 C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.
 C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and hands.
 C 6. Meditations before and at dinner.
 C 7. A praier before meate.
 C 8. Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the table.
 D 1. † A Thanks-giuing to God after dinner.
 D 2. Meditations after dinner.
 D 3, bk. Directions how to behaue thy selfe before and after Supper.
 D 4, bk. A thanks giuidg [so] to God before Supper.
 D 6, bk. A thankesgiuing to God after Supper.
 D 7. Directions of Christian behaiour after Supper.
 D 8. † Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.
 E 2, bk. † A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one.</p> | <p>E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.
 E 6, bk. † Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.
 E 7. † A Praier to be said at the breake of the day.
 E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day.
 F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.
 F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.
 F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.
 F 3. † Christian directions for the Morning.
 F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / <i>Treatise, of praiers</i> / and <i>Supplications</i>; / COMPRISING / <i>a briefe summe of all such</i> / things as we stand / <i>in need of in this</i> / life. / <i>By the same Author.</i> / P. S. Gent. / (F 5, back, blank.)
 F 6. † A Praier for the Morning.
 F 7. † A Prayer for the Euening.
 F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times.
 G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauour, with desire of forgiuenes.
 G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.
 G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes¹ Maiestie.
 G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealth.
 H 2. A praier for the increase of faith.
 H 3, bk. A praier against the deull, the world and the flesh.
 H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.
 H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing.
 H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.</p> |
|--|--|

¹ Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters *her* to *his*, and [our souereigne] '*Ladie and gouernesse*' to '*Lord and gouerner.*'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]



A perfect Pathway

to Felicitie,

Containing godlie

Meditations, and Prayers,
fit for all times, and
necessarie to be practi-
ced of all good
Christians.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by *Hunfrey*
Lownes, dwelling on
Bread Street hill, at
the signe of the
Star. 1610.

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*, 1592, 1610.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I 1. A praier to be said of women with childe. | |
| I 3. A praier for godly wisdom. | |
| I 4, bk. A praier against all kind of enemies. | M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death. |
| I 6. A praier when one taketh a journey in hand. | M 5. A praier for one that is sicke, and at the poynt of death. |
| I 7, bk. A thanksgiuing to God after ones returne home from his journey. | M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie. |
| K 1. A praier for euerie subiect of a common wealth. | N 1, bk. A praier for those that be poore and needie. |
| K 2, bk. A praier to be said of those that be vnmarrid. | N 3. A praier for the increase and preseruation of the fruits of the earth. |
| K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are married. | N 4, bk. A praier against couetousnes and auarice. |
| K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of housholds. | N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word. |
| K 7. A praier to be said of seruants. | N 8. A praier against swearing. |
| K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace and fauour of God. | O 1, bk. A praier against drunkennesse. |
| L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience. | O 3. A praier against slouthfulnesse and idlenesse. |
| L 3, bk. A praier for a true and liuely faith. | O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth. |
| L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie. | O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisdom. |
| L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie. | O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mindfull to die. |
| L 7. A praier for a good name. | P 1, bk. † A Thanks-giuing to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed vpon vs. |
| L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sickness. | |
| M 2. A praier for the assistance of | |

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlasting GOD bee all / honour, glorie,
praye do^lminion power, and
thanks/giuing for euermore.
Amen.

*Vni Deo & trino sit,
omnis gloria*

FINIS.

[Ornament.]

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Prayse and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be used by the sicke (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). *Finis.* (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

² sign. P 5, back.

1610.

and euerlasting GOD, be
all honour, glorie, praise,
might power maiestie and
¹ dominion, now and for euer.
Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

○ Singular Iouer of vs,
Christ Iesu, O Bride-
groom to whom thy Church
is most deare, and which hast
promised that thou wilt ne-
uer faile her: increase her; . . .

¹To the right worshipfull,
vertuous, and godlie Gentle-
 woman, Mistresse *Katherine*
Milward, most faithful spouse
 to the no lesse worshipfull, wife and
 religious Gentleman, Master *Willi-*
am Milward. Esquire, *P. S.* wilheth
 all happie successe in this life, with in-
 crease of worship, and in the life
 to come, eternal felicity in the
 Heauenly Hierachie by
 Iesus Christ.



Wo things peradventure (Right Worshipfull)
may be maruailed at, concerning this little
book: ²as namely, first, why I haue pub-
lished it, confidering the great number of
Books, either of the same, or verie like
Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,
wherfore I haue dedicated it rather vnto³
you then to anie other. For the first, I
protest before God, who knoweth the secrets
of all hearts, I haue not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or
⁴gaines, nor yet for any other priuate respect of my owne whatsoeuer;
but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good
friends, and alliance also, who yet being liuing, & the onely man that
hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I
know will (if need should require) iustifie the same against any that
shold ⁵auerre the contrarie. And for the second, when I considered
with my selfe how much bound I haue alwaies beene to your worship

¹ sign. ¶ 3.

² sign. ¶ 3, back.

³ vnso orig.

⁴ sign. ¶ 4.

⁵ sign. ¶ 4, back.

ever since the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you haue euer conceiued of me, & sundrie other your courtesies shewed towards me, far beyond my deserts or expectation: As also when I called to remembrance your seruent zeale which you haue euer born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indeuour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life thereafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruailous humilitie & lowliness of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlesse, and affability, your ²rare continencie and integritie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no lesse (hauing so fit an occasion giuen me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your ³worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible testimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwill and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I haue not studied to be curious), it may seeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre vnworthy to bee ⁴exhibited, to so wise, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heauenly and diuine, I most humbly beseech you to accept thereof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde vnder the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disdain. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest vnthankfull to you to the death) will not cease also to pray to God for you. And thus I most humbly take my leaue. From my

⁶ Chamber, this present
tenth of Aprill.

1592.

Your Worthships in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

¹ sign. ¶ 5.

² sign. ¶ 5, back.

³ sign. ¶ 6.

⁴ sign. ¶ 6, back.

⁵ sign. ¶ 7.

⁶ sign. ¶ 7, back.

¹Precepts at thy going forth
of thy Chamber..



WHEN thou goest forth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou hast anie), giuing him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for ciuilitie requireth it). And when thou comcest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, ²and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou hast so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

Meditations in the washing
of ones face and hands.



AS y^e filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by y^e element of water; so is my ³bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghost, but also am sealed vp to eternall saluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

⁴A praier to be said at the wa-
shing of ones face & hands.



Ofte gracious God, and louing Father, who hast giuen thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to suffer death vpon the Crosse for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee, for his sake, that as this my bodie is now washed

¹ sign. C 4.

² C 4, back.

³ C 5.

⁴ C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, fo my body and soule maie both bee purified & purged from all vncleanneſſe and filthineſſe of finne, thorow the efficacie of thy ſonne his moſt precious bloud. Theſe things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren.

Directions how a Chriſtian
ſhould behaue himſelfe at
the Table.



When thou commeſt to the Table, ſhew all obeyſance and curteſie, behauing thy ſelfe modeſtly, humbly, and ſoberly, as in the preſence of God. Eate ſo much as nature requireth, not how much inſatiable appetite deſireth. Be ſpare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleaſant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee ſeaſoned with ſalt, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, that it maie giue grace to the hearers, remembering that wee muſt giue accounts at the daie of iudgement for euerie idle word. Vſe not to laugh much, to ieſt, or ſcoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or ¹detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things ſo demeanor thy ſelfe, that thou maiſt neither diſhonour thy God, nor giue either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, giue God thanks as followeth.

A Thankſ-giuing to God
after dinner.



Moſt holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thanks in ²the name of Ieſus Chriſt for all thy benefites and bleſſings in mercy beſtowed vpon mee euer ſince I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praife thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, ſo now preſentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beſeeching thee to feede my ſoule likewiſe with the

¹ ſign. D.

² ſign. D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou hast giuen vnto mee the vse of these ¹earthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to giue vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord.

²A Thanks-giuing to God
before Supper.



Father of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heauenly palace vpon vs thy humble seruants, albeit most wretched and miserable sinners: sanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirit, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strenght to nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seeest to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praie thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall *Manna* of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or excessse. Remember that nature is satisfied with a little; and what is more then will suffice nature is superfluous; and one daie thou shalt be accomptable for it to the great Iudge of all the earth. Thy body being satisfied, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesse thee, & multiplie thy store. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwise, as the spirit of God shall illuminate thy heart.³

¹ sign. D 2.

² sign. D 4, back.

³ Ends D 6, front.

¹A Thank-giuing to God
after Supper.



H Lord our God, most gracious & holy father, we render all praise & thank-giuing to thy foueraigne maiefty, for all thy benefites and blessinges so plentifully bestowed vpon vs. And namelie² we thanke thee (holy father) for these thy good creatures, which thou hast at this present in full measure giuen vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankfull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulnesse, for Iesus Christ his sake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithful seruants, and bring vs to euerlasting life in thy good time, for thy great mercies sake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behau-
our after supper.



He rest of the time after Supper, vntill thou goest to bedde, ³spend with thy familie, either in singing of Psalmes and spirituall songs, singing and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conferring, reasoning, disputing, and talking of the word of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the same. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole housholde together in some conuenient place, make publike confession of your sinnes to God the Father, craue ⁴pardon and forgiuenesse for Iesus Christs sake, and praie for grace to bee able to resist sin hereafter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, reuoluing with thy selfe these and the like things following.

¹ D 6, back. ² especially. ³ D 7, back. ⁴ sign. D 8.

Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.



When thou art come into thy chamber, call to ¹thy remembrance what euill thou hast committed that daie past, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and hast not done. If thou hast seene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praie for grace to follow it. If againe thou hast seene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy selfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele ²downe by thy bed side, confesse thy sins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, and praie to him to protect thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghostly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy selfe. 'Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglesome carkasse doe I beare about with me, that for very shame ³had neede to bee couered with garments!' Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignitie (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were giuen thee for verie necessitie sake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason hast thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his sores? Thinke also, that as thou ⁴canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou puttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, so shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou risest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy ⁵body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When sleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

¹ D 8, back.

² sign. E.

³ sign. E 1, back.

⁴ sign. E 2.

⁵ sign. E 2, back.

A Prayer when sleepe com-
meth vpon one.



Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of change, seeing thou hast appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the ¹night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my bodie hath bene occupied and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receiue by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I haue to liue, to the praise and glorie of thy blessed name: and in this my sleepe defend mee, I beseech thee, from all perilles ²and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleasure to make my soule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare sonne Iesus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phanta³sticall apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemye, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie suggestions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my soule, resting vnder thy diuine protection, may be safe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iesus Christ, my onelie Sauour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com⁴mitting both thy bodie and soule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets⁵ clofets and priuie chambers of thine heart, search euery place, and ransacke euerie corner; and if thou findest anie filthinesse or vncleannesse therein (as indeed thou shalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus ⁶with thy selfe; ‘ My bed dooth represent vnto me my

¹ sign. E 3.

² sign. E 3, back.

³ sign. E 4.

⁴ secretest? or secret

⁵ E 4, back.

⁶ E 5.

graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, wherewithall I shall shortly be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eate and consume the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare, ¹thinke thus; 'As now the morning cometh on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselfe at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the founding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoever, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell found, saying, 'Arise, you dead ²and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praie to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes
out of sleepe.



Mercifull father, grant that as thou hast now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall sleepe, so thou wilt also vouchsafe to raise me vp from the sleep of sin, and in the general resurrection of all ³flesh, to eternall life, thorow Iesus Christ my only Sauour & Redeemer.

⁴Christian directions for the Morning.

When thou hast attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pompously, nor proudly, goe forth of thy ⁵chamber, and if thou beest a master of a householde, call thy familie together, confesse your finnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to resist sinne hereafter, prayse God for all his benefites and blessings in mercie bestowed vpon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to protect you that day, and to blesse all your workes and labours. And finally, desire him

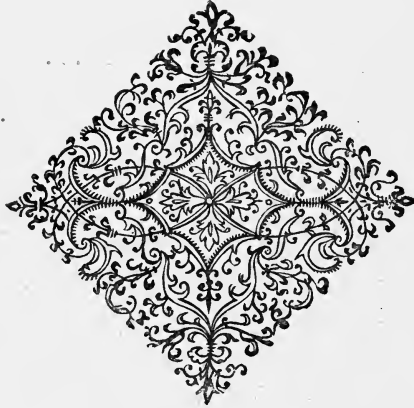
¹ E 5, back. ² E 6. ³ E 6, back. ⁴ on sign. F 3.

⁵ F 3, back.

⁶ sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghoffly whatfoeuer, and to bring you to euerlaſting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Ieſus Chriſt. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with ſingle eie and good conſcience, to the praife of him that made thee; being affirmed that as in mercie hee will not leaue the leaſt ¹good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; ſo in iuſtice hee will not leaue the leaſt euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Chriſt Ieſus our Sauour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghoſt our Comforter and Sanctifier, three perſons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praife, dominion & thankſgiuing for euermore. Amen.

¹ F 4, back.





A S H O R T

Treatise, of prayers
and Supplica-
tions ;

C O M P R I S I N G

a brief summe of all such
things as we stand
in need of in this
life.

By the same Authour,

P. S. Gent.

¹A Praier for the Queenes
Maieftie.



Render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh ²king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchesafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the same thy seruant, our souereigne Ladie and gouernesse. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy ³holie spir[it]e, that thee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to y^e setting forth of thy glorie, y^e maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduancement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kinde in her a feruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatsoeuer is defectiue or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the ⁴true & sincere discipline & government of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papists, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatsoeuer. Giue her godlie, wise, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling according to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, ⁵and we her subiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back.

² sign. G 7.

³ G 7, back.

⁴ sign. G 8.

⁵ G 8, back.

A Prayer for a Competent &
a necessary living.

O Lord our GOD, most gracious & holie father, ¹whose loue towards men in Christ Iesus is infinite and vnspeakeable, & whose tender care ouer him is such, that thou hast promised that whosoever beleueth in thee, dependeth vpon thy prouidence, and seeketh his reliefe at thy blessed handes, shall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for soule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy felie creature, of my selfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse ²it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iesus Christ his sake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a necessarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppresse mee not, nor that I be not drawn to attempt wiked and vnlawfull meanes for the maintenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) blesse my store, and replenish my basket with thy ³ blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my selfe in the exercise & practise of good workes, to the reliefe of them that haue neede, and the setting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen. . . .

⁴A praier to be said of those
that be vnmarried.

O Lord our God, in as much as thou hast commaunded in thy blessed word, the word of truth, that wee, abstayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleannesse, should keepe our vesselles in holinesse, and not in y^e filthy lusts of the flesh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee ther⁵fore to giue mee grace to perform this thy most holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleannesse. And because, O Lord, chastitie of the bodie

¹ sign. H 6.² sign. H 6, back.³ sign. H 7.⁴ sign. K 2, back.⁵ K 3.

is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I beseech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart ; that I, banishing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of ¹my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & soule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & strength of the pretious bloud of Iesus Christ, Amen.

A Prayer to bee said
of those that be
maried.

Holy Father, wee are taught by thy sacred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after ²thou hadst created all things, the last of all other *thou* createdst man, & woman of a rib of his side, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy blessing, saying : ' Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth : ' I giue thee most humble & hartly thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to call me to the honorable state of mariage. And I most heartily beseech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of ³our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy sake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielosie, hatred, malice, and contention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate together, and become, as it were, but one bodie ; so vouchsafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doues, we may liue together in chastitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, ⁴without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to blesse vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in such holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requirest of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy blessing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare ; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt ⁵and

¹ sign. K 3, back.

² sign. K 4.

³ sign. K 4, back.

⁴ sign. K 5.

⁵ sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praise & glorie of thy blessed name, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, to whom be praise and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be said of
those that be masters
of houfholds.



Hou hast commanded (oh gracious Lord God) by thy blessed Apostle, *that* masters ¹ should intreate their seruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitternesse and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iustice, knowing *that* thou art our common master in heauen: graunt me grace, therefore (good Lord), so to order my seruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterprife anie vnrighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and ² master of vs all, and respectest no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteoufnesse and holinesse in conuersation, that they and I together, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlasting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

³ A Prayer to be said of
seruants.



Lord our GOD, seeing thou hast ordayned fundry degrees and states of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed ⁴ mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beseech thee, to serue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy blessed will, not with eye seruice as ⁵ studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singleness of heart, as seeking to glorifie thee: being thorowlie perswaded that in seruing them, I serue thee, and of thee shall receive my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane

¹ sign. K 6.

² K 6, back.

³ sign. K 7.

⁴ Appointest, *orig.*

⁵ sign. K 7, back.

my selfe faithfully, iustlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to enrich my selfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueying anie thing from anie man by any sinister practice ¹whatsoever; but so to behaue my selfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my saluation in Christ Iesus sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen.

²A Prayer in the time of Pestilence.

Tis no marueile, O most righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, sometime with earthquakes, sometime with tempests & lightnings, sometimes with ouerflowing ³of Seas & Riuers, sometime with pestilent concourses of the heauenlie lights, and sometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that euen in this case also the creatures serue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect so oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from ⁴the trust of this world with gentle correction, and drawest vs to the desire of the euerlasting life. We humbly beseech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and faorable to withdrawe the afflictions which thou hast laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of y^e pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our selues from the infection of sinne. But both those things are of thy gift, O ⁵Father of mercie, namely, as well to haue our mindes free from the poyson of sinne, as to haue our bodies safe from y^e infection of y^e plague. Such as haue fastened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to such shifts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and some to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully persuaded that no ⁶man can escape thy hand

¹ sign. K 8.² On sign. T 5.³ sign. T 5, back.⁴ sign. T 6.⁵ sign. T 6, back.⁶ sign. T 7.

beleue there is no such safetie as to resort to thy selfe, and to flie from thy iustice to thy mercie, as to the surest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forsakeest them that put theyr trust in thy goodnesse; vnder whose protection, euen they that dye are safe. To thee therefore bee praise for euermore, Amen.

FINIS.



¹A praier to be said of all such
as be maiestrates and rulers in
the common wealth.



Drasfmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternal God, ruler of all kinges and ²kingdoms, to constitute and appoint me (though altogether vnworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my foueraigne, I beseech thee, giue me grace, so to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may iudge iustly³, neither fauoring ⁴the rich nor mightie for desire of gifts, nor yet dispising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the aduancement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that sweete harvest song⁵, ‘well, good seruant, thou hast beene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord’. Oh Lord, let it be so, for Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

² sign. H.

³ Compare 2 *Henry IV*, Act V. sc. i. :—

Davy. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

Shal. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

Davy. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy.

[*Exit Davy*.]

⁴ H 1, back.

⁵ sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: *whose gawold backes are tutched*. "But what o' that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it *touches* vs not: let the *gall'd* iade winch: our withers are vnprung." *Hamlet*, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, *Trag.* p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, *veluers*; p. 32, *veluet*.—Cotgrave distinguishes between *velvet* and *velure*: "*Velours*: m. Veluet . . . *Tripe de Velours*, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. *Tripe*: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;" and as Harrison says that wool was used for *vellures*, the stuff must have been a kind of 'velvet-pile cloth' like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. 'Velveteen' and 'cotton velvet' have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also *velours* in silk, cotton and wool (Littré):—

"In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath bene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, *vellures*, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie" (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

"at Westminster . . . the bragging *velure*-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o' the tilters had ridden 'em." 1607. Webster & Dekker's *Northward Ho*, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of *Webster's Works*, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On *Canions*, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of *velvet*, *velure*, Mr Henry Nicol says:—"The second *v* of *velvet* is an alteration of *w* (*velwet*, Promptorium), and this of *u* (*feluet* Launfal—misprinted in Stratmann *felvet*—*veluet*, Chaucer). That the *u* of Mid. E. *veluet* formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co|uered it | with *ve|tu-et|tes* blew|e

(*Squire's Tale*, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling *velowetys*. Mid. E. *veluet* comes from Old Fr. *veluet* (Roquefort—who misprints *velvet*), also spelt *velluet* (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as *velluetum*. *Veluet* corresponds to a hypothetical Latin *villütittum*, being a diminutive of Fr. *velu*, hypothetic Lat. *villütum* (Ital. *velluto*, Span. *velludo*), which shows the usual Fr.

loss of Lat. single *t* between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. *villus*. Another diminutive of *velu* is Old Fr. *vellueau* (Roquefort, with quotation), later *veluau* and *veluyau*, latinised *velludellum*, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. *villätellum*.

“E. *vellure* (Shakspeare *velure*, Cotgrave—probably by misprint—*valure*) is probably Early Mod. Fr. *veleure* (Cotgrave), meaning ‘shag;’ so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either *velëure* (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villätüram*, with the common Fr. suffix, or *veloure* (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villöräm*, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. *vellora* (‘knot or lump taken off woollen cloth’). If E. *vellure* existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. *velëure*, as if from *veloure* it would have been *vellour* in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. *veloure* had become *veleure*, either F. form (with *eu* = Late Mod. F. *eu*, or *eu* = Late Mod. F. *u*) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. *vellure* comes from Mod. Fr. *velours*, as the *s* of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. *Velours* is a Mod. form for Old Fr. *velous*, which is Lat. *villösium* (Ital. *veloso*, Span. *veloso*); Froissart’s *velus* is possibly influenced by *velu*, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with *Lus*. The Mod. Burgundian *velour*, *velor*, quoted by Littré, is probably *velours* in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. *veleure*; an exactly parallel example of inserted *r* in the termination *ous* is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch *jaloersch* (‘jealous’), which presupposes a Fr. *jalours* for *jaloux* (Lat. *zëlösium*).”

p. xii : *the inferiour sorte onely*. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. 1. *Anatomie of Abuses*. Compare Thomas Nashe’s “The Anatomie of Absurditie : Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayes to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable. to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie.” . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. *Hazlitt’s Handbook*. See the evils of Elizabeth’s and James’s time described in the play of *No-Body and Some-Body*, 1606, printed in Simpson’s *School of Shakspeare*, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives’ whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, purse-cutting, &c.

p. 1. *Abuses*.—See in S. Rowlands’s *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

“*Certaine common abuses*

“ **A** Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne :
A common seller, and a common buyer,
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made
 A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade :
 A¹ common Thiefe, in Newgate common Iayle,
 Of Tyborne common hie-way cannot fayle :
 A common Vag'rانت, should by law be stript,
 And by a common Beadle soundly whipt :
 A common Scould, her furious heate must coole :
 Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole :
 A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaue,
 Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue ;
 A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,
 A common Companyon² for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his *Looke to it : for Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11 : *who so sitteth at home*. Cp. Shakspeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1 :

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.
 Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes
 To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,
 I rather would entreat thy company
 To see the wonders of the world abroad,
 Then (liuing dully sluggardiz'd at home)
 Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. *A plesant & famous Iland*. Cp. Shakspeare in *Rich. II*, "This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, *Hist.* p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c. ; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to *Harrison*, Parts I and II, and *Harrison*, I. p. 221, &c. ; my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11 — 10 from foot. Our Saviour * * * with his *Taratantara*. Extract from Luther's *Danger of delaying Repentance* quoted in the *Philobiblion*, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: *Poumerle poump ! poumerle poump ! pliz ! pluz ! schmi ! schmir !*³ This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, *poumerle poump !* This will be the war-cry and the *taratantara* of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: *Kir ! Kir ! poumerle poump !*" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2 : *two kindes of sinne*. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres : outhet it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne ; and venial synne is, if a

¹ *Orig.* Of.

² Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on.

³ *schmi, schmir !* in the *Philobiblion*. Perhaps it should be *schmi schmu !* like *poumerle poump !*—S.

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. *Pride . . . the verie efficient cause of all euils.* "thane is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches: as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueitise, to commune vnderstondynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. *Pride is tripartite.* Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—1. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (*portico, verandah*) atte Taverné is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the *Parson's Tale*, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. *Pride, &c.*—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical.'"—*Secondhand-book Catalogue.*

p. 29. *Dame Nature.* "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. *Other nations dress.* Compare in Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* the High German's 'I wyll not change my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our apparel we were neuer nyce; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do neuer change', p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashions to Englund I do bequeue; I am content with my meane aray', p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

p. 31. *Pride & Luxury in England.*

“Who can endure to see
The fury of men’s gullets and their groins?
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat?”

1625.—Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III. ii. *Works*, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: *new fangles*:—“*Cilecchi*, iests, toyes, new fangles.” 1598 Florio. *Worlde of Wordes*.

p. 33. *English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles*: see *Harrison*, I. ? In *The Three Ladies of London*, by R. W., 1584, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 276, Lucre speaks thus of English exports and imports there:—

“Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.
Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and everything:

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,
As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets withal,

For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to stall:

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable
That is slight, pretty, and pleasant: they care not to have it profitable.

And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree,
You must say ‘jet will take up a straw: amber will make one fat:
Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,’
So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware,
And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear.”

* * * * *

Lucre. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey;
Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,
For you know in this country ’tis their chiefest request.

Mercatore. Indeed, de gentlewomans here by so much vain toys,
Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys.”

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 306.

‘*Triquedondaines*: f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought, by women; hence, any trash, nifles, or paltrie stuffe.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer:—“The hard times are slowly and surely working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. *Fewer velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimcracks* are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact."—*Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States' Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: *farrefetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes*:—"Mendoza. What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some *far-fet trick good for ladies*, some stale-toy or other, no matter so 't be of our devising."—Marston & Webster's *Malcontent*, V. ii., Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes *far-fet*, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, "*Far-fet is good for ladies*." So in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, Act IV. sc. i, "Marry, and this may be *good for us ladies*; for it seems 'tis *far-fet* by their stay." See my *Tell-Troth*, p. 6, l. 7, & *Stafford*, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 33, 'far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.' Again:—

"*Mineuer*. God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

Sir Vaughan. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

Mineuer. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath euery one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

Sir Vaughan. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

Mineuer. For I ha some thinges that were *fetched* (I am sure) as *farre* as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were *good for Ladies*." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer's use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. *Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.*

The pride of England "And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The carter and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy ^{ploughman exceed-}eth in pride him that is not of the fashion; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness: the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein." 1596.—J. Norden, *Progress of Piety* (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?):—"where in those days [Henry VI's] Farmers and their wiues were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altdred: the *Husbandman* will be equal to the *Yoman*, the *Yoman* to the *Gentleman*, the *Gentleman* to the *Squire*, the *Squire* [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, eury one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake." 1607.—John Norden, *The Surueyors Dialogue*, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: *his wife her persuasions*. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of *Tell Troth* New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: *some are so brasen faced & so impudent, &c.* Cf. *Two Gen. of Ver.*, II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia's round hose), and *Much Ado*, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: *in leather*. Compare *Edward III*, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspeare, p. 1044, col. 1: "Since *leathern* Adam till this youngest hour."

p. 39, l. 7: *it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of*.

"Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them;
What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them;
For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,
He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.
In thy Apparell be something clenly,
Though in thy purse thou hast neu'r a penny:
Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,
And a farther grace happily giue thee.
Doe not seeme bace, though penillesse thou art;
But looke about, of whom to get a part."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiueils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: *what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c.* Compare Chaucer's *Gentleness* in Scogan's Poem in Thynne's Chaucer, lf. 380, bk. col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1; Morris's, vol. vi, p. 296.

"This firste stoke was ful of rightwisesse,
Trewē of his worde, soboure, pitous and free,
Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse,
Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste;

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he,
 He nis not gentille, thouhe him richē seme,
 Al were he mytre, corone, or diademe."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

ἀγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ
 Κάν' Ἀιθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενὴς ἔφου

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—“Stemmata quid faciunt?” and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.’—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspeare’s *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson’s *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

p. 43, l. 14: *tagge and ragge*. Compare John Partridge in *The Worthie Historie of . . . Plisidas*, 1566, “To walles they go, both *tagge and ragge*, Their citie to defende,” and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley’s *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.

p. 44. *Pride & Apparel*.—See Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale* (*Works*, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown “in superfluite of clotheynge” in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particoloured hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also *Piers Plowman*, Roberde of Brunne’s *Handlyng Synne*, &c.

p. 49, l. 5: *abhorring the christian povertie, &c.*

“Be rich, I say; nay boy, be rich and wise!
 Gold is an actious [sɔ] mettle for the eyes.
 Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,
 And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare;
 Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,
 And many cheates, that come by many chances;
 Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,
 And twentie other such kind of matters.
 While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,
 May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,
 And euery morning wash his face with teares,
 And wipe his blubbered cheekes with sheualed heares.
 It is a heauie sence, where coyne is wanting;
 At such a time of care, friends are scanting.”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiவில்s Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: *liquide matter which they call Starch*. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, “the first inventress of *yellow Starch* was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at *Tyburn*; and with her I believe that *yellow Starch*, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral.”—*Epistolæ Ho-Eliañe*, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line: *if they stand upon their pantoffles.* See notes in *Tell Troth* on p. 55, last line.—S.

MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; *Father Hubburds Tales* at the end of Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.* Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his "*A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing unto vs the enuied state of our florishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreame vices of this present time, &c. &c.*" by W. A." he makes "The Bellie" say (sig. B. 1 & 2):—

"Why, had euer Premetheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion: to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, *O tempora, o mores!* To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for show of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that cullour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatnes, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as strait as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men."

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs. 3. "Artificial Allurements," p. 295 of edition 1676:—

"Women are bad, & men worse; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. *Good manners* (as *Seneca* complains) *are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hæc vir,* more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, 'Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiũm inseritur'; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed."

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and Shakspeare, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, 'many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,' &c. Also in *Histrion-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (*School of Shakspeare*, ii. 47):—

“*We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs.*”

See too in ‘*A Supplycacyon to . . . Kynge Henry the Eyght, 1544* (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52): “*Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and comforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hooede / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon; than the Italian fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consumyng of substaunce . . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede.*” See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: *one sute for the forenoone, &c.* See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: *hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.*

“*Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:
(All are become a stiffe-necked generation)
Rose Hat-hands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:
Great Cabbage-shoestrings (pray you bigge enough)
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it:
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kills)
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This, *Harts* most humbly, and his fellows, begs.”*

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, *The Knaue of Harts* (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is describd in Rowlands's *More Knaues yet?* (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5):—

“*. . . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,
Which somewhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .*”

¹ See the extract from Howes, in *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 31*.

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech
 For the great large abhominable breech
 Like Brewers Hopsacks : yet, since new they be,
 Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee?
 Some Laundresse we also will entreate
 For Bands and Ruffes
 Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .
 hats of newest blocke” . .

p. 50. *Hat & feathers, &c.*

“His *hat*, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,
 Faire outward show, and little wit within.
 And all the band with *feathers* he doth fill,
 Which is a signe of a fantastick still,
 As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore
 A goate¹ doth stand before a brothell dore.
 His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,
 His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared.”

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.* Works, 1856, iii. 223-4 : see p. 216 too.

p. 51: *feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs.* The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his *Father Hubbards Tales*, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. “At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut ; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,² according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep³ as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

¹ The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

² See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v : T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604 : “apparelled in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the *wings* and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts.” ‘Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.’ Whalley's note on B. Jonson's *Works*, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

³ ‘They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.’ 1604.—T. M., *Blacke Booke*. Dyce's *Middleton*, v. 524.

them; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would out-reach a thousand acres: moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose¹ in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,² that his back-part seemed to us like a monster; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence,³ stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,⁴ which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embossed] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself: 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure; nor those no hangers for Derrick'; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration: upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand!' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle⁵ that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."—T. M. *The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubbards Tales, 1604.*

"Asper . . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

¹ breeches. ² galligaskins. ³ See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.

⁴ "There is no fool to the satin fool. the velvet fool, the perfumed fool; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—*Return from Parnassus*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 184.

⁵ 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"*Fastidious Brisk*. . . my gray hobby . . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

Carlo. How! the sound of the spur?

Fast. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir: a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. i., *Works*, i. 80, col. 2; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2:

"*Fungoso*. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not gingers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour !
O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599). Induction, *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "*A Pleasaunt| Dialogue or Disputa|tion betweene the Cap,| and the Head.*" 1564, quoted in my *Thynne's Animadversions* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxi.

p. 51, l. 3: *hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.*

"EPIGRAMS. Epig. 27.

Aske *Humors*, why a Feather he doth weare ?
It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare.
Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke ?
Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke ?
He hath a Humor doth determine so.
Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go,
With Scarfe about his necke ? *Hat without band ?*
It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . .
Obiect, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season ?
His Humor answers : Humor is the reason.
If you perceiue his wittes in wetting shrunke,
It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke.
When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore,
Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore :
And euery thing that he doth vndertake,
It is a vaine, for sencelesse *Humors* sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c. : *dress, & starcht ruffs & rabatos*.—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece¹, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar : your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it² ; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

¹ See *Coryat's Crudities* on this. Rowlands makes it Danish:—

"His faces chiefest ornament, is nose,
Full furnishèd with many a Clarret staine,
As large as any *Codpiece of a Dane*,
Embossed curious :"

² 1600.—S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

² *Lobado en el cuerpo*, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, *Tuber struma*. 1591. R. Percuale. Spanish Dict. '*Lobado*, m. bunches in the flesh,' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minshen's enlarged *Percuale*.

244 Notes on pp. 51, 52. *Men's Bands, &c.*

p. 51. *Ruff & Band, &c.* (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.,)

“Behold, at length in London streetes he shoves.
 His *ruffe* did eate more time in neatest setting,
 Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;
 It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,
 When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.
 Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck;
 For under that fayre *ruffe* so sprucely set,
 Appears a *fall*, a *falling-band* forsooth!
 O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth!
 Jesu Maria! How his clothes appeare
 Crost and recrost with lace! sure, for some feare
 Least that some spirit with a tippet mace
 Should with a gastly show affright his face.”

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.*, Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. “*Lambskin.* My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy¹ long together before they were married; then was I born.” 1632.—Wm. Rowley, *A Woman never vexed*, in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note: *Euery pesant hath his stately bands.* See Fairholt's capital quotations in *Hist. of Costume in England*, p. 216, from Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596, and *Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1592. The first is, “The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit.” See too in *Harrison*, II, 36*, what Howes says: “men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then fue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates.” The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3: Greene, in his prose *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27: this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my *Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 101-2.

¹ ‘Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tear-sheet says of Pistol, in the *Second Part of Henry IV*, “These villains will make the word ‘captain’ as odious as the word *occupy*, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted.” See Nares, edit. 1859 *in v.*; and Percy Folio MS. *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 29.’

p. 53, l. 4-6: *result of extravagance in dress, &c* :—

“yet take . . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods un-timbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed : then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old.”¹ 1618.—N. Breton, *The Court and Country* (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting ‘Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen,’ by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt’s *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 95; also, *Quips upon Questions*, 1600, sign. G 2.

“Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, ’twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel.” 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. i., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: “Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens.” 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: *shirts*. When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, “I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt” [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: “The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history,” &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the *City Match*:

“Sir, she’s a Puritan at her needle too :
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparell will be quoted by
Some pure instructor.”

Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (1590) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: “He again lights me here,—

¹ “And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place :
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,
But let thy profit answer thy expence,
Least want do proue a wofull patience,
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,
‘A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.’”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answers to the same*, p. 7.

246 Notes on pp. 54-6. *Men's Doublets, Canions, &c.*

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had,—cuts my hatband,—and yet it was massy goldsmith's work—cuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers¹ . . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels caught hold of the ruffle² of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,—being somewhat a raw morning,—a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

p. 54: *men tender now*.—Cp. *Harrison*, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie . . . altogether of straw," &c.

p. 55. *Doublets with great bellies*. "Fungoso. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, belly and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. i., *Works*, i. 101, col. 1.

p. 56. *With Canions annexed*.—See the Velure-canioned hobbyhorses, in *Northward Ho*, p. 231 above. "*Canons de Chausses*, Cannions. *Chausses à queue de merlus*. Round breeches with strait canions; hauing in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "*Canions* were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and *canyons* to the same," &c.

p. 56: *gally-hosen*; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.

p. 56: *hosen of a Marke price*.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's *Chronicle*, quoted by Fairholt under *hose*, p. 512.

p. 56: *trunk hose*.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other *breeches* than such *sloppes* or *slivings* as now many gentlemen weare:

¹ "The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

² The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "*Ruffle* your brow like a new boot." *Ib.* I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackcloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not disliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in generall*. (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish *slop*.
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,
The swagg'ring *Sloppe*, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from *More Knaves Yet*, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—*Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii, *Works*, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,
And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes*, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion,
Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, first calld *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: *nether-stockes*, the stockings, as distinguisht from the *hose*, when the latter became *breeches*. See the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—"The neatherstockes of pure Granada silke," and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: *shoes*.—See Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 385-7. "*Pinsnet*, apparently the same as *Pinson*, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

248 Notes on p. 58. *Men's Boots and Coats.*

a shoo, *pinson*, socke.—*Withals' Dictionarie*, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. *Pinçon*, *pinçonnet* are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: *boots with wide tops*.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thoo that made any longe *pykys* passynge ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pon the Sondag, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sondag, uppon payne of cursynge. And the kyng grauntyd in a conselle and in the Parlement tha' hyt shulde be put in excecussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poullys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe *pykys* whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make long *pykys*, and causyd tho same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe *pykys* to be trobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shoes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. *Annales*, p. 471.

p. 58. *Coats, &c.*

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, ^{English} and gave him clothe,¹ and bad him make it himself, for he changed his ^{apparel} fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

¹ See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, *Exp. upon Aggeus, Works* (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were,
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that ;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—ANDREW BOORDE. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. *Cold charitie to the poore.*

“Wealthye Cittizens.

YOu Cittizens that are of *Diu*es Wealth,
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare :
Your Dogges are not so kinde to lick their sores,
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

250 Notes on pp. 59—61. *Men's foreign fashions.*

' For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry :
You play with that, for which they pine and die.
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Ile Stabbe ye*, B 2, back ; p. 12, ed. 1872.
Compare the corn-hoarder Sordido, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 78 :

"O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.
Why, let 'em starve ; what's that to me ? Are bees
Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths ? No."

p. 59-61. *Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains.*

The madness of Englishmen in their apparel. "To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks : their cap must be of the French fashion ; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain¹ the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become ! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow ? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman : he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not ? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.*—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported :—

"Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose :

¹ *Martin chain* : of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, *Essays*, p. 23.

Notes on pp. 60-2. *Men's foreign fashions.* 251

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,
Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made :
Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes hee'le reuel,
And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, ed. 1874, Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"*Col. Tipto*. . . . I would put on
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,
The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons ; all my given pieces
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. ii., *Works*, ii. 354, col. 1.

" but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain and sumptuous apparel But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable case!

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Some-
Nova times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught: we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens: would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, *The Nosegay*, in *Early Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. *Cloaks*.—See Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 419.

p. 61. *Boot-hose*.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'foot-mantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has '*Triquhouse*: f. A boot-hose; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. *Rapiers: silver hilts & velvet sheaths.*

"*Brainworm*. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.



E. Knowell. Ay, with a *velvet scabbard*, I think.

Stephen. Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a *velvet scabbard*, coz, that's flat : I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Brai. At your worship's pleasure, sir : nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

Stephen. I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you for it ? An it had a *silver hilt*."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx. ; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands :

" Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day ?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse ?
Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play ?
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdic house ?
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes *Sir Reuell*, furnisht out with Fashion,
From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe ;
That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation,
Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so ;

Drinks drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship ;
Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

"*A Fantasticall Knaue.*

SIRRA, come hither, I must send you straight
To diuers places, about things of waight :
First to my Barber, at his Bason signe,
Bid him be heere to morrow about nine :
Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere
About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere :
My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make
About the Russet Bootes that I bespake.
Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand,
First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band ;
And point the Feather-maker not to faile
To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . .
Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade,
And know if that my riding sword be made ;
Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat,
My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great"

1613.—S. Rowlands, *A Paire of Spy-Knaues*, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse ; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing*, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS,
KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his *merualous Combat of Contrarieties*, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says :—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone ; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselues most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not all, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfaying the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

“Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

“But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who coming into Syria, and seruing in y^e Court would coure downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which y^e Assirians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillows, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbiter betweene Iupiter and Iuno,) that there were *In viro, tres amoris uncia, in femina, nouem*, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleeues and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their colloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward showes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouocations, these are the fruites of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so freelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faïne oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault.” Sign. B 1 & 2. See also *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. 170-2, and Latimer’s address to his ‘sisters, the women,’ in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (*Sermons*, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): “Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that ‘a woman ought to have a power on her head’ . . . But this ‘power’ that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our ‘power’ from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; *far fetched, dear bought*; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the ‘power’ as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks

nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open . . . Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because . . . they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (Latimer's) *Remains*, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"*Tactus* . . . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoe-ties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), *Lingua*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's *Satiromastix*, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"*Sir Francis Ilford* . . . if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women¹ are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 475.

The apparel of women partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I have not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a ^{Maids} testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550.—Becon, *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referred to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: '*The Loathsomenesse of Long Hair*; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

¹ 'See Mr. Steevens's note on *Othello*, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602. *Works*, by Dyce, i. 280.'

256 Notes on p. 64. *Women's Face-painting, &c.*

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

“*Proud Gentlewomen.*

You gentle-puppets of the proudest size,
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations,
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade
To *paint your face*, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe,
The Moncky wast, the breeching like a Beare ;
The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe,
The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare ;
You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy,
That with your pride do all the world annoy,
Hee Stabbe yee.”

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Look to it ; for, Hee Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

“*The young woman commeth, married to an old man.*

The young woman. Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth hither : and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides : a faire haire, if it be her owne : a rare face, *if it be not painted* ; a white skinne, if it be not plastered : a full breast, if it be not bolstered : a straitte backe, if it be not helped ; a slender waste, if it be not pinched ; a likely leg, if it be not lined ; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes ; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest.” 1613.—Anthony Nixon, *A Straunge Foot-Post*, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. *Women's coquetry & dress.* — See *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed *Piers Plowman* and wrote the *Epigrams*, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and “Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses” [which the writer of *The Pedlers Prophecie* does not].

“Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.
Rich shoves, strange funerals, precious abillments,
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Earing jewels, jennes, to set out their faces,
 Change of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine,
 Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces,
 With cullours curious, to make the face shine."

'In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire *Valeria of London*," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerlesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attire not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his *non plus*, lost both his custome and the credit of his workmanship" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, *Bagford Ballads*.

p. 64. *Face-painting*.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspeare, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' 'tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [*Love's Labours Lost*], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his *Sonnets* also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.¹"—*My Leopold Sh. Introd.* p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"*Maquerelle*. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dying of haire, sleeking of skines, blushing of cheekes, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. iv. *Works*, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's *Muses' Elysium* (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., *Works*, 1793, p. 626, col. 1, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

" In which was painting, both for white and red ;
 And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies
 For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

¹ *Two Gent.* II. i. 55-58: *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; *Ham'let*, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; *Ant. & Cleop.* I. ii. 18; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 101, &c.

p. 67. *women's hair and painted faces.*

<p>“These flaming heads with staring haire, These wyers turnde like hornes of ram : These painted faces which they weare :</p>	<p>Can any tell from whence they cam ? Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned lyes, All these new fangeles did devise.”</p>
--	---

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68 : *false hair* :—See Shakspeare, *Love's Labours lost*, IV. iii. 259 ; *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 92-6 ; *Henry V*, III. vii. 60 ; *Sonnets* 68, l. 2-8.

“I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,
Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire ;
I ne're applaude aboute heauns-spangled skies,
The cur'd-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.
Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire :
I am noe Mimyck ape ; I loathe and hate
Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate.”

? 1611.—W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3 : *cappe*.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine¹ ; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. 1 (see the note there) :

“Our great heads

Within this city, never were in safety
Since our wives wore these little *caps* : I'll change 'em.
I'll change em straight in mine : mine shall no more
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake.”

p. 69. *Cawles* :—

<p>“These glittering cawles of golden plate, Wherewith their heads are richlie dect, Make them to seeme an angels mate</p>	<p>In judgement of the simple sect : To peacockes I compare them right, That glorieth in their feathers bright.” (See p. 259, 271.)</p>
--	---

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. *Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses* : see the woodcuts above.

<p>“This starch, and these rebating props, As though ruffes² were some rotten house, All this new pelfe now sold in shops,</p>	<p>In value true not worth a louse ; They are his dogs [the Devil's], he, hunter sharp ; By them a thousand he doth warpe.”</p>
---	---

1595-6.—Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, iv. 253.

¹ “Why, this was moulded on a porringer ;
A velvet dish : fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy :
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap.”—64-7.

² See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbes's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by *poking-sticks* :—

<p>“What lack ye? What lack ye? What is it you will buy? Any points, pins, or laces, Any laces, points or pins? Fine gloves, fine glasses, Any busks or masks? Or any other pretty things?”</p>	<p>Come, cheap¹ for love, or buy for money. Any coney, coney-skins, For laces, points, or pins? Fair maids, come choose or buy. I have pretty <i>poking-sticks</i>, And many other tricks; Come, choose for love, or buy for money.”</p>
---	---

1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to *Captain Cox* or *Laneham's Letter*, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in *Harrison*, II, 34*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: *wanton Sempronians*.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbes was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: '*libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sapius peteret quam peteretur*.'—*Catalina*, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: *ruffs*.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"*Maquardelle*. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare *falling bands*; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane *fall* is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your *falling band* requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, V. iii. *Works*, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbes's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cooke.

"* * * for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—*Dodsley's Old Plays*, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. *Women's fashions*.—"1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satiry/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invectiue conference, be/tweene *Alexander* the great, and/ that truely woman-hater *Diogy/nes*. *Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all/ such*

¹ Bargain, deal: A. Sax. *ceapian*.

gentlewomen as are not alto[gether] Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.)

[sign. E, back] "The gossiping vviues complaint
against hir riche churlishe husband

<p>"Two things I loue; two vsuall thinges they are; The firste, newe-fashion'd cloathes I loue to weare, Newe tires, newe ruffes; I, and newe gesture too: In all newe fashions, I doe loue to goe. The second thing I loue, is this, I weene, To ride aboute to haue those newe cloathes scene: At eu'rye gossiping I am at, still, And euer wilbe, maie I haue my will, For, at ons owne house, praie, who is't can see Howe fyne in newe-found fash'ond tires wee bee? Vnles our husbandes: faithe! but very fewe! And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husband's veiue? Alas, we vviues doe take but smale delight Yf none (besides our husbandes) sees that sight.</p>	<p>It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man Praise this or that attire, that we weare on. Wee iocond are, and think our selues much graste Yf we heare some one saie ' faire wenche, faithe, in waste This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well; From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell. Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes, Throwes-up the lure which wynns our verye hartes. When we are stubborn'st, then let men with skill Rubbe's well with th' oyle of praise; and bend we will, That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth soften vs soe, As what ist then, we will not yield vnto? Meetings and brauerye were my delight."</p>
---	---

p. 72: starch.—City Night Cap. *Old Plays*, vol. 11, p. 309:—

"My chambermaid
Putting a little saffron in her starch,
I most unmercifully broke her head."—*Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.*

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

"Chloe . . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you?

Cytheris. O Juno! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puff-wings,¹ and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it? who starches you? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses² out of the city." 1601.—Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, IV. i. *Works*, i. 236, col. 2.

¹ "That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up." See p. 241 above.

² "This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tire-women, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his *Bartholomew Fair*; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his *Muses' Looking-Glass*. . ."

p. 73-5. *Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c.* The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denounced here, though they were by Latimer :

"I think Mary had not much fine linen ; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal ; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days ; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about ; they were not invented then ; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals ; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time : *Non tortis crinibus*, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially ;' *Non plicatura capillorum*, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. *Remains*, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew ; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties ; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them :—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,
These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,
With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.
He fisher is, they are his baytes,
Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. p. 254.

Fans. Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,
To flit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
When heat of summer doth arrise,
The wit of women we might praise,
For finding out so great an ease ;

But seeing they are stil in hand,
In house, in field, in church. in street,

In summer, winter, water, land,
 In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

Busks.

The baudie buske that keepes downe flat
 The bed wherein the babe should breed,
 What doth it els but point at that
 Which faine would have somewhat to feede ;
 Where bellie want might shadow vae,
 The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,
 Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,
 And that by shot they take most harme,
 When lustie gamesters come in field,
 I guess buskes are but signes to tell
 Where launderers for the campe do dwell."
 1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, p. 255 6.

Secret coats or stays.—Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong
 With bones,¹ with past, with such like ware,
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
 And now they harness gallants are ;
 Were they for use against the foe,
 Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay
 The course that nature doth intend,
 And mothers often by them slay
 Their daughters young, and worke their end,²
 What are they els but armours stout,
 Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout ?"

¹ "Winifride . . . Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), *Jacke Drum*, Act IV. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 182.

² John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since ; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

"Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernicious beyond imagination ; who thinking a *Slender-waste* a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. *By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath ; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone*

hoops, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

“These hoops, that hippes and haunch do hide,
 And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,
 As they are now in use for pride,
 So did they first beginne of paine :
 When whores in stewes had gotten poxe,
 This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout
 Might arses greate at first begin ;
 And that when paunch of whore grew out,
 These hoops did helpe to hide their sinne ;
 And therefore tub-tailes all may rue,
 That they came from so vile a crue.

prison or little-ease ; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse. Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunuch.

Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student : Demissis humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut graciles fient.

— *si qua est habitior paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, acucunt cibum, Tamet si bona est natura, reddunt curvatura junceos.*

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that *Terence* lived.

“*Paræus* where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time : Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone ; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituation of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them ; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked.”—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling*, etc., by J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], 1650

Bulwer also denounces the Absurd, tho’ now happily abandona custom of swathing children in tight bands :—

“We in *England* are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please ; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave.” 1650.—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transform’d ; or, the Artificial Changeling*, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

If barreld bums¹ were full of ale,
 They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne ;
 But yeelding nought but filth and stale,
 No losse it were, if they did burne . . ."

Aprons.

"These aprones white of finest thrid,
 So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
 So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
 So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought ;
 Were they in worke to save their cotes,
 They need not cost so many grotos.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,
 They set up whites, and shew the pinne ;
 It may be, aprones are like tricks,
 To teach where rovers, game may winne.
 Brave archers soone will find the marke,
 But bunglers hit it in the darke."

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*. Hazlitt's *E. E. Popular Poetry*, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. *Gown layed with lace, &c.*

"*Girtred*. . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladie, and I praise God my mother must call me 'Madam'. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake ! off with this gowne ! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand ! . . . I tell you I cannot indure it ; I must bee a lady ! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen peticoate with two guardes, the buffin *gowne* with the tuff-taffitie cape and the *velvet lace* ? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady ! I like some humors of the Citty dames well . . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good ; to die rich scarlet, black, prety ; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable ; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your mising niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticotes, and silver bodkins--Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it," 1605.—Jn. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. *Cost of dress*.—See Rowlands's "*To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan*," as to how woods are cut down, and tenants rackt, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his *Knaue of Spades*, ?1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

¹ An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

"Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes,
 And theyr trappynge trinkets so vayne !
 A bounsing packesadel for the devyll to ryde on,
 To spurre theym to sorowe and payne."—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. *Parents' neglect of Children, &c.* 265

p. 75. *Parents to blame.* "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and letting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see : and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to their children to doe what they liste, neuer endeavouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [= lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers haue bene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chasting them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spred about in euery quarter,—but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577.—Jn. Northbrooke, *Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c.* (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. *Nether stockes, korked shooes, &c.*

<p>"These worsted stockes of bravest die, And silken garters fring'd with gold; These korked shooes to beare them hie, Makes them to trip it on the molde: They mince it with a pace so strange, Like untam'd heifers, when they range.</p>	<p>To carrie all this pelfe and trash, Because their bodies are unfit, Our wantons now in coaches dash, From house to house, from street to street." 1595-6.—St. Gosson, <i>Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen</i>, Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.</p>
---	---

"*Crispinell.* Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tissefew. Dost not weare high corke shooes—chopines? [Cp. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447.]

Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath.—1605. Jn. Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, III. i. *Works*, 1856, ii. 147.

266 Notes on pp. 77, 78. *Women's Shoes, Scents, &c.*

p. 77, l. 2, *pinsnets*,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know *pinsnet* except in Stubbes. *Pinson* is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the *Promptorium*, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, *les eschapins*—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards *Pinsons* on her feete."—*Household Ordinances* (1791), p. 124. Mr. Hertage has sent me the following: "A Pynson *hec* pedibromita.e. dicitur a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—*Catholicon*. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"Pedibomita / te. anglie (a pynson)."—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] *Ortus Vocabulorum*. W. de Worde. 1532.

"*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, *osa*."—*Manipulus Vocab.* "Pynson, sho, *caffignon*."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "*Cassignon*: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "*Soccatus*. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "*Detrahere soccos alicui*: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, or socke." *Calceo*. To put on shoes, sockes, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77; l. 10 from foot. *Pomanders*.

"1st. *Boy*. Your only way to make a good *pomander*, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), *Lingua*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's *English Housewife*, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's *Works*, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—*Lingua*, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: *fragrant Pomanders*. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's *Webster*, ed. 1871, note on the *Malcontent*, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: *droye*.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. *North*.—See Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 42; Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 256."—*Halliwel's Dict.*—S.

p. 78, l. 3: *pussle*.—Compare "Pucelle or *puzzel*, dolphin or dogfish," I *Hen. VI*, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "*Puzel* or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish."—Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a *puzell* verie beautiful."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, iii. 545/ 1/52.—S. "Then, three pretty *puzels* az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—*Laneham's Letter*, my ed. p. 23.

Notes on p. 78. *Women's bare Breasts.* 267

p. 78: *naked breasts*.—See *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his *The Devil is an Ass*, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . "since Love hath the honour to approach
These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft
And rosy hand."

"Here he grows more familiar in his courtship." "Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands," &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), "Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps."—P. A. D.

"*Bellula*. Let pinching city-dames orecloud their eyes :
Our brests lie forth, like conduits of delight,
Able to tice the nicest appetite.
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne ?

Pink. Madam, not this weake, do what I can."

? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, *Histrion-Mastix*, Act III. R. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 50.

"Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,
And call us Night Walkers and Faries,
Go fumble old *Joan*, and let us alone,
And never come near our canary's :
We'll wear our breasts bare,¹ and curl up our hair,

¹ Mr. Ebsworth's note is, 'The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii. :—

"O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica ?
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica," etc.

' Thus rendered by H. F. Cary :—

"What wouldst thou have me say ? A time to come
Stands full within my view, to which this hour
Shall not be counted of an ancient date,
When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare
Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.*
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge
Of spiritual or other discipline,
To force them walk with covering on their limbs.
But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven
Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,
Their mouths were op'd for howling : they shall taste
Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here)."

' After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet "*Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders*."

* On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people ;
But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more,
We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeples."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodos," To the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collection, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housed in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts* (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious. . . There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones *in their own bosomes*, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, 1630, 4to, p. 28 :—

"But alas ; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne ? When that *Sex*, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foments of exposed loosenesse ; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even *in their naked Bosomes*, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toys of *Venus* and *Adonis* : which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

"So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii) :—

"These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,
and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought,
A tempting ware they are, you know,
wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc.
"These perriwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes,
these spangles, chaines and laces all ;
These naked paps, the Devils ginnes,
to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall :
[He fowler is, they are his nets,
Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

"These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee ! I can tell what thou would'st do
Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin :
For thou thyself hast been a libertine,
As sensual as the brutish sting itself :
And all the embossed sores and headed evils,
That thou with license of free foot hast caught,
Would'st thou discharge into the general world."
As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7.

p. 78, l. 7: *kissing*.—"I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publicquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them." [In Spain they don't do it] "because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion." 1623.—J. Minsheu, *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues*, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see *Lusty Iuuentus*, 1550, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii. 85:—

<p>"What a hurly-burly is here! Smick smack, and all this gear! You will to tick-tack,¹ I fear, If you had time:</p>	<p>Well, wanton, well: Iwis I can tell That such smock-smell Will set your nose out of tune."</p>
---	---

See Beatrice's protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i; *Works*, 1856, ii. 144. She's one of Sir Herbert's daughters, and says, "'boddy a beautie! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lippes as familiarly. Soft skins save us! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes: I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe," &c. &c. A. D. 1792, "there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her; the same is practised by the people in general; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friendship are impressed alike on the lips." H. Meister (Swiss by birth). *Letters on England*, english 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. *Sweet smells of musks, &c.*

"Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,
Their waters made of seemely sent,
Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeete,
Except where needes they must be spent."

1579.—W. A., *A speciall Remedie against . . lawlesse Love*. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 237.

"*Mercatore*.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack;
For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .

Gerontus . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant per-
fumes, and many such toys,

Wherein I perceiue consisteth that country[']s gentlewomen's joys.

¹ See *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196.

270 Notes on pp. 78, 79. *Women's Toys, Scents, &c.*

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."
1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :—

“ *What smels sweete ?*

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand things
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes :
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.
Faire Women that in bosoms nose-gays weare,
Kisse by their lippes, and say what sent they beare,
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well.”

1600.—*Quips upon Questions* . . . By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer : “Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume.”

p. 78-9. *Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.*

“ *Epigram.*

WHAT feather'd fowle is this that doth approach
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach ?
Three yards of feather round about her hat,
And in her hand a bable like to that :
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose ;
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose¹,
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there ?
Light feather'd stufte befits you best to weare.” (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)

1608.—S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking-Glasse* (Hunterian Club, 1872)

“ A Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine :
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,
In her attire an angell of the light.
Is she an Angell ? I : it may be well,
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

¹ “ *Tailor*. Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown :
Grumio. Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred : I said a gowne.”
—? 1596-7.—Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224, col. 2.

Notes on pp. 79, 80. *Women's Feathers, &c.* 271

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,
 She scornes to treade our former proud wiues traces,
 That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces;
 In her conceit it is not faire enough,
 She must reforme it with her painters stuffe;
 And she is neuer merry at the heart,
 Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.
 Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,
 Then home againe; birladie, she takes paines.
 My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,
 If he were loose, would lead a single life."

The Humors that haunt a Wife (*ib.* B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. *Looking-glasses: mirrors in hats, &c.*

"*Amorphus* . . . Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat,¹ as I told you: so!" 1600.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, II. i.

p. 79: *bracelets, rings, &c.*

"and now, my honie Loue,
 Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house
 And reuell it as brauely as the best,
 With silken coats and caps, and golden *Rings*,
 With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things;
 With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,
 With Amber *Bracelets*, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. *Masks, face-painting, &c.*

"Peace, Cynick; see, what yonder doth approach!
 A cart? a tumbrell? No a badgèd coach.
 What's in't? Some man? No, nor yet woman kinde,
 But a celestiaall angell, faire, refine.
 The diuèll as soone! Her *maske* so hinders me,
 I cannot see her beauties deitie,
 Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
 So steep in lemons juyce, so surphuled,
 I cannot see her face. Under one hoode
 Two faces: but I never understood
 Or saw one face under two hoods till now:
 'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.
 Her *maske*, her *vizard*, her loose-hanging gowne
 (For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

¹ Both sexes wore them publicly; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistresses's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall,
Is all that makes her thus angelicall.
Alas ! her soule struts round about her neck ;
Her seate of sense is her rebato set ;
Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse,
Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse.

Out on these puppets, painted images,
Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskeries,
Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright
That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light !
Away ! away ! hence ! coach-man, goe inshrine
Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline !”

599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie. Works*, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. *Visors made of veluet* : Of Masks, Gosson says, *Pleasant Quippes*,
E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254 :—

<p>“ . . on each wight, now are they seene, The tallow-pale, the browning-bay, The swarthie-blacke, the grassie-greene, The pudding red, the dapple graie, So might we judge them toys aright To keepe sweet beautie still in plight.</p>	<p>What else do maskes but maskers show ? And maskers can both dance and play : Our masking dames can sport, you knowe, Sometime by night, some time by day : ‘Can you hit it’¹ is oft their daunce, Deuse-ace² fals stil to be their chance.”</p>
---	--

“ *Higgen.* We stand here for an epilogue
Ladies, your bounties first ! the rest will follow ;
For women’s favours are a leading alms :
If you be pleas’d, look cheerly, throw your eyes
Out at your *masks*.

Prigg. And let your beauties sparkle !”
1622.—Fletcher. *The Beggars Bush*, Works, i. 231.

p. 81 : *makers of new fashions*.—Compare Massinger, in his *Picture*, 1629-30.
Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. 1, Moxon’s ed.—

“ *Eubulus.* There are some of you,
Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads
Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done
More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery,
Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war
Or a long famine. All the treasure, by
This foul excess, is got into the merchant,
Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor’s hand,
And the third part of the land too, the nobility
Engrossing titles only.”

¹ Compare Rosaline : ‘Thou canst not hit it, my good man,’ *L. L. Lost*,
IV. ii. ; Ritson’s *Robin Hood*, ii. 213 ; *Wily Beguil’d* (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p.
254-5, and p. 371. ² A male’s genitals.

p. 81. *Heathen women an example to Christian ones.*

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), *Works* (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. *In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.*—Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quòd superne nimium excavaatur."—S.

p. 87. *Women's dress: its motive:—*

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress,
If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail,
Put not forth ever and anon with your nets
Abroad into the world? It is your fishing.
There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady,
Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters,
Fetch answers, do you all the offices
That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87.—*How the day's spent by Women:—*

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes,
And then againe her Lady-ship¹ doth rise,
Her Maid must make a fire, and attend
To make her ready; then for wine sheele send,
(A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake,
And counterfeits as if shee could not speake,
Vntill eleuen, or a little past,
About which time, euer she breakes her fast;
Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure,
And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre.
At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes,
Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepes
Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout;
And when that lazie humour is worne out,
She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap,
Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap)
Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale,
Or else at me sheele curse, and swears, and rale,
Or walke a turne or two about the Hall,
And so to supper and to bed: heeres all
This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her!
But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.² . . ."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry*, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

¹ Ironical. She has no title.

² See S. Rowlands's sketch of a *Jealous husband*, in his *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's *Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604, the *Idie-huswife*, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

“**F**ine, neate, and curious mistris Butter flie,
 The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,
 You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why;
 Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,
 Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,
 Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.
 You that will call your Husband ‘Gull & Clowne,’
 If he refuse to let you haue your Will:
 You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,
 Vnlesse his purse be lauish open still,
 You that will haue it, get it how he can,
 Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,
 Ile Stabbe thee.”

Compare too an older complaint in *The Schole-House of Women*, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 111-112:—

<p>“¶ Wed them once, and then adue, Farwel, all trust and huswifery; Keep their chambers, and them self mew, For staining of their fisnamy [complexion], And in their bed all day doo lye; Must, once or twice every week, Fain them self for to be sick.</p> <p>¶ Send for this, and send for that; Little or nothing may them please; Come in, good gossip, and keep me chat, I trust it shall do me great ease; Complain of many sundry disease; A gossips cup between vs twain, Til we be gotten vp againe.</p>	<p>¶ Then must she haue maidens two or three, That may then gossips together bring; Set them to labour to blere the eye; Them self wil neither wash ne wring, Bake ne brue, ne any thing; Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot, Brew of the best in a halfpenny pot.</p> <p>¶ Play who wil, the man must labour, And bring to house all that he may; The wife againe dooth nought but glauour, And holde him vp with yea and nay; But of her cup he shall not assay, Other she saith, it is to thin, Or els, iwis, there is nothing in.” &c.</p>
--	--

p. 87, l. 10 from foot. *Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sityng at the doore.*—“They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.” Emanuel van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands*, in Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 72; *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

“*Butler.* I am now going to their place of resi lence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see *Harrison*, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me; but ask not for

276 Notes on p. 87. *Shopkeepers' Wives used.*

me, only walk to and fro; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with *the shopkeepers' wives*: they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607.—G. Wilkins, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistress Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress:—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him; and his wife is a proper woman; that she is! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wain-scot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant: her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All things with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable.
He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,
To be cald nigard, *cuckold*, cut-throat, knave!"

And in his *Satyre I*, 1598, *Works*, iii. 215, Marston says:—

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,
To see such troupes of gallants still resort
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause
But chaste Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes?"

Machiavelli's *Instructions to his Son* how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject:—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore,
Let her stand like a picture at thy doore,
Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends,
Faire eies, fond lookes, will gaine a world of friends.
Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie;
Bid her forbear; her toyle makes thee pittie;
Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines,
With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines.
Play at bo-peepe, see me and see me not;
It comes off well, that is so closely got;
And euermore say, 'aye! well fare the vent
That paies the charges of the house, and rent!'
Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this,
The finest Dames doth some times do amisse,
Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede,
And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede,
And make great shew of deuoutest praier,
When she only goes to meete her louer.

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text ;
Shee tels him any thing that cometh next ;
And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse,
Scarse for laughing, one word can rehearse,
But prettily turnes it off with some iest :
He beares with all ; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,
And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,
If by her sutors, siluer may be had,
Beare with small faults ; the good will help the bad.
Be not too seuer, time may mend their faults ;
He is a foole, before a cripple haults ;
Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,
Tis pittie but his cheekes should e're look thin :
What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all ;
Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall ?
This is no world for vertuous men to thriue ;
Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliue.
Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie ;
Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-seruants be kinde-hearted wenches,
And closely make kinde bargains on the benches,
Let them haue libertie, loue and pleasure ;
All these are helpes to bring in thy treasure ;
Let them laugh and be merrie ; it yeelds content ;
Thei'le humor all, till all their coyne is spent.
If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,
Winke at a wanton who hath not beene so."

1613.--*The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, *ib.* sign. F 2, back :—

"An honest minde in euery trade doth well,
The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.
Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,
Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,
To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.
Winke at no faults ; it is but misery,
By bestiall meanes to releue necessity.
If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,
That her peeuish meanes worke not thy strife ;
Giue her not too much lawe, to run before ;
Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow ;
Yet abridge her not too much by any meane ;
But let her still be thy companion.

278 Notes on p. 87. *Parents' Treatment of Children.*

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,
Then [= than], like a hacknic, let her out to hire.
What a greuous case were this for thee,
To extoll thy selfe to prosperity
By such insatiate meanes ! a heauy sense
Deseruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such marked contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*, in my *Adam Davie* (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my *Babes Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc.) :—

"Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare,
Yet to outward view let not loue appeare,
Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue,
By audacious meanes doe audacious proue.
Seeme not a companion in any case
To thy children : learne them know who's in place,
That due obedience to thee be done ;
The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne.
Thus may thy children be at thy commaund,
With willing heart, still helpfull at thy hand.
Familiarity, contempt doth breed ;
By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede :
Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list ;
Once being growne, thei'll stubbornly resist,
Caring not for parents nor their talking,
Commending their owne wits ; age is doting.
Looke well to youth and how their time is spent,
Least thou by leasure afterwards repent . . .
Vse no corrections in an angry vaine,
Which will but vexee thee much, increase thy paine . . .
The greefe is thine, when children goe astray ;
Giue them not too much liberty to play,
Least that they doe to a custome bring it,
And euer after forbear to leaue it."

* * * * *
[sign. G 2] "Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade ;
Loue thou thy God ; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself :—

"Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop,
Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top ;
Shee is a Lady for her louely face,
And her countenance hath a Princes grace,
And that her beautie hath inthrald thee soe,

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe ;
 Then cast thine eye vpon her beautious cheeke,
 Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like :
 Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing ;
 Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing ;
 Her Tuorie teeth, her lip and chin ;
 Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene ;
 Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie,
 Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely :
 Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be,
 Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see ;
 Then she nods the head with smiling fauor,
 That thou shouldst bestow such loue vpon her.
 Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head,
 And giue a sigh, as though thy heart were dead ;
 And shew strange passions of affections sence,
 That she may pittie loue sirreuerence,
 Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor,
 Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her.
 Thus let the issue of this cunning be,
 That from her purse, some profit come to thee,
 A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stuffe,
 A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe ;
 A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring,
 Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing,
 Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine
 That still inuention giues his sweetest vaine."

1615.—*The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8: *thei have Gardens, &c.*—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's *Bondman*, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to proue fatall to such as followe the *Garden Alleyes*, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leaue Harlotte-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3, back.

In *Skialetheia*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

"who, comming from the
 Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in
 To some odde garden noted house of sinne ;"

and West, in a rare poem, *The Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,

"Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

The garden alleyes paled on either side ;
Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, *No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 352 :—

"*Somebody* doth maintaine a common strumpet
Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. *Harlots & Brothels*.—See S. Rowlands's *Doctor Merrie-Man*, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in :—

"I am a profest Courtezan,
That liue by peoples sinne :
With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe,
I haue great comming in.
Such store of Traders haunt my house,
To finde a lusty Wench,
That twentie Gallants in a weeke,
Doe entertaine the *French* ;
Your Courtier, and your Citizen,
Your very rustique Clowne,
Will spend an Angell on the Poxe,
Euen ready mony downe.
I striue to liue most Lady-like,
And scorne those foolish Queanes,
That doe not rattle in their Silkes
And yet haue able meanes
I haue my Coach, as if I were
A Countesse, I protest,
I haue my daintie Musicke playes
When I would take my rest.
I haue my Seruing-men that waite
Vpon mee in blew Coates ;

I haue my Oares that [do] attend
My pleasure, with their boates :
I haue my Champions that will fight,
My Louers that do fawne :
I haue my Hat, my Hood¹, my Maske,
My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne ;
To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull,
Is mighty fauour found,
When for the wearing of the same,
It costs him twentie pound.
My Garter, as a gracious thing,
Another takes away :
And for the same, a silken Goune
The Prodigall doth pay. . . .
Another lowly-minded youth,
Forsooth my Shooe-string craues,
And that he putteth through his eare,
Calling the rest, bace slaues.
Thus fit I Fooles in humours still,
That come to me for game,
I punish them for Venerie,
Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies :

"What, do you sigh? this it is to *kiss the hand of a countess, to haue her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five*

¹ "*Alice*. The poor common whores can haue no traffic for the priuy rich ones ; your *caps and hoods of velvet* call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ii. 192, col. 1.

Notes on pp. 97, 98. *Whoredom in London.* 281

hundred crowns or so: why, 'tis nothing! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery: well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii.; *Works*, i. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13: *huggle*, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,
And *huggle* me from the cold."

Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard, ll. 61-2. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.—S.

p. 97. *Cottages in euery lane end*. Against this evil was passt, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconueniences whiche are founde by experience to growe by the erectinge and buyldinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages; which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme: Be it enacted . . . That . . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect . . . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor conuert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge . . . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwellinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grōwnde at the least . . . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. *Whoredom to be punisht*.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconuenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Curtizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto: is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed: idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, *Greenes Ghost haunting Coniecatchers*, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's *Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's *E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 233:

"Take no example by shyre townes,
Nor of the Cytie of London:
For therein dwell proude wycked
ones,
The poyson of all this region.

For a stewde strumpet can not so soone
Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon,
But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it
well,
And catch it up anon."

And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI.: "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common! . . . It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, 'Immunity, impunity : ' what should I call it ! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there ; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it ; and the quest, they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the "manifolde Enormities" in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590 :

"XXV. Sundrie notoriowse vises abowndinge, by meanes of y^e former confusion in y^e Ecclesiasticall state.

1. Vnlawfull and vnreasonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.

2. *fornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted.* [? practist.]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnreasonable strength of Ale soulde with owte sise of Statute : a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton's *Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne.*)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talking vpon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continuall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore ; no way punished or punishable."

Remains, Hist. & Lit. Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99 : *punishment for Whoredom.* Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550 :—"I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244 : and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves : I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. *There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.*—"On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue bene the burning of old shoos or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppress the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praior, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and rooffe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench : which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat.”—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60—15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed’s account is, as usual, from Stow’s *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: “Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592.”

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip’s complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands’s *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

“Looke, heere’s the best apparrell that I haue,
 The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue.
 He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues,
 I am beholding more to others loues
 Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [*irony*]
 And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so.—
 There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three,
 And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be,
 Which will not see me want, I know it, I :
 Two of them at my house in Terme time lye,
 And comfort me with iests and odde deuce,
 When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice.
 For if I were without a merry friend,
 I could not liue a twelue-month to an end ;
 One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,—
 It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,—
 Do y’ thinke my husband would haue bin so free ?
 Alas he neuer made so much of mee.”

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband’s answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. *Wives live by whoredom.*

“*Knockem.* . . I’ll provide you a coach to take the air in.

Mrs. Littlewit. But do you think you can get one ?

Knockem. O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every pettifogger’s wife has ’em ; for first he buys a coach that he

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102: *glutton*.—"What good can the great gloton do w^t his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in y^e middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but y^e the body dilicately fed, maketh, as y^e rumour saith, an vnchast bed." d. 1535, Sir T. More, *Works* (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

"London, look on, this matter nips thee near:
 Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;
 Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,
 But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;
 Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,
 Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness."

Lodge & Greene's *Looking-Glass for London & England*,
 pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. *Gluttony*: see the 'Glutton' in Rowlands's *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, 'To a Gormandizing Glutton', in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:—

"What should I speake of your two greatest Gods πολυφασία and πολυποσία, gluttonous feeding and excessiue drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that haue their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

"I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choise in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syrropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talke not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant with wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subiect to, and most readie to accomplish?

"Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comlines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkeneses? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomach is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnurlic Lord, doo lay him in y^e durt like an ouer ruled slaue ; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vppe the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were neuer knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these meanes it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardes.”—*A meruailous combat of contrarieties*, by W.[illiam] A.[verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. *Drunkard*: see S. Rowlands’ sketch of one in his *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604, C 3, p. 21 ; *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8) ; also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8) ; and his praise of good liquor in *Letting, &c.*, p. 76-8. On ‘How to make Drunken folk Sober,’ see Sir Wm. Vaughan’s *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health*, 1608. Compare also the Act :—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. “An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Druckenenes. Whereas the loathsome and odyous Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundation of many other enormious Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusively wasting the good Creatures of God : Be it therefore enacted . . . That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges . . . to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accompable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parische. . .”

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tipping, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton’s *Sivquila* (Aliquis), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in *Nusquam* or Nowhere, Lupton’s ‘Utopia’ :—

“A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine ! for though sometimes they driue their fellows from *the* meat, and eate by themselves, yet when they haue filled themselves sufficiently, they goe away, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungrie brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heauen, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therefore, bycause thou hast so much welth *that* thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy of ; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, that thou shalt giue yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance ; who shall

Niggardly
and drunken
churles worse
than swine.

A good iudge-
ment giuen vpon
a drunkarde.

[1. To pay a Preacher to preach to him 3 times a week,] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, persuading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also

[& 3 times a week in his parish church.] shall preache three dayes euery weeke in the parishe Church where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: '*This is the Drunkarde that spente as muche dayly at the Tauernes and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghboures did spende daylye in their houses.*' And this

[2. to sit for 3 market days with a pot in his hand, & "Drunkard" on his forehead.] being ended, thou shalte remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for euery dinner thou shalte be allowed not aboute a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalte be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboute the value of a penny." The poor man who is a drunkard is to "sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knowne, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoever he shall be out of his owne house . . . and euery Sondaie during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to auoyde drunkennesse." Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, *Sivquila* says "And the poorer sort, though they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conveniently as they, yet on the Sundaie at the furthest they wyll bee euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tipple almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantly paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunke two and a halfe of the same.)"

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babes Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde's *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

"And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] . . . For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gracious benefits." 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. *Perambulation of Kent*, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

"Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German's upsy-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer's stoop of rhenish, the Italian's parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o' th' coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609. T. Dekker. *Guls Hornboock*, Præmium, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of *Le Débat des Hérants d'Armes* (ab. 1546), and John Coke's Answer to it (1550), for his *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that *Anglia potat*¹, or *Li mieldre buveor en Angleterre*,² though William of Normandy says in his *Besant*³ that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, *Drunkennes*. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being *Anglici caudati*, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article *caudati* in Du Cange; A de Montaignon, *Ançiennes Poesies Françaises* VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*.

p. 103. *England better in old times.*—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's '*Twax a merry world in the old time*' in his *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: *rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c.* Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's *Vision*, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise* (Starkey's *Life & Letters*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herriage):—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 6r (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

“So, for that Oxe whiche hathe beene the like solde,
for ffortie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
yea, seauny is more, I haue herde it so tolde :
hee cannot els luye ; so deearre is his grownde.
Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde,
suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,
that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in Mutton, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrelye,
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie,
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white english skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Where they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [lf 6r, back.]
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate :
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate ;

¹ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii). *Archives des Missions*, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

² Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281.

³ ed. Martin, l. 2000-3 : cp. the editor's note on this passage.

if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende,
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Engliche nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,
by water herbys, or suche beggerie baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis ·
geeue Engliche men meate, after their olde vsage,
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. *Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.*—"The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselues happy, if they mighte haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner, or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of
The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hilling
cruel vsing of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to
the poore. goe by their poore pitiful brethren and giue them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being checkt of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Siriquila*, p. 28-9.

p. 116. *Neglect of the poor.*—See Robert Copland's most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne'er-do-weels, and Unthrifts of Henry VIII's time in his *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous* (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-1 :—

' . . . I haue sene at sondry hospytalles
That many haue *lyne dead without the walles*,
And for lacke of socour *haue dyed wretchedly*,
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng ;
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,
That in the nyght so many lodge without :
For in the whatche whan that we go about,
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,
But surely,) euery nyght ther is found
One or other lyeng by the pound,
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft ;
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

And euen here by this brycke wall
 We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall ;
 And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,
 Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,
 And in many corners wher that we go,
 Wherof I wondre greatly why they do so,
 But oftymes when they vs se,
 They do renne a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. *Inclosures.* See the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from MSS.*, Part I, Ballad Society; the *Supplications* edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's Time*, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspeare, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (*Leop. Sh. Introd.*, p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd
 The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,
 The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws
 Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws
 Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,
 Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,
 And, by th' inclosure of old common land,
 Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand ;
 Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,
 Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones . . .
 and when he can no more,
 The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,
 And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,
 A bond-slave to the miserable jail."

1604.—M. Drayton, *The Owl*. Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. *Lawyers.*—See *Harrison*, Part I. p. 204-7; *Father Hubbard's Tales* (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's *Middleton*, &c. The complaint starts from long before *Piers Plowman* (Text B, Prol. l. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil neuer spye, because of their priuate luces sake; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. *Dearth* (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's *Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints*, 1581. New Shakspeare Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes,
 Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch?
It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. *Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &c.*—"Sivgila. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretiship, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who hauing not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to giue them all that he hadde, and to leaue himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they would *make Dice of his bones*, if they hadde nothing else."—Thomas Lupton's *Sivgila*, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. *Covetous men buying up poor men's land.*

"Cormerauntes, gredye gullcs, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyl dren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! . . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the cuntry we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciablc beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them." 1550.—R. Crowley, *The Way to Wealth*. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:—"The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredy Gentylnen, whyche Shepnowgers are shepomongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hougar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage, *Philip. ii. [21]* and not those things which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroyers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same. They are insatiablc woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

fal to the ground. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse *Gene. iii.* man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y^t *Eccle. xxxiii.* [21] defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things neces- *Bread what it* sary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciabie couetousnes sel *signifieth.* al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, *Marke well.* Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." Becon, *Fewel of Joy.* *Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.—S. J. Hertridge.

'*Les gros poissons mangent les petis*: Pro. Justly applyed to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mightie the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: *misers, or rich men, adding land to land.*—"Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs: for if they did not, thei would not so greedily gather their goods together, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke euery day to die, (being of such extreame age) haue so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Siriquila*, p. 70-1.

"What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad?

What mischiefe is it thereby is not wrought?

What earthly thing is not therefore to be had?

What hath been so loved, but money hath bought?

What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought?

'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say.

How many for money have been robbed and murdered?

How many false witnesses, and for money perjured?

How many wives from their husbands have been enticed?

How many maydens to folly for money allured?

How many for money have spirits and diuells coniured?

How many friends, for money have beene mortall foes?

Mo mischieues for money then I can disclose!

How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned?

How many betrayers of their country for money every day?

How many for money from true iudgment are led?

Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money?

Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c.

1578.—T. Lupton, *All for Money*, in Halliwell's *Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries*,

p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question:

"*Pleasure*. In what case were the worlde, were it not for money?

Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliuie:

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie ?
 To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive,
 But I conteyne them at this time and hower,
 Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing,
 Eating and drinking, dysing and carding,
 Riding and running, swimming and singing,
 Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playing,
 Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes,
 Dallying with faier women, with other kinde of sportes :
 All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.
 With musicall instruments, both with man and boye.
 Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace,
 But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe.”
 1578.—T. Lupton. *All for money*, sign. B.j.

p. 123. *Usury*. See *Harrison*, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, ‘To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer’ in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26 ; and his sketch of Usury in his *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9 :

“Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe ?
 ¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedlere hath of cattes,
 þat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myȝte, for coveitise of here
 skynnes.”

“*Simplicity*. O that vild Usury ! he lent my father a little money ; and for breaking one day,

He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away ;
 And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost ;
 But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste,
 So he kill’d my father with sorrow, and undooed me quite.”

1584.—*The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vi. 259.

See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of *N. & Q.*, x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. *Every Begger almost is called Maister*.—See Lancelot’s “MAISTER Launcelet” in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith’s *Commonwealth of England*, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on *Harrison*, I, 133, 137), which I printed in *New Sh. Soc.’s Trans.* 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspeare getting his “yeoman” father arms, and making him a “gentleman” in 1596 (*Leopold Shakspeare Introduction*, p. ciii) ; and p. 237, above.

p. 124. *Usury allowed by Law*. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revivd the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20—authorized the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mortgage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. *Prisoners for debt*.

“*Fallace* . . . if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you ! you are in for one, half-a-score year ; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii., *Works*, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 307. In *The Play of Stucley*, 1605, *ib.* p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond :

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers
As to oppress them with the prison stink¹?
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison . . . is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron : It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . . when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischiefs and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.—Wm. Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voiage made to an Infernall Iland long since discovered by many Captaines, &c.*, Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was calld *Miseries of a Juile*, or *A True Description of a Prison*.)

p. 127. *I will make dice of his bones*. The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands :

"Greedy Vsurer.

THou Fur-gown'd slaue, exceeding rich and olde,
Ready to be deuowred of the Graue :
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue :
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,
Whome Hell gapes for ; the Deuill comes to fetch.
Thou that wilt not forbear an howers time,
But wilt a forfayture seuerely take :
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,
And threatnest, *Dice, of poor mens bones to make*,
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,
Ile stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. B 3 ; p. 13, ed. 1872.

¹ "See Bacon, *Nat. Hist. Cent. X. no. 914*. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See *Holinshed*, IV. 868, and *Leicester Correspondence*, 224."

“Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes,
 Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes.
 Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch
 from thy distressed friendles needy wretch,
 Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head,
 Turne him and's children out to begge their bread.
 Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt,
 And let them at thy handes no faour get,
 Send them to Prison; there in all distresse,
 To taste the mercie of the mercillesse.
 Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete,
 Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheete.”—*Ib.* p. 43-4.

“Thou that vauntest, and wilt make *dice of thy debtor's bones*; be these the words of a man?”—Of Creditors, Minshul's *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. *Scriveners.* See T. M.'s *Father Hubbard's Tales* in Dyce's *Middleton's Works*, vol. v.

SWEARING.

p. 129. *Swearing.* On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's *Epigrams*, p. 19. On the *hunting oaths*, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in *Four Supplications*, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53: “What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne *huntinge othes*) extorcyon / pryde / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme!”

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, “in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearinge as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyl dren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punyssh it.”

p. 131. *Swearing.* It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 73, “be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [= vulgar]: study their carriage and behaviour in all; learn to play at primero and passage; and even [when you lose] *have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears.*” And in *Every Man in his Humour*, I. iii, Cob says: “Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, *by the foot of Pharaoh!* There's an oath! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me—he does swear the legiblest of any man christened: ‘By St. George! the foot of Pharaoh! the body of me! as I am a gentleman and a soldier!’ such dainty oaths!” Ben Jonson's *Works*, i. 12.

‘*Il iure comme vn Gentilhomme.* He swears after a thousand pound a yeare.’ *Il iure comme vn Abbé* [viz. extremly], *chartier; gentilhomme; prelat* [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

“Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
 A faire rich sute, though foully run in debt?
 Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,
 Keepe whores, fee bauds, *belch impious blasphemies*,
 Wallow along in swaggering disguise,
 Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,
 Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die
 With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?
Canst thunder common oathes, like th' rattling
 Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
 Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,
 And call them brothers.”

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281 :—

“What, meant thou him that in his swaggering slops
 Wallowes unbraced, all along the streete? . . .
 What! that ringo roote!
 Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?
 What, he that's drawne and quartered with lace;
 That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?
 Why, he is nought but *huge blaspheming othes*,
 Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.
 Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,
 And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;
 Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,
 Hath eaten out that sacred influence
 Which made him man.”

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. *Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.*

“Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere.”

CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale*, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 43 :—

“And there they reuell as vnthyfty braggers,
 With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]
 Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,
 Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,
 With all other wordes of blasphemy,
 Bostyng them all in dedes of theyr myschefe,
 And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, these.
 The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,
 For none other ways they do not pretende.”

p. 135, l. 9. *There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocuilshire, &c.*
 —A copy of Stubbes's poem here referd to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my *Forewords* above.

296 Notes on p. 136. *Sunday bearbaiting, &c.*

p. 136, l. 13. *There was also a woman in the Citie of Muniidnol [= Londinum], &c.*—"The 11. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a litle money that she should haue paid for sixe pound of towre, at a shop in Woodstrecte ^{1576.} of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her God punish-eth periury. mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died : a terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother."—*Stow's Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. *Keeping of Sunday* (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-playes, see the extract from Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, *Harrison*, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his *Crowley's Select Works*, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :—

"Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (ed. 1872, p. 9) :—

"How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende,	128
Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe, Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe."	132

And at p. 16-17 "of Bearbaytynge," he writes :—

"What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare ?	376
And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght Wyth terrible tearynge : a full ougly syght.	380
And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all, Whose store of money is but verye smale,	384
And yet <i>euerye Sundaye</i> they will surely spende One peny or two, the bearwardes luyng to mende.	388
At Paryse garden, <i>eche Sundaye</i> , a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes vaile.	392
One halpenye a peece they vse for to giue, When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue."	396

Notes on p. 136-7. *Sunday Dancing and Baiting.* 297

So too Arthur Golding, in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580: "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . . speciall occupy-
ing of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning,
tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to
the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie
consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (From
Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118, and my *Captain Cox*, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth's countenance. This is how
Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester's entertain-
ment of the Queen there:

"On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and
vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church:
The afternoon in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in *dauncing of*
Lordes and Ladies, and oother woorschipfull degrees, vttered with such liuely
agilitee & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the
eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indeed I could not discern: but
exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both." P. 12 of my edition of *Captain*
Cox, or *Laneham's Letter*, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Laneham's capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (*ib.* p. 16-17)
is well known, but J. Hooker's lifting of part of it—"It waz a sport very
plezant" to "a goodly releef"—bodily into his continuation of Holinshed's
Chronicle, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. 1, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. *Beare bayting on the Saboth day.*

<p>"What else but gaine and Money gote maintaines each Saboth day The bayting of the Beare and Bull? What brings this brutish play? What is the cause that it is borne,</p>	<p>and not controlled ought, Although the same of custome be on holy Saboth wrought? Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite gainst good and godly lyfe."</p>
---	--

1569, E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyard*, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe's Sermon at Blandford, 1570, "the multitude
call their revelyng day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowl-
ings, dicynge, cardynge, daunsynge, drunkennes and whoredome . . . in so much
as men could not keepe their servauntes from lyeing out of theyr owne houses the
same sabbath-day at night." Hazlitt's *Brand*, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. *What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting.*—

"Of sayeng seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whan much of
the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge
tyme, and ouerwhelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after
herde the tale tolde, 'lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euen-
song whan ye should be at the bere baytynge.' How be it, the hurt was not ther
in beinge at euensonge, but in that the church was falsely wrought."—*Sir T.*
More (died 1535), *Works*, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch's *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, 1870-1, i.
221-2 (1879):—

"And the 'keeping holy the Sabbath-day,' said the Chief [Bismarck], that

298 Notes on p. 137. *Sunday Bearbaitings, &c.*

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. 'Pray, sir, do not whistle!' 'Why not; is whistling forbidden here?' 'No,' said he, 'it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!' This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to."

p. 137. *Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.*—See the Act I Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch. I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. "Forasmuch as . . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes upon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconueniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shall be no meetings assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoever; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillinges foure pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . ." (This Act was confirmed and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. *Prophanation of the Saboth.*

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, "the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke." The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566—22 July 1567.

lacye Recevyd of **Alexandre lacye** for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett *the abuse of y^e sabooth of the lorde &c* **iiij^d**
Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Jhon hynde Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton *concerning thabuse of the Sabothe Daye*. thother *the lamentacon of a synner troubled in conscyence* . . . **viiij^d**
(*Ib.* ii. 348.)

“For further proof wherof, I call to witness the Theaters [Burbage’s], Curtines [in Shoreditch] Heaving¹ houses, Rifling bootthes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth.” 1579.—T. F., *Newes from the North*, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne’s *Animadversions*, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the *Newes* to Francis Thynne.)

God worst served on the Sabbath daies “And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is neuer so il served as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to haue their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such gouernment haue they of themselues, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they learne at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from virtue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole year.” 1580.—*A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters* (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

Fairs. Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the “paltrie fairs . . . tendeth to the corruption of youth . . . whereby they often spend, not onlie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot.” See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

Fairs & Markets on Sundays. Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). “Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . . and on Good Friday accustomedly and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . . King . . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . .”

Sabbath Doings. See in 1579, T. F.’s *Newes from the North*. Cap. 14. . . “For I haue partely shewed you heer, what leaue and libertie the common people, namely² youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessionol of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witness the Theaters,

¹ Robbing: “to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth].” 1567.—J. Harman, *Caueat*: Rogues, their pelting Speche: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.
² specially.

300 Notes on pp. 139, 141. *Keeping of Sunday.*

Curtines¹, Heaving houses, Rifling bootthes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely² the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford,
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. *The Three Ladies of London*. Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. *it chaunced that a certaine Jewe*.—"In this yere [43 Hen III.] fell that happe of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vpon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondag, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede."—*Fabyan*. Quoted in *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, "Judæis multum fuit infestus," who indulged in this vile jest, while the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. *Theopompus mingled Moyses law with his writings*.—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that "Theopompus was desirous of wryting somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction."—Whiston's *Josephus*, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

¹ See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

² specially.

PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. *Stage-Plays, Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.*

"The Sabbath days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tipping, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—*Liturgical Services*, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. *Theaters & curtens.* James Burbage's "*Theatre*" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see *Harrison*, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the *Curtain*, built before 1579, in or near the present *Curtain Road* close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), *English Drama and Stage*, 1543-1664.

"A second and third blast¹ of retrait from plaies] and Theatres:] the one whereof was sounded by a re-uerend Byshop dead long since² ;] the other by a worshipful and] zealous Gentleman] now aliue:] One showing the filthiness of plaies in] times past ; the other the abomination of] Theaters in the time present :] both expressly prouing that the Common-weale is] nigh vnto the curse of God ; where-]in either plaiers be made of, or] Theaters main-]tained.] Set forth by Anglo-phile Eutheo.] Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16.] Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not] as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time,] because the daies are euil.] Allowed by auctoritie/ 1580

"*Evils of travelling players.*—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers[Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes they will not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, passing from countrie to countrie,³ from one Gentlemans house to another, offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost ; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse ; poore men

¹ Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* was the first.

² Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. *De Gubernatione Dei*, bk. vi.

³ county to county.

living on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftnes ; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

"Thus the people are robbed ; youth corrupted ; the Sabboth prophaned : and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right *Traiane the Emperor.* should establish the lawe of the *Roman Traiane*, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subiects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselues in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of *Rome*. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as retainers, are priuiledged to roaue abroad, and permitted to publish their *Temples prophaned with plaies.* mametree¹ in euerie Temple of God, and that throughout England, vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of thecues and adulterers." p. 75-8. *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters, 1580.*

"Whosoeuer shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde *Theaters the chappels of Satan.* shame : who presse to the fore-front of the scaffolds, to the end to showe their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies.² Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceau by their wanton gestures, wherevnto they are giuen ; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of *The open wickednes of harlots at plaies.* behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to be done in secret ; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them" (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

Against training vp of boies to plaies. (p. 110.) "As I haue had a saieng to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, so must I likewise deale with shameles inactors. When I see by them yong boies, inclining of themselues vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Schoolemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and griefe of hart lament.

"O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes, & trained vp to impudencie ! How proane are they of themselues, *Plaies the schoolemaisters of sin in the schoole of abuse.* and apt to receiue instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse ! what do they teach them, I praie you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel ?

"And as for those stagers themselues, are they not commonlie such kind of men *Disposition of plaiers for the most part.* in their conuersation, as they are in profession ? Are they not as variable in hart, as they are in their partes ? are they (p. 112) not good practisers of Bawderie as inactors ? Liue they not in such sort

¹ maumetrie, idolatry.

² Cp. the ironical *Actors Remonstrance in 1643* : "we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-rooms those unwholesome enticing Harlots that sit there meerely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, *ib.* p. 65.)

themselves, as they giue precepts vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what euerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceeds in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaiier, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor vertue? . . .

“If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or words, why do not plaiiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posteritie? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroade, as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the *Chiefe end of plaiers.* louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) *Plaiiers infamous persons* sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They are infamous men.” (End of the *Blast* extracts.)

“Those also haue offended in wantonnesse, that giue themselves libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as *stage-playes*, which serue for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is clothed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemneeth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breed confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belying of the sexe.” 1615. [R. Cleaver] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 299.

On the ‘light-taylde huswiues’ at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my *Tell-Troth* volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

“as enterlude-plaiiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition.” 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

“Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in

304 Notes on pp. 144—147. *Men and girls at Theatres.*

their choyses for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3. "There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall haue the greatest *Auditory*, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B 2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 (old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays :

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering, to sytte by women ; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on ; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes lighte in them ; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte : suche masking in their eares, I know not what ; suche geving them pippins¹ to passe the time ; such playing at foote saunt without cardes ; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

"If this were as well noted as il scene, or as openly punished as secretly practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verye cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth, flocke too theaters, and there keep a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abrode, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. *playhouse*.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's *Guls Hornbook*, 1609, "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. *Lords of Misrule*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281 : the latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. *Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard*.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

¹ See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxx : 'they give them pippines ; they dally with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [= specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, *Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains*, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

" . . . that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that *no folks be suffered to dance* in the same."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. *Maie games.* See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming, marke
 How each field turns a street; each street a parke
 Made green, and trimm'd with trees: see how
 Devotion gives each house a bough,
 Or branch: each porch, each doore, ere this,
 An arke, a tabernacle is
 Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove;
 As if here were those cooler shades of love.
 Can such delights be in the street,
 And open fields, and we not see't?
 Come, we'll abroad; and let's obay
 The proclamation made for May:
 And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;
 But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.
 There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day,
 But is got up, and gone to bring in May.
 A deale of youth, ere this, is come
 Back, and with White-thorn laden home.
 Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,
 Before that we have left to dreame:
 And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth,
 And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth:
 Many a green-gown has been given;
 Many a kisse, both odde and even:
 Many a glance too has been sent
 From out the eye, love's firmament:
 Many a jest told of the keyes betraying
 This night, and locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

p. 149. *Maygames*. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"*Littlewit*. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions ; he has given over his trade.

Quarulous. I remember that too : out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, I. i. ; *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely *morisdauns*,¹ according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmariou, and the fool." 1575.—Lanham's *Letter*, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. *Church-Ales*, or *Whitsun-Ales*.—See Brand's *Pop. Antig.* i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see *Archæologia*, xii. 11-17.'

Church-Ales on Sundays : 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's 'Saboth,' the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath ; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word ; nor at any time in the night season ; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games, &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.—A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shaelings . . . preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy asshes / hal-

¹ See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblyng of a nombre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church ales, in the whiche, with leappyng / daunsyng / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their church (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)." 1544.—*A Supplicacion to . . . Kyng Henry the Eyght.* E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. *Ale sold in Churches, &c.*

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Injunctions* (?) in his *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tipping-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130, Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. *Huffcap*.—See *Harrison*, I. 295: "there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called *huffcap*, the mad dog, father whoesonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag."

I thought at first that the *huffie-tuffie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this *Huff-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Haue with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robbd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch:

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,
With *huffie-tuffie*, let vs all be merrie,
Forgetting how the time did passe away:
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,
How my friends follie he could scarce digest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle
Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe,
Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tippel,

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come.
Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling ;
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see
My friend disguise thus without sense or feeling.
Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,
Backward and forward staggring like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,
I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—
Begins to looke into this goodly toy,
And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure shoves :
Into his pocket diues, and being alone,
Purse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone.”
1600.—*Quips upon Questions*, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

huffty tuffty, adv. bravely, finely.

“I haue a tale at my tungs end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse reuelling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there : to which place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his country more worship & glory) came ruffling it out *huffty tuffty* in his suite of veluet.” 1596.—T. Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. *Church-ales*. “There were no rates for the poor in my grandfather's days¹ ; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This church-ale is doubtless derived from the *ἀγάπαι*, or love-feast, mentioned in the New Testament.”—Aubrey's *Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire*, in his *Miscellanies* (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. *Church-Ales & Dancing*. Compare the Bride-Ales :

“Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to exceede in superfluous eating & drinkyng | wherof they spytte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether | therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all maner of pompe and pryde | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

¹ Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and vayne wantonnesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a vayne | madd | and vnmanerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynging amonge them | then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoveringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles soeuer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen tyll supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they haue no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may haue his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delays in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fiddlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many . . . Other petty things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the Abuses accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. *Wakes and Feasts*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

'*Wakes*: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is: "ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and thear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to *Old English Ditties*, p. 81.)'

310 Notes on p. 152. *Wakes, Sunday Fairs, &c.*

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

p. 152. *wakes, &c.* See *The Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The *Athenæum Review*, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1590.¹ . . . The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenses, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vpon y^e Sabboth,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,² while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

¹ "The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590]"

"V. Faires and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vpon the Sabboth: by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenses, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfires, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipeinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vpon y^e Sabboth."

² Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the *Irreverent behaviour at Prayer* in his Popish day: he died in 1535. *Works* (1557), p. 1359. 'Out of al, most true is y^e old said saw, that the outward behauior & continuance is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of y^e minde, in asmuche as by y^e eyes, by y^e chekes, by y^e eye liddes, by y^e browes, by y^e handes, by y^e fete, & finally by y^e gesture of y^e whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly y^e minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray *wit*hal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeoulti we go forward therein. And albeit we wold haue it seme, y^t on y^e holye daies we go more gorgeously apparelled then at other times onely for y^e honor of god, yet y^e negligent fashion y^t we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in y^e time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knowen & apparaunte to the world) y^t we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in y^e church somwhiles solemnely iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon y^e tone knee, & lene vpon y^e tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten ruynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we eury way discour,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon 'the leades of the churche.'¹

"The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a *Pater Noster* or a *De Profundis*. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals 'they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devoutly, on their knees, make prayers for the dead.'

"This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. 'The Obsequy of faire Phillida,' a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

"The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to 'overtreat the minister to omitt the service,' and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

"Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vnsaid both hauing cleane forgotten, we be fain at al aduentures to ayme what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selves both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardoz of so many horrible offences, & ouer y^t in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from parpetuall damnacion? so y^t this one offence so vnreuerently to approach to y^e high maiesty of God, al had we neuer offended him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished."—R. Roberts.

¹ The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York :—‘Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.’ The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies ; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

“In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . . .

“Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald’s College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed ; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls ‘poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,’ to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees ; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul’s Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not.”

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note :—
 “It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that ‘thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandeis on pain of viij^s.’ Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the *dies dominica*. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—'Hospitabat frumentum . . . die Sabbati.' (Poulson's Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

"We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens' accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia :—

"On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation ; and record bears, " Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon, [they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured."—" *Athenæum*, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay's *Hist. of Arbroath*.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woollcombe's *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter*, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord's Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punished with the stocks ; and a barber was brought up for " trying a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o'clocke in the forenone in sermon time."—*Athenæum*, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. *Dancing*.—See p. 297 ; T. F.'s *Newes from the North*, 1597, as to the Dancing School ; and Northbrooke's Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113-148.

p. 155 : *kissing*. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155 : *dancing*.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I's Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King :—*Quart Rev.* Oct. 1857, p. 424. *Harrison*, Part II., p. 58*. "The masque began. [Ben Jonson's *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, ' chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady ; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, " Why don't they dance ? What did you make me come here for ? Devil take you all ; dance ! " On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. *Dancing. Bawdy Songs.*

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies ; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground.’”

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library : “ A Treatise of Daunes wherein it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or things annexed) to whoredome ; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joynd and knit together in a rancke or rowe with them . . . Anno 1581.” Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, p. 137. Also “ A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing : wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582.” 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, p. 195.

“ *Age.* What woulde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliuie, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid’s desire?—truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men’s grounde, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women together, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue 1 Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp,” &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc.*, ed. 1840, p. 175–176.

p. 171 : *bawdy songs.*

“ He hath all that to villany belongs,
The hugest number of such bawdy songs,
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)
That any man could beare them in his braine.
He hath a song cald, *Mistris, will you do?*¹ [1]
And *My man Thomas did me promise to,* [to is too] [2]

¹ Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs :—

<p>(2) “ My man Thomas Did me promise He would visit me this night. <i>Thomas.</i>] ‘ I am here, love ; Tell me, dear love ; How I may obtain thy sight.</p>	<p><i>Maid.</i>] Come up to my window, love ; Come, come, come ! Come to my window, my dear ; The wind nor the rain Shall trouble thee again, But thou shalt be lodged here.”</p>
--	---

He hath the *Pinnacle rigd with silken saile*, [3]
 And *pretty Birds*, with *Garden Nightingale*, [4, 5]
Ile tye my Mare in thy ground a new way, [6]
 Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play]
Besse for abuses, and a number more, [7]
 That you and I haue neuer heard before.
 And these among those wenches he doth learne,
 Which by actiuity their liuings earne.
 His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes,
 Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A Crew of kind Gossips*, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:—"See my *Popular Music*, p. 738, for *My Man Thomas, A Pinnacle riggd*, and *I'll tie my mare* :—

'A pinnacle rigg'd with silken sail,
 What is more lovely than to see?
 But still to see, is small avail;
 I must aboard, as thinketh me.'

It is full of double meanings." In *Pop. Mus.*, p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung by Old Merrythought :

"Go from my window, love, go;
 Go from my window, my dear:
 The wind and the rain
 Will drive you back again,
 You cannot be lodged here.

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,
 Begone, my love, my dear!
 The weather is warm
 'Twill do thee no harm;
 Thou can'st not be lodged here."

(3). "A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile" is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in *The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems*, for the Ballad Society.

"A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile,
 What is more lovely then to see?
 But still to see is small avale:
 I must aboard, as thinketh mee.
 To see is well,
 But more to tell
 Lacks more then sight, you will agree."
 (etc. four other verses.)

(6) I have the Catch "I'le tye my Mare in thy ground." There is also another,

"Tye the Mare, Tom, boy!" of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) "Mistress, since you so much desire;" probably resembling "Mistress will you do?" (7) I believe that "Besse for abuses" I also have a clue to; and I know of one "Pretty Nightingale," of date 1575,

"Litle pretty nightingale,
 Among the braunches greene,
 Geue us of your Christmase ale,
 In the honour of Saint Steven."

But *this* is a "Mock" to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus:—

"The lytyll prety nyghtyngale,
 Among the levys grene,
 I wolde I were with hur all nyght,
 But yet ye wot not whome I mene,"
 etc., etc.

(4) I have also one song beginning "Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing;" but its date is much later in the 17th century:—the author was not scrupulous in availing himself of elder suggestions, and occasionally would "convey, the wise it call!"—J. W. Ebsworth.

My man Thomas, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s *Works*, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancelld entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

<p>Thomas Gosson</p> <p>Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentnes of it in Diuerse verses.</p>	<p>Entred for his copie <i>a ballad of a yonge man that went a woaying</i> &c. Abell Jefes to be his printer hereof Provyded alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be reformed vjd</p>
--	--

GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: *games and sports*. Here is a list of them in 1600:—

“Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,
 To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,
 To wrestle, play at stooleball, or to runne,
 To pitch the barre, or to shoote off a gunne:
 To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
 To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes;
 At Ticktack, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe;
 At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe;
 To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne;
 To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan:
 To daunce the Morris, play at barly-breake:
 At all employtes a man can thinke or speake:
 At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile:
 At beshrow him that's last at yonder style.”

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's *Brand*, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: “noe manner of person . . shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlauffull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge . . or sufferinge any suche Game to be . . playde . . fourtie shillinges . . .” By § 11 “noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy craftes or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, *servaunte* at husbandrye, jorneyman or *servaunte* of artyficer, mariners, fysshermen, watermen, or any *servyng*man, shall . . playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull Game, out of Christmas, under peyne of twentye shillinges to be forfeit for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters præsence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viijd.'

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tennys.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. *Dicing.* "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dycyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomyntation: they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discouer." 1586.—Geo. Whetstone, *The Enemie to Vnthyryfinesse . . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates*, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vnsufferable Abuses now rainging in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into [bolling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. *Football.* Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football,' p. 27. "*Fatal Accident at a Football Match.*—An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances:—Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park, and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollected being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—*Daily News*, March 19, 1875.

"*Shocking Football Accident at Derby.*—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebræ were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—*Daily News*, March 20, 1876.

"*Football and the Rugby Rules.*—The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebræ. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone:—1. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle: sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—*Daily News*, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the *Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1 :—

"*Killed at Football.*—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14; also his *Satyres*, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. *Bearbaiting.*—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. *Accident at the Bear-Garden.* Stowe says—*Annales, Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the Bear garden.* 1605, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffold round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, on the Southside of the riuier of Thamis ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their liues. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabboth daies exercise."

p. 184: *wrestling* in the City of London :—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sheriffes, are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sheriffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service performed as upon Bartholomew day; but if it be Sunday, the Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633. The Shoot- ing day. Continuation of Stowe's *Survey*, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: *bawdy songs, &c.* (See p. 314-16, above.)

" . . our own children . . the first words
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests :
Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it !

A witty child ! can't swear? The father's darling !
 Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn
 No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it !"

1598-1601.—B. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. iii. *Works*, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. *Bableries, &c.* " & in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money? What wyl they not faine for gaine? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euery rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euery ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet luerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood." 1590.—T. Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, B 4.

p. 186 : *putting good Lawes into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.*

Queene E. "Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

"If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendship, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reiected and cast oute of thys common wealth; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swingebucklers, so many drunkardes, tosepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeues, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruantes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes*, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

APPENDIX.



POPULAR AND POPISH
SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days

IN GERMANY
AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A. D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

“**The Popish Kingdome**, or *reigne of Antichrist*, written in Latine
verse by THOMAS NAOGEORGUS (OR KIRCHMAIER), and
englyshed by Barnabe GOOGE. . . Anno 1570.”

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos—two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. *Trag. nova, Pammachius*, Wittemberg, 1538, in 8° of 81 leaves. II. *Tragedia nova, Mercator seu Judicium*¹ (Bâle, 1540), in 8° of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: *Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif représentées*, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the "*Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin*" (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the "*Marchand Converti*" is attributed to J. Crespin. III. *Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora*, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the '*Politica imperialia*' of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. *Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis* (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. *Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta* (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. *Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjuncte sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediæ, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versæ* (Stuttgart), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. *Agriculturæ sacræ libri V.*, ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. *Regnum papisticum*, 1553, small 8° of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the *Errata* and *Index* (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. *Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti*, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. *Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli*, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. *De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa*, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. *Annotationes in canonicam Joannis primam epistolam*, 1544, in 8°; XIII. *Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scazonibus*; XIV. *De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," etc. Conclusiones*, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. *Epitome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroïca*. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's "*Discourses*" from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the letters of Synesius (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the *Delicia poetarum Germanorum*, vol. 4.—*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd edition.]

¹ *Tragedia*, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.

APPENDIX.

The Popish Kingdome.

The fourth booke.[*The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.*]

<p>AS Papistes doe beleue and teach the vaynest things that bee, So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump agree.</p>	<p>4</p>	<p>[leaf 44] Papists' Feasts and Holidays are idolatrous and heathenlike.</p>
<p>Their feasts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the yeare Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare : Whereby though they do nothing teach, but should their doctrine hide, (Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be spide) Thou easly mayst knowe whether true Catholikes they bee, And onely trust in Christ, and keepe th'affured veritee.</p>	<p>8</p>	<p>They don't trust in Christ alone.</p>
<p>Be therefore here a perfite Iudge, and all things warely way, With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay Most plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell, But such as best are knowne to vs in <i>Germanie</i> that dwell. And first betwixt the dayes they make no little difference, For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminece. But some of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardie, And some againe beside the rest, both good and luckie bee.</p>	<p>12</p>	<p><i>Con. 26. q. 7. Si quis. Non obser. Quis. q. 2. Nos planet. Sed & illua q. 5. Non liceat.</i></p>
<p>Like diffrence of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king, That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing. Beside they giue attentie eare to blinde Astronomars, About th'aspects in euery howre of sundrie shining stars :</p>	<p>20</p>	<p>They attend to the Aspects of the Stars, and think folk's fortunes are ruld by the Planets.</p>
<p>And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred, What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer euery hed. Hereby they thinke assuredly to know what shall befall, As men that haue no perfite fayth nor trust in God at all :</p>	<p>24</p>	<p>They'll not be bled, bathed, or</p>
<p>But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholly guided here, By moouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare. No vaine they pearse nor enter in the bathes at any day, Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away :</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>take medicine,</p>
<p>They also put no childe to nurse, nor mend with dounge their ground, Nor medicine do receyue to make their crased bodies found,</p>		

without looking
to the Moon's
place.

[leaf 44, back]

Aduent.

On Christmas
eve, boys and
girls knock at
every door, wish
the inmates a
happy year, and
get fruit and
pence from them.

Wanton girls try
to find out their
husbands' names
by Onions,

and their
husbands' natures
by Faggots.

*Christmasse
daye.*

Some think all
[leaf 45]
the wine is turnd
to water, and
back again.
Others watch for
altar-money.

3 Masses are
sung ;

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before
They marke the Moone how she is placde, and standeth euermore : 32
And euery planet howe they rise, and fet in eche degree,
Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.
Which first I showe, leaft in my course I should be driuen plaine,
To call to minde these foolishe toyes, now to my theame againe. 36

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace,
And on the Thurday Boyes and Girles do runne in euery place,
And bounce and beate at euery doore, with blowes and lustie snaps,
And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. 40
And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houfes dwell,
A happie yeare, and euery thing to spring and prosper well :
Here haue they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee,
For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee : 44
Wherein they are afrayde of sprites, and cankred witches spight,
And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then haue chiefeft might.

In these same dayes yong wanton Gyrls that meete for mariage, bec,
Doe searcho to know the names of them that shall their husbands bee.
Foure Onyons, fiue, or eight, they take and make in euery one, 49
Such names as they do fanfie most, and best do thinke vpon.

Thus neere the Chimney them they fet, and that same Onyon than,
That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man.
Their husbands nature eke they seeke to know, and all his giuse, 53
When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skies,
Unto some woodstacke do they go, and while they there do stande,
Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande,
Which if it freight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, 57
A gentle husband then they thinke shall surely to them fall.
But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and theare
A crabbed churlissh husband then, they earnestly do feare. 60

These things the wicked Papiſtes beare, and suffer willingly,
Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruites of faith espie :
And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,
Than truly God to know, and in him here alone to trust. 64

Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to passe,
Whereas at midnight vp they rise, and euery man to Masse.

This time so holy counted is, that diuers earnestly
Do thinke the waters all to wine are changed sodainly : 68
In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light,
And vnto water freight againe, transformde and aldreid quight.

There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch,
That first to altuar commes, which then they priuily do snatch. 72
The Priestes leaft other should it haue, takes oft the same away,
Whereby they thinke throughout the yeare to haue good lucke in play,
And not to lose : then straight at game till daylight do they striue,
To make some present prooffe how well their hallowde pence wil thrive.
Three Masses euery Priest doth sing vpon that solemne day, 77
With offrings vnto euery one, that so the more may play.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 325

This done, a wooden childe in clowtes is on the aultar set
 About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trymly iet, 80
 And Carrols sing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them heare,
 The Organs aunfwere euery verfe, with sweete and solemne cheare.
 The Priestes doe rore aloude, and round about the parentes stande,
 To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.
 Thus woot the *Coribants* perhaps vpon the mountaine *Ide*, 85
 The crying noyse of *Iupiter* new borne with song to hide,
 To daunce about him round, and on their brafen pannes to beate,
 Least that his father finding him, should him destroy and eate. 88
 Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man,
 His horses iaunt and course abrode, as swiftly as he can.
 Untill they doe extremely sweate, and than they let them blood,
 For this being done vpon this day, they say doth do them good, 92
 And keeps them from all maladies and sicknesse through the yeare,
 As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horses heare.
 Next *Iohn* the sonne of *Zebedee* hath his appoynted day,
 Who once by cruell tyrants will, constraigned was they say 96
 Strong poyson vp to drinke, therefore the Papistes doe beleuee,
 That whoio puts their trust in him, no poyson them can greeue.
 The wine beside that halowed is, in worship of his name,
 The Priestes doe giue the people that bring money for the same. 100
 And after with the selfe same wine are litle manchets made,
 Agaynst the boystrous winter stormes, and fundrie such like trade.
 The men vpon this solemne day, do take this holy wine, 103
 To make them frong, so do the maydes to make them faire and fine.
 Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes strife,
 Who seeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life,
 Destroyde the little infants yong, a beast vnmerciless, 108
 And put to death all such as were of two yeares age or lesse.
 To them the sinfull wretchesse crie, and earnestly do pray,
 To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away.
 The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all,
 (Though nothing they deserue) and seruants all to beating fall, 112
 And Monkes do whip eche other well, or else their Prior great,
 Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat :
 In worship of these Innocents, or rather as we see,
 In honour of the curfed king, that did this crueltee. 116
 The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to euery frende,
 They costly presents in do bring, and Newyeares giftes do sende.
 These giftes the husband giues his wife, and father eke the childe,
 And maister on his men bestowes the like, with fauour milde. 120
 And good beginning of the yeare they wishe and wishe againe,
 According to the auncient guife of heathen people vaine.
 These eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man,
 Their tables do they furnish out with all the meate they can: 124
 With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Custards great, they drink with staring
 They rowte and reuell, feede and feast, as merry all as Pyes : [eyes,

and a wooden
 Child drest up,
 set on the altar.
 Boys and Girls
 daunce and sing
 round it,
 the Priestes roar,
 and the Parents
 clap.

Saint Steuen.
 Dec. 26.
 Horses are gal-
 lopt till they
 sweat, to keep
 em well all the
 year.

Saint Iohn.
 Dec. 27.

Priests, hallow
 wine, and sell it,
 and make Man-
 chets with it,
 against stormes.

[leaf 45, back]
Childermasse.
 Dec. 28.

Parentes beat
 their children,
 servants and
 Monkes beat one
 another.

Newyeares day.
 Gifts are made
 to every one.

For 8 days no
 man asks a debt.
 Great feasting
 goes on.

326 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

Twelfe day.
January 6.

As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die,
Yet would they haue theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie, 128

The wise mens day here foloweth, who out from *Perfia* farre,
Brought gifts and presents vnto Christ, conducted by a starre.
The Papiſtes do beleeu that theſe were kings, and ſo them call,
And do affirme that of the ſame there were but three in all. 132

Every ſet of
friends chooſes a
King, and has a
feast.

Here fundrie friendes together come, and meete in companie,
And make a king amongſt themſelues by voyce or deſtinie :

Who after princely guiſe appoyntes, his officers alway,
Then vnto feaſting doe they go, and long time after play : 136
Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie diſhes ſtande,
Till that their purſes emptie be, and creditors at hande.

Children chooſe
a Prince too.

[leaf 46]

Their children herein follow them, and chooſing princes here,
With pompe and great ſolemnitie, they meete and make good chere :
With money eyther got by ſtealth, or of their parents eſt, 141
That ſo they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.

Every houſe-
holder makes a
big cake, and
puts a penny in
it. It's cut up,

Then alſo euery houſholder, to his abilitie,
Doth make a mightie Cake, that may ſuffice his companie : 144

Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire,
This he deuides according as his houſholde doth require,
And euery peece diſtributeth, as round about they ſtand,
Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand : 148

and the man who
gets the penny,
is King, and is
lifted up to the
roof to make
croſſes on the
rafters, againſt
ſpirits.

But who ſo chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies,
Is counted king amongſt them all, and is with ſhowtes and cries
Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,
Doth make a croſſe on euery beame, and rafters as they ſtande : 152

Great force and powre haue theſe agaynſt all iniuries and harmes
Of curſed deuils, ſprites, and bugges, of coniuings and charmes.
So much this king can do, ſo much the Croſſes brings to paſſe,
Made by ſome ſeruant, maide, or childe, or by ſome fooliſh aſſe. 156

At night,
Frankincenſe is
burnt, and all the
family ſmoke
their noſes and
eyes in it, to keep
'em ſound.

Twife ſixe nightes then from Chriſtmaffe, they do count with diligence,
Wherein eche maiſter in his houſe doth burne vp Franckenſenſe :

And on the Table ſettes a loafe, when night approacheth nere,
Before the Coles, and Franckenſenſe to be perfumed there : 160
Firſt bowing downe his heade he ſtandes, and noſe and eares, and eyes
He ſmokes, and with his mouth receyue the ſume that doth ariſe :

Whom followeth ſtreight his wife, and doth the ſame full ſolemly,
And of their children euery one, and all their family : 164
Which doth preferue they ſay their teeth, and noſe, and eyes, and eare,
From euery kind of maladie, and ſickneſſe all the yeare.

Then they carry
the pan in pro-
ceſſion round
the houſe, to
keep witches off.

When euery one receyued hath this odour great and ſmall,
Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckenſenſe and all,
An other takes the loafe, whom all the reaſt do follow here, 169

And round about the houſe they go, with torch or taper clere,
That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme,
Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172

They foretell the
year's weather
too.

There are that three nightes onely do perſourme this fooliſh geare,
To this intent, and thinke themſelues in ſafetie all the yeare.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 327

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside,
 They iudge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176
 Ascribing to each day a month, and at this present time,
 The youth in euery place doe flocke, and all appareld fine,
 With Pypars through the streetes they runne, and sing at euery dore,
 In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180
 Which on themselves they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though
 The people were not plagude with Roges and begging Friers enough.
 There Cities are, where boyes and gyrles together still do runne,
 About the streete with like, as soone as night begins to come, 184
 And bring abroad their wassell bowles, who well rewarded bee,
 With Cakes and Cheefe, and great good cheare, and money plentiouflee.
 Then comes in place saint *Agnes* day, which here in Germanie, *Saint Agnes.*
 Is not so much esteemde, nor kept with such solemnitie: 188 *Jan. 21.*
 But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree,
 As spring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee.
 For in saint *Agnes* Church vpon this day while Masse they sing,
 Two Lambes as white as snowe, the Nonnes do yearely vse to bring: 2 snow-white
 And when the *Agnus* chaunted is, vpon the altar hie, 193 lambs are offerd
 (For in this thing there hidden is a folemne mysterie) on the altar,
 They offer them. The seruants of the Pope when this is done,
 Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196 then put to grass
 Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeces twaine, and shorn; and
 Whereof being sponne and drest, are made the Pals of passing gaine: their wooll is
 Three fingers commonly in bredth, and wrought in compasse so, made into narrow
 As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. 200 Palls,
 These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest, with labels tipt
 Haue labels hanging something lowe, the endes whereof are drest, with lead.
 And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vestare blacke arayde, 204
 And last of all to make an ende, with knots are surely stayde.
 O ioyfull day of *Agnes*, and to Papistes full of gaine,
 O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe.
 O happie they that spin and weaue the fame, whose handes may touch
 This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. 208
 For by the fame the Bishops haue their full auctoritie,
 And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie.
 Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes,
 Ere halfe the yeare be full expirde, for these fame pelting gownes. 212
 Ne can they vse the Pall that was their prediceffors late,
 Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate,
 Till that he get one of his owne: with such like subtiltie,
 The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. 216
 Perchance such force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine,
 Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine,
 As these same powlers seeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought,
 Are freight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought,
 And vnderneath the altar all the night they buried lie, 221
 Among saint Peters reliques and saint Pauls his fellow bie.
 The Palls are
 put under the
 altar in St.
 Peter's, among
 his relics, for one
 night, and thence

[leaf 46, back]

Young men
dressed-up go
singing thro the
streets with
Pipers.

Saint Agnes.
Jan. 21.

Is kept at Rome
solemnly.

2 snow-white
lambs are offerd
on the altar,

then put to grass
and shorn; and
their wooll is
made into narrow
Palls,

with labels tipt
with lead.

These Palls,
Bishops and
Archbishops are
forced to buy at
high prices.

[leaf 47]

The Palls are
put under the
altar in St.
Peter's, among
his relics, for one
night, and thence

are thought to
draw heavenly
power.

From hence the sacred iuyce they draw, and powre celestiall,
As if the holy ghoft should giue these Clarkes his vertue all. 224

Straunge Reliques fure, and bodies eke of passing fanctitie,
That to such lowfie clokes can giue so great aucthoritie.

Who would not more esteeme you nowe then when you here did liue,
When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Bishops giue, 228

Foul deceits !

Nor fed so many paunches great, nor shauen companies,
With foule illusions and deceytes and shamelesse fittelties ?
Now filuer do you giue and heapes of golde together rake
From euery realme, and for a denne of theeuers prouision make. 232

What holy thing
hav'n't the
Papists turnd to
gain ?

Farre be it from me that I should thus of you beleue or say :
But what so holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day,
That this same wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine ?
Th'almightie Lord himfelfe aboue in safetie cannot raigne. 236

Now here the Papistes do declare from whom at first did spring,
The vse of this same pelting Pall, and this vnseemely thing.
And here a thousand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde,
They say the first inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde 240
To burthen Peter with the same, for feare they faint in prooffe,
But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of aloofe.

They say these
Palls were insti-
tuted by St.
Peter's successor.

Such folly and ambicion great, whereat you wonder may.
For *Linus* he that Peter first succeeded as they say, 244

And guyled next the sea of Rome, first tooke this same in hande,
That woollen garment might in steede of linnen *Ephod* stande.

[leaf 47, back]

But where was *Agnes* at this tyme ? who offred vp and how,
The two white Lambes ? where then was Masse as it is vsed now ?
Yea where was then the popish state, and dreadfull Monarchie ? 249
Sure in faint *Aufens* time, there were no Palles at *Rome* to see :

When Bishops all had equall powre, although as stories tell,
The romishe Bishop did the reast in worthinesse excell. 252
Thus Papistes neuer count it shame, nor any fault to lie,
So they may get great summes of golde, and rayse their kingdome hie.

Candelmasse.
Feb. 2.

Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Christ vnto
The father chiefe, as *Mouyses* law commaunded hir to do. 256

Big Tapers are
blest in Church,
then lighted, put
out, and kept to
light against
thunder, devils,
and spirits that
walk by night.

Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare
To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare.
This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefeft seemeth hee,
Whose taper greatest may be seene, and fortunate to bee : 260

Whose Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might
Doth in these Candels lie, which if at any time they light,
They sure beleue that neyther storme nor tempest dare abide,
Nor thunder in the skies be heard, nor any deuils spide, 264

Nor fearefull sprites that walke by night, nor hurts of frost or haile,
How easly can these fellows all these hurly burlyes quaille ?
That needlesse is it nowe to put their trust in Christ alone,
Or to commit all things to him that sittes in chiefeft throne. 268

Blase. Feb. 3.
The Holy-Water
man.

Then followeth good fir *Blase*, who doth a waxen Candell giue,
And holy water to his men, whereby they safely liue.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 329

I diuers Barrels oft haue seene, drawne out of water cleare,
 Through one small blessed bone of this same holy martyr heare: 272
 And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away,
 Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play:
 But in the meane time no man seekes for Christ and God aboute,
 Nor dare content themselues to haue his fauour and his loue. 276

Now when at length the pleasant time of Shrouetide comes in place,
 And cruell fasting dayes at hande approach with solemne grace:
 Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of *Bacchus* feast,
 And foure dayes long they tipples square, and feede and neuer reast.
 Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings euery wheare
 Do swarme: the Dice are shakte and toft, and Cardes apace they teare:
 In euery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route,
 And daintie tables spred, and all be fet with ghestes aboute: 284
 With fundrie playes and Christmasse games, & feare and shame away,
 The tongue is fet at libertie, and hath no kinde of stay.
 All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
 That in their mindes they can deuise, as if they then should die: 288
 The chiefest man is he, and one that most deserueth prayse,
 Among the rest that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes.
 On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with lustie cheare,
 Whom boyes do follow, crying fooles, and such like other geare. 292
 He in the meane time thinkes himselfe a wondrous worthie man,
 Not moued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatsoeuer they can.
 Some fort there are that runne with stauers, or fight in armour fine,
 Or shew the people foolishhe toys, for some small peece of wine. 296
 Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe,
 That readie are to turne themselues, as fortune list to bowe.
 But some againe the dreadfull shape of deuils on them take,
 And chafe such as they meete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake.
 Some naked runne about the streetes, their faces hid alone, 301
 With visars clofe, that so disguisde, they might be knowne of none.
 Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes aray,
 And wanton wenches drest like men, doe trauell by the way, 304
 And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best,
 Perhaps vnto some auncient friend or olde acquainted ghest,
 Unknownne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,
 That is before them set, and cleane they swinge of euery cup. 308
 Some runne about the streets atyrde like Monks, and some like kings,
 Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other stately thinges.
 Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and speedie lucke,
 Or as the Goose doth vse to do, or as the quacking ducke. 312
 Some like wilde beastes doe runne abroad in skinned that diuers bee
 Arayde, and eke with lothsome shapes, that dreadfull are to see:
 They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight,
 And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts vpright.
 Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and some like fooles are drest,
 Which best befeeme these Papistes all, that thus keepe *Bacchus* feast.

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one of his bones.

Shrouetide (Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9).

Is a regular Carnival. Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

[leaf 48]

Every one does as he likes,

and the best man is he who finds out the silliest games.

Some men get up fights;

some dress like Devils;

some run about naked.

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

Some folk dress up like wild beasts, or

cranes or apes.

330 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

Some carry
about a turd on
a cushion.
[leaf 48, back]

Some make a
Guy, and toss
hin in a blanket.

They dance
lewdly.

They tie folk's
hands behind
their backs, and
dance before
them, jingling
basins.

If there's snow,
they pelt one
another with
snowballs.

Rich men and
their families, in
wagons with
fast horses, and
roo jingling bells
round their
necks, gallop
madly thro the
streets.

[leaf 49]

This madness
goes on up to
midnight.

But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,
And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320
I would there might an other be an officer of those,
Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose.
Some others make a man all stuf with straw or ragges within,
Apparayled in dublet faire, and hosen passing trim : 324
Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,
In blanket hid they beare about, and streightwayes with the fame
They hurle him vp into the ayre, not suffring him to fall,
And this they doe at diuers tymes the Citie ouer all. 328
I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,
Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had.
These places are where such as hap to come within this dore,
Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer seene before 332
And say not first here by your leaue, both in and out I go,
They binde their handes behinde their backs, nor any difference tho
Of man or woman is there made, but Bafons ringing great,
Before them do they daunce with ioy, and sport in euery streat. 336
There are that certaine prayers haue that on the Tuesday fall,
Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.
But others than fowe Onyon seede, the greater to be seene,
And Perfley eke, and Lettys both, to haue them alwayes greene. 340
Of truth I loth for to declare the foolishe toys and trickes,
That in these dayes are done by these fame popish Catholickes :
If snowe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee,
Then fooles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see : 344
For balles of snow they make, and them one at another cast,
Till that the conquerde part doth yeelde and run away at last.
No Matrone olde nor sober man can freely by them come,
At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. 348
Besides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,
Least they with common people should not seeme so mad to bee,
There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,
And lustie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete 352
They put therein, about whose necke and euery place before,
A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.
Their wiues and children therein set, behinde themselues do stande,
Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande,
With all their force throughout the strectes and market place they ron,
As if some whirlwinde mad, or tempest great from skies should come.
As fast as may be from the st[r]eates, th' amazed people flye,
And giues them place while they about doe runne continually. 360
Yea sometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all
They ouerthrow, with such a force, they in their course doe fall.
Much lesse they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye,
Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye : 364
But euen till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,
Whereby they hinder men of sleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 331

- But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare,
 So they may haue their pleasure still, and foolish wanton geare. 368
- The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go,
 To sponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so,
 They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay,
 And with his holy water washeth all their finnes away : 372
- In woondrous fort against the veniall finnes doth profite this,
 Yet here no stay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is,
 With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe,
 And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightfull fonde araye. 376
- Some fort there are that mourning go, with lanternes in their hande,
 While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skies doth fande :
 And seeke their shroftide *Bachanals*, still crying euery where,
 Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fastes appere. 380
- Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore,
 Herrings, herrings, stincking herrings, puddings now no more.
 And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish doggrel rimes,
 And what beside they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384
- Some other beare vpon a staffe their fellowes horfed hie,
 And carie them vnto some ponde, or running riuier nie,
 That what so of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,
 May vnderneath the fload be plungde, and washt away againe. 388
- Some children doe intise with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play,
 And singing through the towne they go, before them all the way.
 In some place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire,
 And out of euery house they flucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392
- And them to plough they fraitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit,
 Another holdes the plough in hande, the Minstrell here doth sit
 Amidde the fame, and drounken songes, with gaping mouth he sings,
 Whome foloweth one that sowes out fande, or ashes fondely flings. 396
- When thus they through the streetes haue plaide, the man *that* guideth
 all
 Doth driue both plough & maydens through some ponde or riuier
 small : and some stream ;
- And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee,
 To supper calles, and after that to daunsing lustilee. 400 and then sup
 and dance.
- The follie that these dayes is vsde, can no man well declare,
 Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare.
 On Sunday at the length they leaue, their mad and foolish game,
 And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the fame. 404
- Thus at the last to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare,
 Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approaching doe appeare : *Lent.*
- In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate,
 And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a treispassé great : 408
- Both Ling and saltfish they deuoure, and fishe of euery forte,
 Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte :
 But onyans, browne bread, leekes and salt, must poore men dayly gnaw
 And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuifde this law 412
 onions, brown
 bread and leeks
 are eaten.

Ashwednesday
 (varies from Feb.
 4 to March 10).

Priests lay ashes
 on folk's heads,
 and wash all
 their sins away
 with holy water.
 But still they go
 on with their
 larks.

They carry about
 a herring on a
 staff, and sing
 doggrel rymes ;
 or horse a man,
 and heave him
 into a pond.

Others pull girls
 [leaf 49, back]
 out, harness em
 in a plough,

and drive em
 thro the streets

and some stream ;

and then sup
 and dance.

Even on Sunday
 they drink and
 dice.

Lent.

For 40 days
 (Ash-Wensday
 the 1st) only salt-
 fish,

onions, brown
 bread and leeks
 are eaten.

332. Appendix. *Popular and Pobish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull,
 Beleuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full.
 Yet here thefe wofull foules he helpes, and taking money fast,
 Doth all things fet at libertie, both egges and flesh at laft. 416

The Images in Churches are covered up, and painted cloths shown declaring God's wrath.

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretlie,
 In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie
 Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,
 The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fasted are. 420

Then all men are constraunde their finnes, by cruell law to tell,
 And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.
 From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth still arise,
 And of the Pope the shambles doth appeare in beastly wife. 424

Care Sunday. Passion or Carle Sunday, the 5th in Lent.

Now comes the funday forth, of this same great and holy fast,
 Here doth the Pope the shriuen bleffe, absolueng them at laft,
 From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow,
 As if the power of God had not sufficient bene till now. 428

[leaf 50]

All folk are absolvd.
 The boys draw a guy of Death into the country.

Or that the law of Moyfes here, were still of force and might,
 In thefe same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne w^t heauenly light.
 The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monfter here,
 And call him death, whom from the towne, with prowde & solemne chere
 To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby, 433

From whence they stragling doe returne, well beaten commonly.
 Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,
 And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout : 436

They have 2 guys of Summer and Winter, and make Summer beat Winter.

Apparalde all in greene, and drest in youthfull fine araye,
 The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye :
 These two together fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get,
 From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whistles wet.
 The other toyes that in this time, of holly fastes appeare, 441

I loth to tell, nor order like, is vsed euery where.

Here comes that worthie day wherein, our sauior Christ is thought,
 To come vnto Ierusalem, on asses shoulders brought : 444

Palme Sunday (varies from March 15 to April 18).

When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue,
 With pompe and great solemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue.
 A wooden Assè they haue, and Image great that on him rides,
 But vnderneath the Asses feete, a table broade there slides, 448

They set a wooden Ass, ridden by an image, on wheels, before the Church door.

Being borne on wheeles, which ready drest, and al things meete therefore
 The Assè is brought abroade and set before the Churches doore :
 The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere,
 Which things against the tempest great, the Parson coniuers there,
 And fraytwayes downe before the Assè, vpon his face he lies, 453

Folk bring boughs.

Whome there an other Priest doth strike with rodde of largest fise :
 He rising vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall,
 In strange attire and lothsomely, with filthie tune they ball : 456

Who when againe they risen are, with fretching out their hande,
 They poynt vnto the wooden knight, and finging as they stande
 Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to saue,
 And to redeeme such as in him their hope assured haue : 460

Two lubbours sing that the Image is Christ, and

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 333

- And euen the same that long agoe while in the streete he roade,
 The people mette, and Oliue bowes so thicke before hym froade.
 This being sounge, the people cast the braunches as they passe,
 Some part vpon the Image, and some part vpon the Assē. 464
 Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly,
 This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemly :
 The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast,
 Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast: 468
 For falsely they beleuee that these, haue force and vertue great,
 Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flashing heate.
 Are Idoles worshipt otherwise, are these not wicked things?
 Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472
 Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees haue kneelde,
 Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yeelde.
 In some place wealthie Citizens, and men of sober chere
 For no small summe doe hire this Assē, with them about to bere, 476
 And manerly they vse the same, not suffering any by,
 To touch this Assē, nor to presume vnto his presence ny :
 For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue,
 And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deserue. 480
 If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this,
 I sure beleuee he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis.
 When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport,
 The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church resort : 484
 The Sexten pleafde with price, and looking well no harme be done,
 They take the Assē, and through the strettes, & crooked lanes they rone,
 Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise,
 The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largest cise. 488
 Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue,
 Least he alone without his portion of the Assē shoulde liue.
 From Thursday then till Easter come, the fondest toys haue place
 Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace
 First three dayes space the belles are wilde, in silence for to lie, 493
 When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie.
 The boyes in euery streat doe runne, and noyses great they make,
 While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496
 Three nightes at midnight vp they rise, their Mattens for to heare,
 Appoynted well with clubbes and staues, and stones in order there :
 The Sexten straightwayes putteth out the candles speedely,
 And straight the Priest with rustie throte, alowde begins to cry. 500
 Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rise,
 On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise:
 Thou wouldst suppose they were possēt, with sprightes and deuills all,
 Or fury such as forceth them, that vpon *Baccus* call. 504
 Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly
 And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally.
 Well serues the darckenesse for these deedes, and thereto doth agree,
 The fashions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee. 508

the people cast
 their boughs on
 the Image.

[leaf 50, back]
 The Ass is
 drawn into the
 church, and folk
 pick up the
 boughs to pro-
 tect them from
 storms.

(Some rich men
 hire this Ass
 and take it about
 with em.)

After dinner
 boys drag the
 Ass about the
 streets, and get
 money and eggs
 for it; half of
 which goes to
 the Priest.

Maunder
Thursday
 (Day before
 Good Friday).

For 3 days the
 bells are still,
 and then rung
 lowdly. 3 Mid-
 night services
 are held in
 Church, the
 lights are put
 out, and a
 regular shiudy
 follows,

[leaf 51]

men being
 beaten and
 wounded.

334 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

Here wicked *Iudas* all to torne, with vile reproches lies,
 And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childifh cries.
 That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee,
 And through hir powre deliuer them, from hurt and misferee. 512

The candles are lighted, and a lantern's hung round an image's neck.

These things vnto these feastes belongs, the candles being light,
 An Image fastned to a croffe is caried all vpright :
 A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to shew the way,
 Are not these popifh foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play ? 516

The Bishop's oil and glasses are blest, and the altar-clothes washt.

This day the oyle and glasses of the Bishop hallowed bee,
 And twife three times saluting them, he lowly bendes his knee.
 The Cannons after doe the fame, with laughter wouldst thou faint,
 And woonder farre to see them make, their speechelesse glasse a saint.
 Their dinner done, from th'altar all their costly clothes they take,
 And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make :
 Then water on they powre and wine croffwise there on they lay,
 And to the patron of ech altar, humbly doe they pray, 524

The Monks make their Maundy, and wash each other's feet.

That they vouchsafe to looke vpon theyr seruants worshipping,
 And to aswage the furie great, of *Ioue* the thundring King.
 And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie solemne rights
 And signes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleasaunt fights. 528

Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie,
 With hatefull minde, and feret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye
 As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require,
 And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free desire, 532
 Ech one supplying others want, in all things that they may,
 As he himselfe a seruauant made, to serue vs euery way.

Then they take to loaf and pot.

Then frait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in euery place they skinke
 Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleasaunt damfels drinke, 536

[leaf 51, back]

And sure with no dissembing heart, for true as steele they bee,
 And often times they put in prooffe their great fidelitee.

Good Friday (varies from March 22 to April 25).

Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders beare,
 The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare : 540

2 Priests lay the Image of the Crucifix on Turkey carpets, and worship this wooden God.

Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing
 At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they fraight him bring,
 And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly,
 With cushion vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped lie : 544

Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kisse both hande and feete,
 And worship so this wooden God, with honour farre vnmeete.
 Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,
 As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin : 548

The simple folk bring gifts, sweet to the poll-shorn crew.

And after them the simple soules, the common people come,
 And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some :
 And others corne or egges againe, to poulthorne persons sweete,
 And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship meete. 552

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here
 Be Catholike, and like the spowes of Christ accounted dere ?
 Besides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.
 And Christ that euery where doth raigne, a laughing stocke to make,

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 335

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade, 557
 With legges stretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body spreade :
 And him with pompe and sacred song, they beare vnto his graue,
 His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farcenet braue, 560
 The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyses make,
 The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take :
 And downe they kneele, or kisse the grounde, their handes helde vp abroad
 And knocking on their breaftes they make, this wooden blocke a God.
 And leaft in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565
 The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie :
 The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne,
 And franckenfence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne :
 With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriers stay, 569
 Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray :
 And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue
 They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they haue.
 The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule
 Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574
 On Eafter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place,
 And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemne grace :
 The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one,
 A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home, 578
 That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise,
 By lighting this he safe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skies :
 A Taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse,
 And franckenfence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse : 582
 This burneth night and day as signe, of Christ that conquerde hell,
 As if so be this foolish toye, suffiseth this to tell.
 Then doth the Bilhop or the Priest, the water halow fraight,
 That for their baptisme is referude : for now no more of waight 586
 Is that they vſe the yeare before, nor can they any more,
 Yong children christen with the same, as they haue done before.
 With woondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,
 With candles, crosses, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho : 590
 Nine times about the font they marche, and on the ſaintes doe call,
 Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,
 And thrife the water doth he touche, and crosses thereon make,
 Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake :
 And holsome waters coniureth, and foolishly doth dresse, 595
 Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did blesse :
 And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode,
 And thrife he breathes thereon with breath, that sinkes of former foode :
 And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon, 599
 The people staring hereat stande, amazed euery one :
 Beleuing that great powre is giuen to this water here,
 By gaping of these learned men, and such like trifling gere.
 Therefore in vessels brought they draw, and home they carie some,
 Against the grieues that to themſelues, or to their beaſtes may come.

The Priests
dress and bring
an image of
Christ.

Boys make
noises with
clappers

Singing bread
is laid with the
image in the
grave ;

flowers are
strewn about it
and Dirges

[leaf 52]
sung.

Easter eue.

All fires are put
out ; and a
brand blest, to
keep off storms.

The Paschal
Taper is burnt
day and night.

Water is made
holy for next
year's baptisms.

A Procession
marches 9 times
round the font,
and the Priest
hallows the
Water, .

pouring his
Chrism on it.

Folk carry some
home, and

336 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

- fasting is over. Then Clappers cease, and belles are fet againe at libertee, 605
Easter day. And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.
 [leaf 52, back] At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries, 608
 They take the The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with flaring eies : 608
 buried Image The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)
 out of the grave, They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white,
 And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by
 Saue onely that the watchmen there, amazed seeme to ly. 612
 But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer see,
 Nor of the heauenly messenger, the flaming maestie.
 put another on An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,
 the Altar, and And on the aultar place, and then, they lustily doe sing, 616
 sing 'Christ is risen.' That Gates of hell a sunder burst, and Sathan ouerthrowne,
 Christ from his graue is risen vp, and now aliuie is knowne.
 Which yet they thinke not so to be, as plainly doth appeere,
 By their Religion, doubtles, and feare, and by their doings here. 620
 Pageants are In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,
 playd by maskers : as the With fundrie fortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,
 3 Maries at the Sepulchre. As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,
 And *Iohn* with *Peter* swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 624
 These things are done with iecture such, and with so pleaufant game,
 That euen the grauest men that liue, woulde laugh to see the same.
 Feasting begins At midnight frait, not tarying till the daylight doe appeere, 627
 at midnight. Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.
 They rost their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radiih store,
 And trifles, clouted creame, and cheefe, and whatsoeuer more
 At first they list to eate, they bring into the temple straight, 631
 That so the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrous waight.
 The Friars besides, & pelting Priestes, from house to house doe roame,
 Receyuing gaine of euery man that this will haue at home.
 Friars and Priests get fees. Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate,
 Radishes are eaten against the quartan ague. Against the quartan ague and such other sicknesse great. 636
 What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrisie,
 When as of Chist they doe receyue the dredfull misterie?
 Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,
 For none of them beleueeth here, nor none of them doth hope 640
 That they receyue eternall life, and euerlasting feate,
 By death of Iesus Christ, and by his crosse and triumph great.
 For who should teache to them the same, since euery Popes decree,
 Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644
 [leaf 53] Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,
 And to their woonted life they fall, and bid the reaft adewe :
 Go nowe and laugh the Iewes to sorne, and all the Turkes that bee,
 For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree. 648
 Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare
 Them with these doltish Papistes here, that blinde and beaftly are.
 Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abroad, with crosse in hande,
 To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande :
- Procefsion wecke.*
 (Rogation)

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 337

- And as they go, they sing and pray to every faint above, 653 Sunday is the
But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. 5th after Easter
When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in, Day.)
And looke what faint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him, Bounds are
That he preferue both corne and fruite, from storme and tempest great, beaten.
And them defend from harme, and send them store of drinke and meat.
This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, 659 Then folk dine
Where downe they sit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine, and drink at the
So much that oftentimes without the Crosse they come away, tavern or in the
And miserably they reele, till as their stomacke vp they lay. fields.
These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport, This lasts 3 days.
With many Crossees often they vnto some Church resort, 664
Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there freight doth spring,
A bawling noyse, while every man seekes hyghest for to sing :
The Priestes giue eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content,
And wine to them that passe the reast, is from the Parson sent. 668
Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers feate,
Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate. *Ascension day*
Then every man some birde must eate, I know not to what ende, (varies from April
And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. 672 Birds are eaten 30 to June 3).
The blocke that on the altair still, till then was seene to stande, (as ascenders).
Is drawne vp hie about the rooffe, by ropes, and force of hande : The Image on
The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie, above the roof.
For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676 One of Satan is
Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw, thrown down,
Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a sunder thro, and broken to
The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall, pieces.
And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces small. 680
This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and finging Cakes the while, [leaf 53, back]
With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile.
With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let
Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet. Water is let fall
And thus this solemne holiday, and hye renowned feast, 685 on people below.
And all their whole deuotion here, is ended with a ieast.
On Whitsunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in sfrings from heauen flie,
And one that framed is of wood, still hangeth in the skie. 688
Thou feest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to,
None otherwise then little gyrles with Puppets vse to do. *Whitsunday*
Then doth ensue the solemne feast of *Corpus Christi* day, (varies from May
Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play? 693 Thursday after 10 to June 13).
The hallowed bread with worship great, in siluer Pix they beare 693 (Trinity Sunday, White Pigeons
About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and theare. May 17 to June are flown.
His armes that beares the same, two of the welthiest men do holde, 29).
And ouer him a Canopey of filke and cloth of golde 696 Hallowd bread
Foure others vse to beare aloufe, least that some filthie thing is borne about
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir doung thereon should fling. the Church under
Christes passion here derided is, with fundrie maskes and playes, a canopie.
Faire Urley with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes : 700 Plays of Christ's
Passion are
acted; of Ursula

338 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

<p>and her Virgins ; St. George and the Dragon,</p>	<p>And valiant George, with spere thou killest the dreadfull dragon here ; The deuils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke ; Great Christophor doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke :</p>	<p>705</p>
<p>St. Sebastian, St. Katherine, St. Barbara, and other Pageants.</p>	<p>Sebastian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele ; There walketh Kathren with hir sworde in hande, and cruell wheele : The Challis and the finging Cake, with Barbara is led, And fundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred, That please the foolish people well : what should I stande vpon, Their Banners, Crosses, Candlestickes, and reliques many on, Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Priestes with countnance hie, Or rude and common people beare about full solemlie ?</p>	<p>708 712</p>
<p>St. John walks before the Hallowd Bread.</p>	<p>Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towards him, Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne : On whome two clad in Angels shape, do fundrie flowres fling, A number great of facing Belles, with pleafant founde doe ring.</p>	<p>716</p>
<p>[leaf 54]</p>	<p>The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and euery streete beside, And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide. The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are sent, The Priestes and schoolemen lowde do rore, some vse the instrument.</p>	<p>721</p>
<p>Strangers fall on their knees to it.</p>	<p>The straunger passing through the streete, vpon his knees doe fall : And earnestly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call. For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake.</p>	<p>724</p>
<p>Armd men keep order, and look out for thieves.</p>	<p>A number great of armed men here all this while doe stande, To looke that no disorder be, nor any filching hande : For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee A bootie good, if euery man might haue his libertee.</p>	<p>728</p>
<p>Organs play, folk fall on their faces, the Bread is lifted up, &c.</p>	<p>This bread eight dayes together they in preference out do bring, The Organs all do then resound, and priestes alowde do sing : The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie, Beleuing that they see their God, and soueraigne maiestie. The like at Masse they doe, while as the bread is lifted well, And Challys shewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell. O blessed God, why suffrest thou such wickednesse to raigne, And bringst them not into the steppes of fathers olde againe, Whereof they do so often boast ? yet so vnlike them be, That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree. In Villages the husbandmen about their corne doe ride, With many Crosses, Banners, and sir Iohn their Priest beside : Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the blessed breade, And oftentye he downe alightes, and Gospell lowde doth reade. This surely keeps the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blast : Such fayth the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papiſtes holde it fast : Not taken from the Gospell, nor the worthie doctors olde, But from the minde of man, and from blinde reafon mistresse bolde.</p>	<p>732 736</p>
<p>Priests ride thro' the corn, and read the Gospel to keep off storms.</p>	<p>Straight after this comes <i>Vrban</i> in, the Vintners God deuine, Whose day if that it pleafant be, and Sunne abrode do shine,</p>	<p>740 745</p>
<p><i>Saint Vrban</i> (May 25).</p>		<p>748</p>

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 339

- Good lucke to them they count it then, and *Bacchus* holineffe,
 His Image and his Church they decke, and curiously do dresse,
 About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde,
 And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. 752
- Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to some tipling house,
 With lustie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carroufe:
 Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie,
 In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handfomly, 756
- Till mystes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake,
 Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & icarce a word they speake.
 But if the day be clowdie nowe, or giuen vnto raine,
 On him they list not to bestow such honour, nor such paine, 760
- Poore knaue into some ryuer than, they cast him cruellie,
 And all to-soufe him in the streame, or durtie let him lie.
 And if this madnesse be not such, as may be laught at well,
 What thing should moue vs for to laugh, I surely can not tell. 764
- The next is *Vitus* sodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,
 Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire:
 The cause whereof I doe not know, I thinke for some diseafe,
 Which he is thought to driue away from such as him do please. 768
- Then doth the ioyfull feast of Iohn the Baptist take his turne,
 When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in euery towne doe burne:
 And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery streete,
 With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or elfe with Veruain sweete,
 And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, 773
- Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whosoeuer standes,
 And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.
 When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine
 With striuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therin,
 And then with wordes deuout and prayers, they solemnely begin, 778
- Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed bee,
 Whereby they thinke through all that yeare, from Agues to be free.
 Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
 Which couered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide:
 And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783
- They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appears the night:
 Resembling much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe should fall,
 A fraunge and monstrous sight it seemes, and fearefull to them all:
 But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell,
 And that from harmes and daungers now, in safetie here they dwell.
- Wherefoeuer *Huldryche* hath his place, the people there brings in,
 Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mulletts fat, his faouur here to win. 790
- Amid the Church there sitteth one, and to the altare nie,
 That selleth fish, and so good cheepe, that euery man may buie:
 Nor any thing he loseth here, bestowing thus his paine,
 For when it hath bene offred once, t'is brought him all againe, 794
- That twise or thrise he felles the same: vngodlinesse such gaine
 Doth still bring in, and plentifully the kitchen doth maintaine.

He's the Vint-
 ners' God, and
 has cups and
 bowls hung
 round his neck.
 They drink
 [leaf 54, back]
 to him till they're
 drunk.

But if it's a bad
 day, they shy
 him into the
 river.

Vitus (June 15).
 Hens are offered
 to him. Why?

John Baptist
 (June 24).
 Bonfires burn;
 youths and girls
 dance all day
 with flowers in
 their hands.

At night they
 run thro the
 fires.

Others run a
 wheel stuff with
 blazing straw and
 tow, down a
 mountain.

[leaf 55]
*Saint Hul-
 dryche*
 (Ulric, July 4).
 Fish are offered
 to him.

A man sits near
 the altar, and
 sells the same fish
 over and over
 again to the
 offerers.

Whence comes this fame religion newe? what kind of God is this
Same *Huldryche* here, that so desires, and so delights in fishe? 798

Which neuer any heathen God, in offering did receaue,
Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leaue.
Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,
But we the chiefeft will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

*Assumption of
the Virgin
Marie*

(Aug. 15).
Folk bring
bundles of Herbs
to Church, to be
blest by the
priest. These
serve as charms.

The blessed virgin *Maries* feaft, hath here his place and time,
Wherein departing from the earth, she did the heauens clime :
Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare,
The which against all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare.
Thus kindle they and nourish still, the peoples wickednesse, 807
And vainely make them to beleue, whatsoeuer they expresse :
For fundrie witchcrafts, by these hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes,
And cast into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810
And euery painefull grieffe from man, or beast, for to expell,
Farre otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

Martyn

(Nov. 11).
Roast geese are
eaten, and wine
drunk.

To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline,
Whom all the people worhippeth, with roasted Geese and wine : 814
Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes
His vessels all, and of the Must oft times the last he takes,
Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,
Therefore they him vnto the skies extoll, with prayse deuine : 818
And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compaffe wide,

Schoolmasters go
about singing
with their boys.

Yea by these fees the Schoolemaisters haue profite great beside :
For with his scholers euery one, about do finging go,
Not praying Martyn much, but at the Goose reioyceing tho, 822
Whereof they oftentimes haue part, and money therewithall,
For which they celebrate this feaft, with song and musicke all.

[leaf 55, back]

Nicholas

(Nov. 13).
Mothers hide
gifts in their
children's shoes,
&c., and say St.
Nicholas brought
em.

Saint Nicholas money vfe to giue to Maydens secretlie,
Who, that he still may vfe his woonted liberalitie 826
The mothers all their children on the eeue doe cause to fast,
And when they euery one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast :
Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beside,
As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which secretly they hide, 830
And in the morning found, they say, that this faint Nicholas brought :
Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught.

Catheryn

(Nov. 25).

What should I tell what Sophisters, on Cathrins day deuise?
Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercise. 834

Andrew

(Nov. 30).
All Lovers court
him.

To Andrew all the louers, and the lustie woovers come,
Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonies done,
(While as to him they presentes bring, and coniure all the night)
To haue good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and sweete delight.

Church holyday.

The anniversary
of each church's
dedication.

The dedication of the Church is yerely had in minde, 839
With worship passing Catholicke, and in a wondrous kinde :
From out the steeple hie is hangde, a Croffe and banner fayre,
The pauement of the temple strowde, with hearbes of pleasant ayre,
The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are seene, 843
And euery pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene :

The church is
deckt with
boughs.

Appendix. *Popish and Popular Customs*, A.D. 1553. 341

The tabernacles opned are, and Images are drest,
 But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest :
 A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thicke they lay, A board stands full of Pardons
 That giuen are to euery one that keeps this holy day : 848
 The Idoll of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande,
 And beggeth fast of euery man, with pardons in his hande : for every one
 Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill
 In common peoples languages, when they speake well or ill : 852
 He hath his owne interpreter, that alwayes standeth by,
 And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry : who'll buy em.
 Desiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde,
 And Popishe pardons for to buie, releafe of finnes to finde. 856
 The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue,
 His harlot for to bring, and all the swarme of Bastards that they haue : Harlots and their Bastards come; and all the neighbours armd; trim
 On euery side the neighbours come, and such as dwell not nere, [leaf 56]
 Come of their owne good willes, and some required to be there. 860 youths and maidens, jesters, pedlers, and pots of drink.
 And euery man his weapon hath, their fwordes, and launces long,
 Their axes, curriars, pystolets, with pykes and darts among.
 The yong men in their best array, and trimmest maydes appeare,
 Both Ieafters, Roges, and minstrels with their instrumnts are heare.
 The Pedler doth his packe vntruste, the Host his pots doth fill, 865
 And on the table bread and drinke doth set for all that will :
 Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all,
 To them th'aduantage of this feast, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868
 The seruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie,
 Or to their neighbours house, whereas they feede vnreasonable : After service, grand feasting and suppers go on.
 For fixe or seuen courses, they vnto the table bring,
 And for their suppers may compare with any heathen king. 872
 The table taken vp, they rise, and all the youth apace,
 The Minstrell with them called go to some conuenient place : Then the young folk dance,
 Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Musicke fine,
 And vnto such as are preperde to daunce hath giuen signe, 876
 Comes thither freight both boyes and gyrls, and men that aged bee,
 And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to see,
 Old wrinckled haggis, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft, and old hags too,
 Then fundrie pastimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft : 880
 When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight,
 That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plight : the Drunkards leading and fighting.
 The streames of blood runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is seene
 The carkaffe of some ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. 884
 Here many for their louers sweete, some daintie thing doe buie,
 And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for companie,
 Whereas they foolish songs do sing, and noyses great do make :
 Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and some the Dice do shake.
 Their custome also is, the Priest into the house to pull : 889
 Whom when they haue, they thinke their game accomplished at full : Cards and Dice are playd. The Priest is head reueller, and looks after the spewing Drunkards.
 He farre in noyse exceedes them all, and eke in drinking drie
 The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their heades that speewing lie,

	And that with such attendaunce good, that often therewithall	893
	His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all :	
	Whom if the lyquor that hē tastes doe hap to handle so,	
	As on his feeble legges vnto his house he can not go :	
When the Priest can't walk, [leaf 56, back] he's carrid home on horse- back.	But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentymes is seene, They friendly set him on a horse, and home they cary him cleene :	
	To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray,	899
	Is alwayes vsde vpon this feast, and venerable day.	
<i>All soule day</i> (Nov. 2).	For soules departed from this life, they also careful bee, The shauen fort in numbers great, thou shalt assembled see,	902
	Where as their seruice with such speede, they mumble out of hande, That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande,	
	But soberly they sing, while as the people offering bee, For to releaue their Parents soules that lie in miserie.	906
Folk give fees to free their parents' souls ;	For they beleuee the shauen fort, with dolefull harmonie, Do draw the damned soules from hell, and bring them to the skie :	
	Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine, And neuer troubled are with care of any soule in paine.	910
	Their seruice thus in order sing, and payde for Masse and all, They to the Tauerne freightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,	
then drink in the tavern, or the Parson's hall, where he talks beastliness.	Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke, Whereas these Cathlicke fathers haue such lewde and beafty talke, As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes,	915
	And such as any ruffian would, afhamed be to vse. These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare, Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare :	918
	And doth declare thou seest the mindes of these same holy men, What vertues great they haue, and what religion lyes in them.	
<i>Churches.</i>	The like their temples teach, drest vp in more than Pagan guise, That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies,	922
They have Idols, always-flaming lights, &c.	As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane, And Banners, Crosses, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in secret put, That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut :	926
The Turkes rightly call em Idolaters.	That surely not vnworthily the Turkes beleuee and say, The Papistes are Idolaters, and haue no perfite way In seruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly, The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry.	930
<i>Funerals.</i>	Seest thou how in their life they doe beleuee, and when they die, How doubtfull they ? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie, Regarding not what happe vnto the simple people falles :	
[leaf 57] The rites are held only for Shauelings' gain.	For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, Their singing and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit Himselfe to God, his heyre should be constraunde to furnish it, And punisht fore if any thing herein shall wanting bee, Of all the toyes that doth belong, to such solemnitee.	934
	Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heauens doe attaine, And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine ?	938

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 343

Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse, For to be iust, and innocent, and dye in blessednesse :	942	Even for innocent children parents are forced to pay.
Their parentes for their funeralles, constryned are to pay, Leaf of the Popish tyranny, should any part decay.		
No fayth nor perfit godlinesse doth any where appeare, But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and such deceitfull geare.	946	
Beholde againe their prayers and the bookes they occupie, Wherewith to God, and to the saintes, they pray continually :		<i>Prayers.</i>
And to the Angells vse the like : which superficiall kinde, They doe not reade with any sprite, or zealousnesse of minde :	950	Are not prayd with zeal, only babbled
No cause prouoketh them to praye, this onely them affinde, To babble much, for otherwise woulde want no wordes nor minde, Ne shoulde they neede so many prayers, appoynted them to say, Nor thus to tire their weered tongue, with mumbling all the day.		and mumbled
Likewise before the heapes of bones, prepared for the same	955	
They stande, and to the spirits and soules in graue, they prayers frame :		
And for their good estate they pray, that measure none they know, Of foolishnesse, nor wicked deedes doe euer cease to flow :	958	
To Church they come with beades of bone, or of some other thing, Whose middles pierced through are tide, and ioyned with a string :		Papists have Rosaries of bone-beads on a string,
Thus fastned, fittie <i>Rosaries</i> , they still account the same, And thirse so many <i>Pfalters</i> they accustomed are to name.	962	
With these vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his saintes, They number all their babling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes.		and count their babblings by em.
So that they number onely seeke, not caring for the minde :		
That woman holyest is by much, and of deuoutest kinde,	966	The holiest woman is she who has beads to her foot.
Whose beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydens so Drest vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Church doe go.		[leaf 57, back] <i>Charmes.</i>
Besides for Charmes and Sorseries, in all things they excell, Both <i>Dardan</i> and the Witches foule, that by <i>Mæotis</i> dwell.	970	
The reason is, that yet to trust in God they haue no skill, Nor will commit themselues vnto th'almightie fathers will.		
If any woman brought abed, amongst them haps to lie, Then every place enchaunter lyke, they cleanse and purifie :	974	When a woman's brought to bed, they purify the place from spirits.
For feare of sprighes least harme she take, or caried cleane away, Be stolne from thence, as though she than in greatest daunger lay, When as hir trauailes ouerpast, and ended well hir paine, With rest and sleepe she seekes to get, hir strength decayde againe.		
The like in trauailes harde they vse, and mariages aswell,	979	
And eke in all things that they buy, and every thing they sell. About these Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes, That serue against all miseries, and all unhappie harmes :	982	Charms hang about every Papist's neck.
Amongst the which, the threatning writ of <i>Michael</i> maketh one, And also the beginning of the Gospell of Saint <i>John</i> :		
But these alone they doe not trust, but with this same they haue, Theyr barbrous wordes, & crosses drawne with blood, or painted braue.		Crosses drawn with blood, &c.,
They swordes enchaunt, and horses frong, and flesh of men they make So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take		

344 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

keep men from hurt by bows.	And vsing Necromancie thus, them felues they safely keepe, 989 From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe: No journey also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare;
They shut up spirits in crystal as charms.	Besides in glistering glasse fayre, or else in chrifall cleare They sprighes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame, 994 And when theyr Kine doe giue no milke, or hurt, or bitten fore, Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.
<i>Holydaies.</i> Folk dress fine, and walk in the streets or the fields.	Now laft behold how they do keepe, their fabboth daies throughout, First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about: 998 With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace, And rapyres long about them girt, their great and chiefest grace. Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate,
Others drink as long as they can stand. [leaf 58]	They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate. 1002 An other fort together come, and drinking hande to hande, They quaffe so long, till none of them be able for to stande:
Few go to church.	Yea oftentimes they in their seates, with drinke are strangled quight, And yeelding vp their dronken ghoftes, doe bid their mates godnight. But few of them doe care for Masse, though euery one doe faye, And thinke it holiest is, nor to the Church they go to praye: 1008 But eyther breakefasts long they make, at home when they arise, Or drinke vntill the euening starre, begin to shine in skies. Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketfd.
After dinner they play at ball, and wrestle,	Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well haue fed, To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoote, 1013 To tosse the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote:
or fence.	Some others trie their skill in gones, some wrestle all the day, And some to schooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play:
Others play cards, or backbite.	An other fort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame, But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame: 1018 Some vse to fit before their doores, and backbite euery man, Or newes deuise, or some debate, and strife whereas they can.
All drink.	The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sportes and play, Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away, Of euery worde ariseth blowes, their manhoode to assay, 1023 So that no funday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray.
No Sunday is without a drunken fray.	And thus of custome endeth still, this solemne festiuall, With dronkenesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all. To Ensong are they called straight, by towling of the bell, 1027 But from their place they lift nor stirre, being occupied so well:
Some court girls,	They forward with their game doe go, and Church and seruice all, Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.
dance, and go further.	Some others to their Ladies fues, being amorous all the while, Or frame deceytes or subtilties, yong maydens to beguile, 1032 The wanton youth to daunfing goes, and wickedly doe draw, The maydes in ring, and wantonneffe hath neyther bondes nor law.
<i>Stewes.</i> The Papist Priests keep	And laft the youth their pleasure full of whoredome should not take, In euery Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 345

And Bawdes they suffer openly, and cherish them withall, Of whome no slender price doe here receyue nor profit small : 1038	Brothels and Bawds, in every city.
These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie, The same that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks destroy. To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes, Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042	To these Brothels come all unmarrid folk.
Whatsoever they be that haue not yet, the yoke of mariage tride, No kinde of shame doth driue them hence, nor any care beside. For lawfull here they doe it see, and not to be dispisde, But with the Popish fort to be, an exercisde deuifde. 1046	
Sometime it also haps, that married men doe here resort, But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay, And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away : 1050	If any marrid ones are caught there, they get thrashd.
But at this same the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye, For Papistes, whordome doe alow, and count it but a playe. For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow still, That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill : 1054	
The lawe <i>Scatinian</i> is extinct, and <i>Iulian</i> laught at now, The Papistes, euery kinde of vice, and wickednesse alow : And not alonely in themselues, they doe the same permit, But also vnto all that list, with Golde to purchase it. 1058	Papists allow euery kind of vice.
But here I faine woulde vnderstande, what straunge Apostle hee, That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee? That where they freely might enioye, and haue them openlye, And they themselues to take the hier of beaftly letcherie ? 1062	What Apostle said they could take the hire of whores, and yet be seruants of God ?
And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine, The perfit seruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine ? Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full, That they with emptie shadow thee not into error pull. 1066	
This was the guise of <i>Corynth</i> great, and <i>Cyprus</i> eke of olde, While darcknesse rained, and Sathan foule, his scepture there did holde : But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vile, Least that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile. Who would not muse to see the witte of these same catholickes, Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes ? 1072	Their excuse is, that men 'ud otherwise rape maidens.
This thing coulde <i>Moyfes</i> not perceyue, that all things else did see, Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee : And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise, Nor <i>Paule</i> it saw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skies : 1076	<i>Deut.</i> 23. <i>1. Cor.</i> 5. 6. 7. 10.
Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right, To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright : Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be, The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he To be excluded farre from saintes, and such as christned be. } 1080	<i>Heb.</i> 13. [lf. 59] <i>Gal.</i> 5. <i>Ephe.</i> 5. <i>1. Thes.</i> 4.
But they haue nothing for to doe, with <i>Moyfes</i> nor with <i>Paule</i> , Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all. Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispensing wondrouslye,	Papists don't care for Moses or Paul : they pardon themselves.

As men that onely here poffest the keyes of heauen hie. 1084

I many things doe ouer paffe, nor haue they euery where,
Their customes like, for euery realme hath his deuifed gere:
Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,
There are that doe fuch doltifh dreames, defende maliciously, 1088
That quight contrary are to Christ, and to religion right,
Which neyther canft thou eafily knowe, nor well in verfe refight.

But if we say
these Papists are
not members of
Christ,

Now when thefe Popifh lothfome limmes, by no meanes we can fee
In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Christ to bee, 1092
Nor can in anye wife imbrace, the fonde religion vaine,
And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine,
Nor doctrine of fo wicked fayth, to Christian people giue,
But rather as the Apostles teach, doe fimplly feeke to liue, 1096

we're calld
Heretics, and
punifht or
banifht,

To be detested of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw:
We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,
Of halter, fworde, confuming fire, and ech extremittee. 1100

and lose our
goods.

We punifht are, our houfes fealde, or from our countrie farre
We banifht be, or elfe oppreff at home with ciuill warre:
Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth confume, and cleane deuours,
The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.
Thefe things thefe Catholikes attempt, when in fo many yeares,
By fcriptures they cannot plant, this foolifh fayth of theirs:
Nor ours with fcriptures ouerthrow, that now they feeke to make
The Prince of hell and Christ to ioyne in one, and partes to take.

Tho' they see
they can't stand
against God's
word and light,

For (all ahamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot ftande,
With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, 1110
The worde of God, the heavenly light, and that abrode doe shine,
The twelue Apostles doctrine, and that blessed court deuine.

[leaf 59, back]

they won't con-
fess they've
errd,

Nor good it seemeth yet to them (fuch is their wifdome hie,)
To graunt that they haue erd in any thing or gone awrie. 1114
For fhame it is that learned men, and fuch as famous bee,
For Mitars and for Crofiar ftaues, amongft the Chriftiantee
Christ nor the Apostles fayth to know, that perfitt is and iuft,
But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may fafely truff.

but hate us Re-
formers, and
pour out our
blood.

From hence proceedeth all their grieve, and all their cruell hate,
That with effufion of our blood, they ftablish their estate: 1120
And will not here be pacified by any other meanes,
Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monftrous dreames:
And altogither runne in one, like flockes for company,
To falfe and wicked worshipping, and vile idolatry: 1124
And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,
Although they teache no doctrine of the King celeftiall.

It's often been
agreed that
Papist and
Protestant
should keep his
own faith, but

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part shoulde freely vfe
Their owne religion, feruing God as best they lift to chufe: 1128
And neyther part the other for to trouble or moleft,
With warres or bookes, that Germany might liue in peace or refst.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 347

But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write, And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite: Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endure, But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here asurde.	1134	the Papists won't be true to this compact.
If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado, Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therevnto, And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie, And take the pillage of their foes, immediately they crie:	1138	If we take arms to protect our- selves, the Papists say it's the Gospel's fault, declare the Gospel's Turkish,
The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight These fellows liue, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light: It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago: And spightfully they slaunder it, with many raylings mo:	1142	
As if that any Preacher here, did euer this allow, Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow. They know full well themselues that none of ours did euer teache, To vse such violence, nor this vnto the people preache:	1146	
Yet with their vile infectiue tongues, and mouthes enuenemde tho, With poyson that in hellish lakes, and <i>Stygian</i> streames doth flo, The Gospell of the Lorde they doe, most spightfully defame, And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same.	1150	and they hell- ishly defame its Preachers. [leaf 60]
But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise, To keepe them in, from vsing force against their enimies? Why doe they not as well diswade their Catholikes, and blame Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very same?	1154	The Papists
And boldely euery where destroy, and euery man molest, Yea euen their very friendes at home, that faine woulde liue at rest. What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that euen openly With bitter wordes and bookes perfwade men to such cruelty?	1159	persuade men to persecute us. The Pope pardons those who fight us.
Are these to any man vnknowne? doth Fraunce and Italy Not openly declare the fame, and plainely testify? Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perfwade this martiall might, And pardons euery man hys sinnes that in their quarrell fight?	1162	
But sure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe, And better others faultes they see, than what themselues doe lacke: Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine, And others all as heritickes, and wicked people plaine:	1166	
Wherefore the chiefeft members of this holy popish state, Their cerimonies and their dayes, they yearely consecrate. Their foolish fayth and beafty life, I openly doe showe, That all the worlde may vnderstande, and euery man may know, That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way, But onely seeke to looke aloft, and boldely for to say,	1172	They don't care for Christ, but only to claim that they are holy, and we cursed heretics.
That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes, And we vnhappy castawayes, and cursed heritickes. But wherein are they Catholickes? bicause they folow here The truth? but what they folow and beleue, doth plaine appere. So it is that in number they and countries vs excell,	1177	If they are Catholicks, so are Turkes and Moors.
So mayst thou both the <i>Turkes</i> and <i>Mores</i> , call Catholickes as well.		

Let all true men
see how right
we've been in
giving up this
monstrous
Popish faith!

Herewith I judge that every man, that hath an vpright heart,
Doth vnderstande how iust our cause hath bene for to depart
From this their monstrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatre,
And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree: 1182
As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde,
Nor suffer such as woulde, but keepe them still in darcknesse blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

Superstitions about Storms. Compare part of *The thirde Booke*,
leaf 41, bk, 42 :--

Belles

are rung against
storms and
thunder.

Ratio, diuino.

A Bell

[leaf 42]

nam'd Mary,
that said it put
thunder and
spirits to flight.

Candles are also
lighted, and
Holy Palms
us'd, against
storms.

Other folk sit
out in the open
air.

Others hide in
caves.

Where then is
their trust in
Christ?

Are these
'Catholics,' that
defend them-
selves by Bells
and such hum-
bug?

The Heathens
did the same.

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and stormie tempest shake,
A woonder is it for to see the wretches howe they quake,
Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor trust in any thing.
The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, 4
With wondrous found, and deeper farre, than he was wont before,
Till in the loftie heauens darke, the thunder bray no more.
For in these Cristned belles they thinke, doth lie such powre & might,
As able is the tempest great, and storme, to vanquish quight. 8
I sawe my selfe at *Numburg* once, a towne in Toring coast,
A Bell that with this title bolde, hir selfe did proudly boast,
"By name I *Mary* called am; with found I put to flight 11
The thunder crackes, and hurtfull stormes, and every wicked spright."
Such things when as these Belles can do, no wonder certainlie
It is, if that the Papistes to their tolling alwayes flie,
When haile, or any raging storme, or tempest comes in fight, 15
Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that every place doth smight:
Besides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all,
And Willow branches hallow, that they Palmes do vse to call.
This done, they verily beleuee, the tempest nor the storme, 19
Can neyther hurt themselues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne.
But some there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit
Their liues to this, but vnderneath the starres they seeke to sit;
For there (they say) the lightning can no kinde of creature smight,
Nor fall vpon the feeble corse of any fearefull wight. 24
There are, that hide themselues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie,
When as they heare the roring found, and rumbling in the skie.
Where here appeares the confidence, and trust vnto the hieft?
And hope in all aduerfitie cast wholly vpon Christ? 28
Where doe they here commit themselues, and all that they possesse,
Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do expresse?
Are not these Papistes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well,
That are defended in the stormes, by founde of brasen Bell? 32
And steps of stayres, and branches burnt, *with* flames encompast round,
And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground?
Such Gods, and such defenders here, the heathen wont to haue,
To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themselues to saue. 36

INDEX (NOT EXHAUSTIVE).

40/21 means page 40, line 21.

- Abortiues, *sb. pl.* 188, abortions.
 'Abortiue or borne before tyme.
Abortiuus, a, um.' 1552. Ric.
 Huloet. *Abcedarium Anglico-Lat.*
 Abroche, 150, *adj.* on tap. *To set
 abroche*, to tap. "Brochyn or
 settyen a vesselle abroche. *At-
 tainino, dipsidro.*" Prompt. Parv.
 Abrupte, 22/27, corrupt, E. F.
 Abuses, S. Rowlands's list of, 232
 Abuses in Ailgna (England†), how
 they may be reformd, 186
 Accidents, 105, *sb. pl.* component
 elements
 Accidents at football, &c., 318, 319
 Actors and theatres, 140, 144, 301
 Acts against certain games, 316,
 317; idleness and vagrancy,
 186, 320; cottage-building, 281;
 drunkenness, 285; bearbaiting
 and games on Sundays, 298;
 church-ales, 306
 Acuate, 128, *vb.* sharpen, inflame,
 make more desirous; 'whette',
 in F. 1595
 Adam's fall, how caused, 36
 Adieu, bid, 167
 Adjuments, 138, supports (F.), aids
 Aduertiseth, 26, *pr. s.* warns
 Adultery in England, 88, 98, 101,
 280-4
 Agnes, St., customs on her day,
 Jan. 21, 327
 Ailgna, Anglia, England, descrip-
 tion of, 23
 Alatrata, 158, *vb.* bark, say. Lat.
latrare.
 Ale sold in churches, 307
 Alehouses frequented on the Sab-
 bath, 136, 296
 Alehouses, 232, 237, 300, 307.
 'Ale house or tauerne, where
 riote is exercised, and mayn-
 tened. *Popina.*' 1552. R. Huloet.
Abcedarium.
 Ales, feasts, 150, 306-9
 All Soul's Day, customs on, 342
Almond for a Parrat, by T. Nashe,
 quoted, on Stubbes, 37*-39*
 Allowed of, 163, approvd of, au-
 thorizd
 Amarulent, 156, bitter, 63*
 Ambagies, 49/21, circumlocutions
 Amber as a scent, 269, 270
 Ambodexters, 141, *sb. pl.* "Those
 jurors that take of both parties
 for the giving of their verdict."
 Cowell. Double-dealing
 Amongest, 22, *prep.* among. 'And
 note that this phrase "*amonge*,"
 may be referred to fewe, or one,
 &c. And also that "*amongest*"

† *A Looking Glasse for Englande.* Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth . . . London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an "old tract in S. Cypr. *de 12 abusioibus seculi*" (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho' it was the "dailie and hourlie looking glasse" of "noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde," and its englisger "long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke." sign. (iij.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and vniust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law. The treatment of all is quite general.

- may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.* (So of 'toward' and 'towards,' &c.)
- Amulets and annulets, 255
- Amusements, Stubbes's abuse of, discusst, 46*-49*. Bp. Babington on those allowable, 88*
- Anatomie of Absurditie*, by T. Nashe, 232, 320; its abuse of Stubbes, 39*-41*
- Ancientie, x/15, antiquity
- Andrew, St., customs on his day, 341
- Androgini, 254. 'Men hauynge members of both kindes, beyng both man and woman. *Androginos.* Of thys kynde is in Asia.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
- Angels food or dragons milk, 307, good ale
- Ant and Grasshopper, fable of, 86*
- Antidotarie, 96, *marg.* antidote
- Antiques, 147/16, fooleries, actor's 'properties'
- Antwerp, judgment of God on a ruff-wearing woman of, 71, 72, 259
- Apale, 62, *vb.* appall, frighten
- Apes: as drunk as Apes, 151/3; men are God's, and Women are men's, 77*, note
- and Bears, led about the country, 87*
- Apishness, 77*
- Apparel, 75*: see *Dress.*
- Apple-squires, boys who wait on harlots: see Index note to *Harlots*
- Aprons, women's, 264
- Arase, 35, *sb.* Arras hangings
- Arch-doctor of all truth, Christ, 120/1
- Argente, 52, l. 2 from foot, money. *Fr.* Argent
- Argented, 62/7, silverd
- Armed Man, the, 91* *n.*, Death
- ARMIN, Robert, defended by G. Harvey, 42*
- Artificers' and Occupiers' tricks to raise prices, 118
- Artificers and Tailors warnd not to indulge folk in new fashions, 81
- Artificers' wives wear Velvet Hats, 69
- ARUNDELL, Phillip, Earl of, Dedication of the "Anatomy" to, iii
- As, *conj.* that, 116/19
- Ascension Day, Popish customs on, 337
- Ashwe'n'sday, popular customs and sports on, 331
- Ass, wooden, taken in procession on Palm Sunday, 332-3
- Assayes, at all, xvii/5, certainly, at all events
- Assoted, 39/13, 148, *adj.* mad, foolish. "*Assoté.* Sotted, besotted." Cotgrave
- Assotteth, 110/12, *besotteth*, makes foolish
- Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Customs on the Feast of, 340
- Assy, 51/3, *adj.* asinine, foolish, ridiculous. 'Asseheade wythout anye learyng or wytte. *Vappa.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
- Auster, 83, *adj.* austere, sedate
- Austerly, 81, *adv.* austere
- AVERELL, W., on Men's Dress, 239; on Women's, 253
- Babelries, 81/21, 185, *sb. pl.* baubles, childish toys, babyish fancies
- Babblerie, 148, *sb.* nonsense
- BABINGTON, Bp. extracts from, on Dress, 75*; Sabbath-breaking, 78*; Stage Plays and Dancing, 83*; lawful Amusements, 88*; Dicing, 89*; Unfit Parsons, 92*; Tittle-Tattle, 93*; see list, 75*
- Babish, 87*, 161, *adj.* childish, foolish
- Babishnes, 78/27, *sb.* playfulness, affected youthfulness
- Bables, 61, *sb. pl.* baubles, gew-gaws
- Badged, 271, *adj.* with a badge painted on it
- Badges, the Lord of Misrule's, 148
- Baggage, 58/19, filthy matter; 103, rubbish, stuff. 'Baggage, lumbor, or trumperye, solde for necessitye. *Scruta.*' 1552. R. Huloet.
- Bagpipe, dancing to the, 340
- Balaam and his ass, 121
- Balaunced, 119, stufft, weighted; 171, laden, F.

- Ball, games at, 344
 Ballads and sonnets, bawdy, 171, 185, sung at brides' bed-room doors, 309; list of, 314, 320
 Ballads, filthy, and scurvy rymes, 171
 Bandless hats, 51, 243. 'Bande or lace of a cappe or hatte. *Spira.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
 Bandogs, 178, *sb. pl.* Mastiffs; also called Tie-dogs, from being tied or bound on account of their fierceness. See Harrison, *Description of England*, II. 44-5
 Bands, peasants' stately, 52, 53
 Bankside, Southwark, a place for brothels, 281; and Bearbaiting, 79* *n.* 'Bawdye house, or house of bawdrye without the walles of a towne. *Summanium*, 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
 Banning, 107; Bannyng, 112, *v.* 199, *sb.* swearing, cursing
 Bar, pitching the; a game, 316: see *Games* below
 Bare breasts, women's, 78, 255, 267 †, 94*
 Barley-break, a game, 316 †
 Barns, Puritans meet in, 41*
 Base, a game, 316
 Basilicock, 109/27, *sb.* basilisk. 'Basiliske, a beaste full of poyson, whiche some men do thyncke to be a cokeatrice.' *Catoblepas*, 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
 Bastards: the getting 2 or 3, a needful sign of being a man, 96. 'Bastard begotten betwene base and gentle, or betwene coniugate and single. *Spurius.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
- Bastardy, causes of in England, 96
 Bawdy songs, 171, 185, 314, 319
 Bear-baiting, on Sundays, 137, 177, 296-7; this 'sweet and comfortable recreation' for the rabble, justified, 79*
 Beareward, 178, *sb.* Bear-keeper
 Bear-Garden, accident at the, 179, 319
 Bear in hand, 49/20, entertain with hopes; 118/1, persuade
 Beating of children on Childermas Day, Dec. 28, 325
 Become, 35/13, adorn
 Bee: "As quick as a bee," 96
 Beef and Mutton, prices of, 287
 Beggars and Scotchmen eating white bread, 234
 Beggars, great number of, in England, 97
 Beggars now called "Master," 123, 292
 Beggerye baggage, (roots, &c., not meat) Englishmen can't eat, 288
 Behold the Devil, 307, get drunk: see *Drunkards* below
 Bellicheer, 102/13; 104/15, gluttony
 Bells rung against storms, 348
 Bessies, 147, girls, sweethearts
 Betorn, 151, torn to pieces
 Bibles in churches, all ragged and rent, 151
 Big-bellied Doublets, 55
 Birds and beasts: men dress up as, at Shrovetide, 329
 Bishop's oil and glasses blest on Maundy Thursday, 334
 BISMARCK and the English Sunday, 297-8 §

† K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspition of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breastes laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.'" 1605. Jn. Stow, *Annales*, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,' 12mo, 1678.

‡ Huloet has a good compound of Barley: '*Barley bunne* gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meened by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlye. *Hordiarius*, ij.'

§ Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diver-

- Blase, St., the Holy-Water man : customs on his day, 328-9
- Blanch, 180, *vb.*, whitewash, represent bad as good
- Bleake, *a*, light, faint (colour), 77*, *n.*
- Bleeding, hair-cutting, &c., only done at certain times of the moon, 323
- Blindman-buffe, the game, 316
- Blockheads : why Englishmen are call'd, 77*, *n.*
- Blockhowses, 176, forts, strongholds
- Blockish ydols, 154 ; as blockish as beasts, 151
- Bloodiest oath-maker, counted the bravest fellow, 132
- Bloody swearers, 133/6 ; 134
- Boalling, 286, swilling, drinking
- Bocardo, 126, *sb.* debtors' prison. Properly "the old North gate at Oxford, taken down in the last century. It was formerly used as a prison for the lower sort of criminals, drunkards, bad women, and poor debtors." Halliwell
- Bolstred heir, 67, *pp.* propt-up hair ; bolstered breasts, 256
- Bombasted, 55, *adj.* stuff, padded with bombast, or cotton
- Books, infidel and wanton, in Ailgna, 185
- BOORDE, Andrew, his cut of an Englishman, 249, 77*, &c.
- Boothby, Lincolnshire, 58*
- Boothose, 61, 251
- Boots of Spanish leather, 242 ; with fringed tops, 248
- Bottell-arste bummes, 264, sticking out like a truss of hay
- Bowable, 76/14, *adj.* easily bent
- BOWCER, Oswald, of Donnington : the judgment on his wife Joan, 58*
- Bowers and arbours in Churchyards for games, 147
- Bowling, 173, 174 ; bolling, 372 ; playing at bowls
- Branded with a hot iron, Swearers should be, 134
- Brase, 75, *sb.* brace, couple
- Braue, 41, *adj.* fine, showy
- Breeches like Brewers' Hopsacks, 241, 246
- Brewer's washing beetle, be beaten with, 307, get drunk
- Bribery, Bp. Babington against, 92*
- Bridals, mad dancing and customs at, 309
- Bride, hardships of her first night, 309
- Bridewell prison, 100, 233
- Brocheth, 77, *pr. s.* introduces, brings forward
- Brothels and harlots, 280
- Brothelry, 94/9, lechery
- BRUISTAR, W., his death, 282
- Brush on the Beard, a Fop's, 78*, note
- Brust, 85, *pt. s.* 188, burst. A.S. *berstan, brestan*
- Brustyng, 112, *pr. p.* bursting
- Buffin gown, 264, ? coarse stuff : see Nares
- Bugges and sprites, Crosses good against, 326/154
- Bugled cloaks, 61
- Bugles, 61, 67, *sb. pl.* beads, ornaments of glass, &c.
- Bumbd like a Barrell, men, 239, women, 264, 271. See note on *Codpieces* below
- Bunches, 243 *n.*, bumps, swellings
- BURBAGE, James, his Theatre in Shoreditch, 143, 299, 300
- Busks, women's, in stays, 262, 259, 272
- Bussing, 147, *vb.* kissing

sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked :—" St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do ? One said, ' I should begin to pray,' another ' I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter : ' I should go on,' he said, ' with my game of chess ; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"—*Echo*. Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. 1.

- Butter-flies (and writs), 126, *sb. pl.* apparently writs, executions
- Buttocks: lye there (in prison) till his heels rot from his buttocks, 127
- Buttons, great and small, 239
- Buxome, 75/27, *adj.* yielding (met). A.S. *būhsom* from *bugan*, to bow
- Buzzing dronets and idle lubbers, Players are, 145
- Cabbage shoestrings, 240
- Cable hatband, 242
- Caduke, 103/27, *adj.* crazy, frail. Lat. *caducus*, from *cadere*, to fall
- Cake, a big one made on Twelfth-Day (Jan. 6), 326
- CAMDEN'S account of John Stubbes' having his hand chopt off, 54*
- Candlemas Day, Feb. 2, customs on, 328
- Canions, 56/15, 231, 246, rolls at the bottoms of breeches just below the knee; see Strutt, II. 148
- Caps, women's, 69/3; 258; 282 *n.*
- Carding, 174, playing at cards
- Cards, dice, tables, bowls, 131, not to be playd by any Christian, 173
- Care or Carle Sunday, customs on, 332
- Carefull, carefull, 120, *adj.* anxious, full of care
- CARTWRIGHT, Thomas, the Puritan, praised by G. Harvey, 43*; marrid John Stubbe's sister, 54*
- Carzies, 32/11, *sb. pl.* kersies. Harrison, *Descript. of Engl.*, ed. Furnivall, I. 172, tells us that an Englishman "was knowne abroad by his owne cloth," and at home wore "his fine *carsie* hosen and a mean slop"
- Casting-bottle, 271, for sprinkling perfumes: see Nares
- Cato's opinion on Usury, 125
- Caueate, 113, *sb.* caution
- Cawles, 69/18; 258, *sb. pl.* silk nets for the hair. "A kelle, *reticulum*." *Cath. Anglicum*, "Kelle, *reticulum, retiaculum*." *Prompt. Parv.*, on which see Mr. Way's note
- Cemeteries or Churchyards, 147, margin
- Chafe, 72, *sb.* rage, heat
- Chamber-pots, gold, 235
- Chamlet, 32, 56, *sb.* camelot
- Character, 76, *sb.* mark, sign
- Charges, 21, *sb. pl.* expense. Cf. *All's Well*, &c., II. iii. 131
- Charity cold in England, 59, 104, 105, 249, 288
- Charms, absurd Papist ones, 343; Bp. Babington against, 78*
- CHAUCER, on the poor, 44*; Dicing, 90*; Dances, 47*; Sin, 233; Pride and Nature, 234; Gentility, 237; Dress, 238
- Cheape, 16, 45/6, prices, cost. A.S. *Cedþ*
- Cheapside; Stubbes lodgd near, Nov. 8, 1593, 63*
- CHESTER, Col., notes on Stubbes's marriage and his wife's mother, 51*-53*
- Childbirth, superstitious customs after, 343
- Childermas (December 28), customs on, 325
- Children tightly swathd and hurt, 263; neglect their duties to Parents, 82*: see *Parents*
- Chitterlynges, 69, *sb. pl.* some kind of ornamental fringe, so called from its resembling the small entrails, which is the literal meaning of the word
- Chopines, 265, high court shoes
- Christmas, great wickedness practised in keeping, 174; eve, and day, customs on (Kirchmaier), 324
- Church, Lords of Misrule at, 147
- noisy bridals at, 308-9
- anniversary of its dedication, 137, 340
- Church-ales, 137, *sb. pl.* Feasts in commemoration of the dedication of a church; 340
- Church-ales or Whitsun-ales, 150, 306-9
- Churches, bad state of the, 151
- Church-stock, 150, the money for the repair of the church, &c., in the Churchwardens' hands
- CHURCHYARD the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42*

- Churchyards, games and dancing in, 147, 305
 Cingling, *sb.* 77*, note, pulling in at the waist
 Cipher, 26, *v.* describe
 Circumgyring, 67, *pr. p.* encircling
 Ciuilest, 38, *adj.* most civilised
 CLARKE, Stubbes's friend; T. Nashe's tale about, 37*
 Clipping (and culling at plays), 144, *sb.* embracing
 Cloaks, fashions in, 60, 61, 242
 Clocks, 57, *sb. pl.* ornamental work worn on various parts of dress, especially on each side of a stocking
 Clogged, 61, 101, *pp.* heavily embroidered or covered
 Clothes, the value of good ones (cp. Cloten in *Cymbeline*), 39/7, 237, 75*
 Clowts, 97, *sb. pl.* clothes; 219, rags
 Cloyshe, Coyles, Coytynge; games, 316 (see Brand's *Pop. Antiq.*)
 Coach, lady's; 271, 283
 Coast, 87, *sb.* country
 Coats and jerkins, 58, 248
 Cockering, 76, *sb.* indulgence. Tusser speaks of "cockering mams and shifting dads"
 Cock-fighting in England, on Sundays, 137, 180, 79*
 Codpiece, 55, 237, 243, an artificial protuberance on the breeches, well explained by its name.† See Cotgrave, *s. v. esguillette*
 Cogge, 'cogge, lye, and falsifye,' 145, *vb.* cheat, load a die. "Casser. To cogge a dye."
 Cotgrave
 Collars, standing, 240, 241, 243
 COLLIER, Mr. J. P., 55*, 60*, account of Stubbes's *Motive to Good Works*, 67*, opinions of his about Stubbes disputed, 61*, 70*
 Combinate, 44, *pp.* combined. See Ingenerate
 Comedies: their ground bawdy, their agents whores, 143
 Comfortative, 78/11, comforting
 Commoditye, 58, *sb.* advantage
 Commons, enclosure of by the rich, 116, 45*
 Commorante, 22; 46/23, dwelling, residing. Lat., *commorantem*
 Completion, 103, *sb.* constitution, temperament
 Complices, ix; 84/28, *sb. pl.* accomplices, associates
 Computist, v/15, *sb.* reckoner, calculator
 Concions, 163, *sb. pl.* addresses, sermons
 Concoct, 103, *vb.* digest
 Conculcate, 183, trodden under foot
 Concupiscencious, baudie, and bestiall love: dancing induces, 156
 Conducibile, 62/18, conducive
 Confortatiue, 78, *adj.* comforting, strengthening
 Confuted, 57, *pp.* reprovd
 Congratulate . . with, 153
 Contentation, 72/14; 87/13, contentment, delight, satisfaction
 Contrarely, 41; Contrarylye, 44, *adv. : e contrario*, in the contrary way
 Contrarie, 199, *vb.* thwart, oppose
 Conuented, 101, *pp.* summoned; 126, brought to court
 Convitious talking, 180
 Co-operative Stores, the need of them, 45*, 46*
 Coquetry and dress of women, 64, 67, 68, 76, 256
 Corked shoes, 58, 77, 265
 Corn-growing, blest by the priest on Corpus Christi Day, 338/239
 Corpus Christi Day: popular and Popish Customs on, 337-8
 Corroborate, 107/25, strengthen
 Corroboratiue, 78/11, *adj.* strengthening
 Corrosive, *sb.* 156/156

† They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant *codpieces* on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeves of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

- CORYAT, Tom, referred to, 44*, 234
 Cost of dress, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264
 Costly, xii, *adv.* in a costly manner
 Cotes, 45, *sb. pl.* coats; 'swyne coates,' 151, pigsties
 Cottage-building forbidden by law, 97, 281
 Cottagers' daughters in taffatie hats, 69
 Couched, 65, *pp.* mixed, laid
 Counterpease, 70/22, counterpoise, weight equal to
 Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183
 Courtier, young, Beggar old, 245, *n.*
 Coventry, Hock-Tuesday Play, led by Captain Cox, 69*
 Covetous men buying up poor men's land, 119, 290, 291
 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92*
 Cowlstaffe, 148, *sb.*, a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. "Ride the cowlstaff," to ride the stang, ride a rail †
 Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74
 Craking, *sb.*, boasting, 42*
 Crasie, 51, *adj.* crazy, fragile
 Creatures, God's, not to be abusd, by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182
 Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293, 46*
 Crewell, 57, *sb.* fine worsted wool
 Cross and Pile, a game, 316
 Crosses of blood as charms, 343
 Cuckoldry in England, 45* (see Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 418)
 Culling, 144, *sb.* embraces
 Cupple, 100, *sb.* pair, couple
- Curious, 71, *adj.* dainty, nice
 Curiousness, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
 Curry-knave, Cutbert, ? Thomas Nashe, on Stubbes, 37*, 39*
 Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299, 301, 308
 Cutte, 49, *pp.* cut, slash
 Cypher foorth, 138/16, sketch, outline
 Cyprian, St., on face-painting, 66
 Cyuet, 77, *sb.* civet
 Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture
- Dag, 66*, a pistol
 Daggers, 62, 250, 252
 Daintiness in food hurtful, 106
 Damnable, 132, to be condemnd, wrong †
 Dance, the Devil's danst by every one, 166, l. 3 from foot
 Dancing, 154-169, 313; the evils of, 155; (in churchyards), 305; (at bridals), 309, 313, 314; 83*, 85*
 Dancing and games on the Sabbath, 136, 137, 296, 297, 79*, 81*
 Dancing, 146, like the French *cancan*, 330. 'Daunsyng with a wanton tricked vsed among. *Staticulum*.' 1552. Huloet
 Dandy: one describd, 241, 77*: see Dress
 DANIEL, Samuel, poet, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286
 DANTER, the printer, 42*
 Dasht, 88, *pp.* spoilt
 Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

† *Woman*. "In some places with vs, if a woman beat hir husbande, the man that dwelleth next vnto hir, shal ride on a *cowlstaffe*: & there is al y^e punishment she is like to haue." 1580, T. Lupton. *Sivgila*, p. 50.

‡ "If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and *damne* his deede."—*Tyndale* (1573), f. 144.

"O see witles men of galathie who deceyuede you for to not bileue to the/ treuher bifore whos yzen ieru crist is *dampnyde* (or exile)." — *Epistle to the Galatians*, cap. iii, 6, *Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test.* (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man." — *Sir T. More's Utopia*, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.—*R. Roberts*.

- Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278
- Daunger, 153, *sb.* power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. *domigerium*. So "out of debt, out of danger," *i. e.* independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, *s. v.*
- David's dancing, 164
- Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187
- Dealers, cheating, 46*
- Dearlynges, 88, *sb. pl.* paramours, favourites. 'Darlynge, a wanton terme used in venereal speech, as be these: honycombe, pyggisnye, swetehert, trueloue. *Adonis . . . delitie . . . suaium sauium.*' 1552. Huloet
- Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. 'Dearth or scarsitye. *Caritas.*' 1552. Huloet
- dearness, 289
- Death of the Poor in the Streets, 59: *see* Poor
- Debt, imprisonment for, 126, 127, 292, 293*
- Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127, 293
- DECKER, T., on men's absurd Dress, 77*; on letting men die in the fields, 91*; on Creditors' cruelty, *see* note to *Dice* below.
- Decline, 55, *v.* bend, bow
- Decore, *vb.* 35, footnote 6, ornament; 'decored,' 64/3, ornamented, improv'd
- Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20
- Dehorted, 142, *pt. s.* dissuaded
- Delicates, 87, delicacies, *sb. pl.* dainties
- DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42*
- Deneger, 115, *sb.* denyer
- Denigrate, 78/20, *v.* blacken, darken
- Depainted, ix/6, depicted; Cp. Thynne's *Emblemes*, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24
- Deurginat, 145, *vb.* seduce
- Devil, the maker of new fashions, 77/11: his band in the temple of God, 147
- Devil, behold the: get drunk, 307: *see* *Drunkards*, below
- 'Dice of his bones, I will make,' 119, 127, 290, 293, 46*, † 89*
- Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89*
- Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89*-91*
- Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46
- Disalowé, 153, *i pr. s.* disapprove
- Discrasies, 103/21, *sb. pl.* ailments, disorders, discomforts. 'Dis-crayed. *Egrotus.*' 1552. Huloet
- Disgesture, 103/15; 106/15, *sb.* digestion
- Dishcloute, 51, *sb.*-rag, dishcloth
- Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

† "You haue another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sickness and death deal mildely with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life *cruell* in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allows him) for his cares to sleepe vppon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get; what seeke you to haue him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot moue you; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heauie, the greater and more glorious is your pity to worke his freedome; if they be light, the sharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the Diuel that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes *make Dice of mens bones*, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debter that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in *Ieronimo*) crying *Reuenge.*" 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

- ruins the character of. 'Dishonesten or make dishoneste. *Collutulo, as. Contamino, as. Dishonest or defyle a woman. depudico.*' 1552. Huloet
- Disparcle, 78/17, *v.* spread, scatter abroad
- District, 46/9, strict
- Diue, 52, *v.* steep
- Document, 100/13, lesson, *cp. Hamlet, IV. v.*
- Doen, 66, *pp.* done
- Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268
- Donnington, Leicestershire, 59*
- Doomsday, near, 187
- Doublets made of a monstrous size, 55; of laced satin, 246, 247; worn by women, 71, 261, 77*, note
- Dregs, 63, *sb. pl.* rubbish
- Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man's station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer's time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48
- Dress of men, 239, 75*, 77*, 78*
- Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257*, 77*, note
- Drink, names for, 150, 307
- Drinking half-pots or whole cans of beer, game at, 316
- Dromming, xi, *sb.* playing on drums
- Dronets, xi/8, 145; *sb. pl.* drones
- Droye, 78/2, *sb.* droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. 'Drudge or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle seruice. *Mediastimus, a, um.*' 1552. Huloet
- Drummer, 172
- Drunk, names for getting, 307
- Drunkards worse than beasts, 108: "*Accoustre pour aller au guet. Thoroughly tipleed, soundly whittled, that hath seene the diuell.*" 1611. Cotgrave. See Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for Droonkardes,' 1576
- Drunken alestake, 78*, drunkard
- Drunkness and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285
- Drunkness in England, 107; testimonies against, 109; a caueat against, 112
- Duetie, 112, *sb.* duty
- Dumb creatures, Stubbes's care for, 50*, 178, 182
- Dunhill gentleman, 122. 'Dunghyll, mixen, or muckhyll. *Priuetum.*' 1552. Huloet
- Durance petticoates, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares
- Dutch drunkards, awful example of two, 113
- Dutch fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Dyeing of hair, 68, 258
- Ear-rings, 70
- Easter-Day, popular customs on, 336
- Easter-eve, popular customs on, 335-6
- EBSWORTH, Rev. J. W., on Ballad-cuts, 17*; on women's bare necks, 267 *n.*; on S. Rowlands's list of naughty songs, 314
- Education and treatment of children, 278
- Effeminacy of men, 54, 103, 246
- Effeminate, *vb.* 160, make womanish and weak
- Efficiente, 27, *pr. p.* effecting
- EGERTON'S Sermons, mentiond by T. Nashe, 37*
- Egham races, 47*
- Elements and Skyes, 188
- Elizabeth, Queen, her procession and dress, June 23, 1600, 71*
- Els what, 76; what not
- ELYOT, Sir T., against Dicing, 90*
- EMMES, William, Stubbes's father-in-law, 51* to 53*
- England describd, 23, 114; pride and luxury in, 31, 235, 236
- English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles, 33, 235
- Englishmen have become effeminate from dress and luxury, 54, 103, 246, 250; cut of one, 249
- Enlocnilshire, 135, Lincolnshire

- Entludes, viii, *sb. pl.*, interludes
 Entirely, 117, *adv.* earnestly, heartily.
See Intirelie
 Equivalent, 144, of equal weight
 Erichssehchshire, 135, Cheshire
 Errata in the early editions, 192
 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot
 Estraunged, 96, *pp.* separated,
 removed
 Estridge feathers, 253, 270-1
 Euangely, *sb.* 120, gospel
 Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one
 by Nashe, 39*
 Evibrate, *vb.* 108, footnote 7, shake
 Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, *vb.* heap
 up, gather. 'Heapely, in a
 mungley, wythout order. *Acerua-*
tim, Aggestim.' 1552. Huloet
 Examples against drunkenness,
 109-112
 Exorable, 75/29, *adj.* gaind over
 by entreaties, ready to yield to
 solicitation
 Extenuate, 54/25, *v.* lengthen out
 Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers,
 vagrants, stragglers
 Extravagance in dress, &c., its re-
 sults, 53, 245
 Eye: 'Black is their eye,' 96
 Face-painting, 63-67, 254, 255-6,
 257, 270, 271; abhorrd of God,
 64; used by harlots, † 65; the
 devil's net, 66, 67
 Faggots: husbands' natures guesst
 by, 324
 Fairs and markets on Sundays,
 299; see p. 149
 ———, evils attending now, 47*
 Fall, and falling band, 244, 256,
 259, 279
 False breasts, &c., 257; hair, 257-8
 Familiars, 87, *sb.* intimate friends
 Fangles, new, 80/20; 82/25, fanci-
 ful inventions
 Fans, and flaps of feathers, 261
 Faraginie, 103, *margin*, Lenten diet
 Far-fetcht and dear-bought, is
 good for ladies, ‡ 33/16, 65/16,
 236, 254
 Farmers' silken geere, 244
 Farthingales and dress, 261, 272
 Fashions, 243, 256, *sb.* a disease in
 a horse, farcy
 Fashions in bands, 52, 243; in
 coats and jerkins, 58, 248, 250;
 in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241;
 in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270;
 in hats, 50, 240, 241; in hose,
 56, 246; in netherstocks (stock-
 ings), 57; in rapiers, swords, and
 daggers, 62, 252; in ruffs, 51, 52,
 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in
 shoes, 58, 248; of women, 71,
 259; change every day, 76
 Fashions of dress frequently changed
 in Ailgna, 31, 76
 Fauchone, 110/19; 162, *sb.* a sword
 or falchion
 Feade, 62, *vb.* please, feed
 Feare, 98, *v.* frighten
 Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243
 Feight dog, feight bear! the deuil
 part all! 178 (at Bearbaiting)
 Felles, 36/21; *sb. pl.* skins
 Fellowship of Animals' Friends,
 50*, *note* 1, 331. 'Felowshyppe,
 brethren or companye, whych be
 all of one brotherhode, corpora-
 tion, fraterternitie, guildue, or
 misterye. *sodales.*' 1552. Huloet.
 Felowes, 48, *sb. pl.* companions;
 A.S. *fēlagi*
 Femenine, 161, 170, *vb.* effeminate,
or, as just below, womannisheth
 Filides, 256, *foot* (?)
 Fine living hurtful, 105
 Fish: all is fish that comes to the
 net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huld-
 ryche or Ulric, 539
 Fixnet, 35/5; *sb.* shower-off, up-
 start; 'Thraso' in later editions

† Huloet says under 'Alume . . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. *Zuchari-*
num made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe,
 the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and
 visages wyth, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

‡ Next the entry of Udal's *Rauf Ruyster Duster* (Ralf Roister Doister) in the
 Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-7, is "Recevyd of thomas haokett for his lycense
 for the pryntinge of a playe intituled *farre fetcht and Deare bought ys good for*
lad[des]." Arber's *Transcript*, i. 331.

- Flaunes, 148, *sb. pl.* custards, pancakes
- Flaunt, 34, *vb.* to make a show
- Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing, †
- Fleer, 145, *vb.* grin, make faces
- Flip flap, 51, *phr.* flapping
- Flipping and flapping, 58/17; flopping, floundering
- FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Flower in a fop's ear, 78* note, 94*
- Flowting, ix, *adj.* mocking. "Brocarder, to quip, cut, gird, reach over the thummes; ieast at; *flout*, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 42
- Fluter, 172
- Foist, 71, footnote 8; '1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. *crepitus*. *Foist*, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.
- Fond, 81, *adj.* foolish
- Food of Englishmen in the olden times, 103, 287
- Football, playd on Sundays, 137; the dangers of, 184; accidents at, 318, 319
- Football and other games, S. Rowlands's list of in 1600, 316
- Foot saunte without cards, 304; toying with girls' feet?
- Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77* note, 94*: see *Dress, Fashions*
- Forcheth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.; 97, *impers. phr.* matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothing. . *Susque . . ferre . . Vacat.*' 1552. Huloot.
- Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251
- Foreign goods preferred to home-made, 33
- Forked cappes of Popish Priestes, 69
- Fornication, prevalence of in England, 101, 282
- FORREST, Sir (= parson) W., on the food of Englishmen in 1543, 287
- FOX'S *Book of Martyrs*, 185; Stubbes wrote 8 prefatory Latin lines to it, 64*
- Frankincense, burning, carrid about houses on Twelfth Night, 326
- FRAUNCE, Abraham, the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77* note
- Frizes, 32, *sb. pl.* friezes
- Frontiers, 67, *sb.* foreheads
- Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342
- Furdest, 56, *adj.* furthest, most removed
- Fyled, 23, *pp.* filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, *Descript. of Britain*, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of *filed* utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-torned and true-*filed* lines"

† *Fleas*.—Matthew Grove (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 344) gives the following humorous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragical Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoynd sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songs and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House. Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

"A perfect tricke to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber."

"Take halfe a quart of barly graine,

A quart of strongest beere,

And boyle withall in earthen pot

A pint of water cleere,

Till all these three consumed be

To ounces twelve or lesse,

And then the place to which you will

These fleas in heaps to presse,

Anoynt with that; this water hath,

In it this verture raw,

That all the fleas will thither come.

Then take a slender strawe,

And tickle them on the small ribs,

And when you see one gape,

Thrust then the straw into his mouth,

And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be opened till wanted for use.' When opened, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

- Gallant's dress, cost of, 245
 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the : Ruffs so called, 53
 Gally-hose, or gally-gascoynes, 56/1; 246, *sb.* wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on *Codpiece*.
 Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89*-91*
 Games and sports, 316†
 Garagantua breeches, 247
 Garded, 60, *pp.* trimd, edgd. See *Henry VIII.*, Prologue 16, and *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 143
 Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279
 Gardes, 74, *sb.* *pl.* trimmings, edgings‡
 Garnishe, 33, *v.* adorn : 'Garnish. *Adorns.*' 1552. Huloet
 Garters, French, 243; of Granada silk, 244, 265; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280; poniards hung in, 280
 GASCOIGNE the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 Gascoynes, 242, breeches: "*Guer-guesses*: f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611." Cotgrave
 Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, *pp.* galled
 Geare, 97, *sb.* matter, business
 Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340
 Generoseous, *a.* 132
 Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles
 Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart : 'Gentleman of the first head, or *Ironice* to be applied to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no poynt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. *Filius terra.*' 1552. Rich. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
 Gentlemen sheeppmongers and graziers, 290
- Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31
 Geugawes, 62, *sb.* *pl.* baubels, trinkets
 Giese, 111, *pr. noun*, Gehazi
 Gingered brests & spiced stomachs, 106, last line
 Gingerlynes, 78/26, *sb.* affected nicety, dainty manners
 Girls and men at theatres, 304
 Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304; are harnessd in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392; seduced at thirteen, 232
 Girls' way of finding out husbands' names, 324
 Glistering, 79, *pr. p.* shining, glittering
 Globe Theatre (Shakspere a sharer), Southwark, 252, 303
 Glory of, 155/2, glory in
 Gloves, scented, worn by women, 79
 Gluttony, a temptation of the devil, 104
 Gluttony and drunkenness in England, 102; forbidden by God, 110; God's judgments on, 113; 85*
 Gluttony and drunkenness, 284
 God's ape, man is, 77*, note
 God's punishment of pride, 85, 86
 GODDARD, Wm., on women's fashions, 259
 GOLDING, Arthur, on Sabbath breaking, 80*, 81*, note
 Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 275 (see *Harrison*, Part II. Forewords)
 Good Friday, customs on, 334-5
 'Good Men': brawlers and fighters wrongly calld, 88*, note
 GOOGE, Barnabe, praised by G. Harvey, 42*; his englishing of Book IV of *The Popish Kingdom* of T. Kirchmaier or Nao-georgus, 323

† 'Actiue parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre, daunsinge, leapyng, runnyng, shotyng, shyping. *Panerciastes. Et paneratius: tij, ang.* he that doth exerceyse suche actiuitie.' 1522. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

‡ 'Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bouders or trayles fynely wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber: Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or weite whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, *Segmentum*; and that whiche is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, *Segmentatus, a. um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities
- Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152
- Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony
- GRAFTON the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Grime, 67, *adj.* grim, fierce
- Grograins, 32, *sb. pl.* a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, grograines," &c., 231
- Groping and vncleane handling in dancings, 155
- Grosly, 23, *adv.* plainly, unrefinedly
- Grosser, 53, *adj.* thicker
- Guage, 123, *sb.* security, pledge
- Guilte, xii, *pp.* gilt
- Guise, 31, *sb.* manner, habit. "The Norman *guise* was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's *Peramb. of Kent*, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, *Descript. of England*, I. 168
- Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink
- Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling
- Gun-shooting, game at, 316
- Guys carried about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images caried aboute in pageauntes wyth greate chekes and wyde mouthes. *Manduces*.' 1552. Huloet.
- Guyses, 63, *sb. pl.* customs
- Gyrdlestead, 60/24, *sb.* waist. "Gyrdell stede, *faulx du corps*." Palsgrave
- Habits of the young men, 252
- Hainous, 80, *adj.* hideous, odious. See Haynous
- Hair, fashions in wearing †, 67-69; sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258
- Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47*; cp. 149
- Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88
- Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to
- Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242
- Harbers, 88, *sb. pl.* arbouris
- Hard fare wholesomest, 103
- Harde-quilted, 55, *adj.* padded stiffly
- Harlots and brothels, 280
- Harlots and Bastards come to church on the yearly Feast-day, in Germany, 340
- Harlots‡ use face-painting, (*g. v.*) 65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281
- HARVEY, Gabriel, on Stubbes and other writers, 42*; chaff by T. Nashe, 308; abuses Nashe, 42*-43*
- Hasardour§, Chaucer's, made 'dis-sour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90*
- Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's work, 246
- Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252
- Hautie, 63, *adj.* proud, haughty
- Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182
- Haynous, 28, *adj.* heinous, odious. "Haineux. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."—Cotgrave
- 'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakspeare, in *Rich. II, III, Cymb.* &c. 'The king he,' &c.
- Head-dress of women, 253
- Heare, iv; Heyre, v, *sb.* hair; Heir, 67
- Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's *Guls Hornbooks*, 1609, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

‡ 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." *Aquarioli*. 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlotte whyche medleth wyth a man for a farthynge. *Quadrantaria*.' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. *Zucarinatæ mulieres*.'—*ib.*

§ Besides Hasarder, *Aleator*, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. *Vide* in Lurker.' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley men, *Grassator*. Lurkers, called hasarders. *Vide* in hasarders.' 1552, *Abecdarium*.

- Hell, the reward of pride, 39
 Helthfuller, 103, *adv.* more healthily, with better health
 Hens offered to St. Vitus, 339
 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341
 Hermaphroditii, 73
 HERRICK, on May-games, 305
 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331
 Hethnical, 177, *adj.* heathenish
 HEYWOOD praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 'His, for possessive 's, 75, l. 10, 11, &c.
 Hoast, 84, *sb.* host, company
 Hobbyhorses, 147, 231
 HOLINSHED the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42*; one of Stowe's insertions in his Chronicle, 65*, *note*
 Holsome, 65, *adj.* wholesome: 'Holesome, *incolumis* . . . *saluber*.' 1552. Huloet.
 Holy Days, how spent by folk, 344; see *Sabbath*
 Holy-water, barrels of, through St. Blase's bone, 329
 Home-keeping folk, 22/11, 233
 Hoops of women's dresses, 263
 Horses gallopt on Christmas Day, in Germany, 325
 Hose, extravagant fashions in, 56, 61, 239, 246, 251; trunk, 56, 246; cost of, 56, 61
 Hot-cockles, the game, 316
 HOWARD, Lord Henry, Earl of SURREY, poet, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 Howleglasse, 41*, a rough jester
 Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement
 Hufcap, 150, 307, *sb.* strong ale
 Huftie-tuftie, † 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly
 Huggle, 97/13; 281, *v.* hug, cuddle
 HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on his Day, 339
- Humaine, iii, *adj.* human. 'Humayn, as of man, *Humanitus, humanus*.' 1552. Huloet.
 Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, not so calld till 1603, 72*; Q. Elizabeth's procession to it, 71*. See too engraving and woodcut by the title-page
 Hunting and hawking on Sundays, 181-2; now, 48*
 Hurly-burlyes, 328/266
 Husbands, 115, *sb. pl.* economizers
 Husbands, future: their names found out by Onions, and their natures by faggots, 324
- Idle Jestng and Scoffng, Bp. Babington against, 87*
 Idleness, Acts against, 320
 Idolaters, Papists are, 342
 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate children
 Imbrodered, 77, *pp.* embroidered
 Immured, 23, *pp.* surrounded as with a wall
 Impale, 124, *vb.* inclose, fence in
 Impe, 111, *sb.* child
 Implicate A, entangled F., 139
 Impolished, vi/24, *pp.* unpolisht, unrefined
 Importable, 58/19, insupportable
 Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, *adj.*
 Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with
 Incident, 90, *adj.* proper, suitable
 Inclosures, 117, 289
 Incorporate, 44, *adj.* incorporated, united. See *Ingenerate*
 Indented, 77, *pp.* with the edges worked
 Indifferentlie, 35, *adv.* without distinction: 'Indifferently, *indiscriminatim, Passim*.' 1552. R. Huloet
 Inferreth, 168, *pr. s.* brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your *huftie tuftie* can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knauery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603)*. [*A "coy Fame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."*] p. 11, col. 2.

- Infirm, 95/31, *vb.* weaken: 'Infirmmed. *Infirmus*.' 1552. Huloet
- Ingenerate, 44, *adj.* engendred. In English the *adjective* in *-ate* formd directly from the Latin *pp.* preceded the *verb* in *-ate*, which was formd from the *pp.*, and the final *-d* was added to the already-existing *adjective* from a mistaken idea that it was a *pp.* formd from the *verb*. Thus in Shakspeare we find *consecrate* (*Titus And.* I. i. 14); *create* (*Midsumm. N. Dream*, V. i. 412); *articulate* (*Hen. IV.*, V. i. 72); *felicitate* (*Lear*, I. i. 66), &c.
- Ingrate, 23, *adj.* ungrateful
- Ingrauen, xii, *pp.* engraved
- Ingurgitate, 104/2, *v.* drink heavily, swamp, fill to excess: 'Ingurgitation of meate and dryncke, or beastely feadynge. *Alogia*.' 1552. Huloet
- Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified in the 6th (1595), 62*, 63*
- Inough, Ynoughe, 46, *adv.* enough. A.S. *genoh*.
- Insaciabest, 102, *adj.* most insatiable
- Insolency, 57, *sb.* excess, outrageousness
- Intellective, 107, *adj.* intellectual
- Interest or usury should not be taken on loans, tho' allowed by law, 124
- Interludes, bawdy, and other trumperies, 180; 140
- Intestine, 24/5, *adj.* inward, innate
- Intirelie, 225, *adv.* heartily, earnestly. *See* *Entierly*
- Inuegled, 68, *pt. s.* inveigled, enticed
- Inuisories, 80/5, *sb. pl.* masks
- Invested, 38, *pp.* clothed
- Irish, a game, 316
- Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's time, 95*
- Irrationable, 92, *adj.* without reason, not rational
- It, 44/8, its
- Jaques & Orlando, 50*
- Jarnsey, 57/7, *adj.* Guernsey (yarn); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22
- Jephtah's daughter's dancing, 161
- Jew who died in a privy rather than violate his Sabbath, 139/13; 300
- Jewellery, excessive use of by women, 79, 271
- John, St., walks before the Holy Bread on Corpus Christi Day, 338/113
- John the Baptist's Day, customs on, 339
- Judgment, sounding of the trumpet at the day of, 24, 233
- Judgment-Day near, 87
- Judgment of God on swearing, 135, 295
- Judith and Holfernes, 162
- Jumping hedges and ditches, 316
- KIFFIN (Maurice Kyffin the poet), praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- King of Twelfth Day, 326
- KIRCHMAIER (or Naogeorgus), Thomas: account of him, 322; the Fourth Book of his *Popish Kingdome*, 323-348
- Kissing, 260, 313; kissing and bussing at plays, 144
- Kissing hands in saluting friends, 247
- Knacks, 74, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Korked, 77, *adj.* corkt (shoes)
- Kyrtles, 75, *sb. pl.* gown, jackets
- Lace, use of, 74, 264
- Laced, 49, *adj.* coverd with lace
- Laced mutton, 240, whores
- Lacedomians, the, on Dicing, 176
- Lacing of women, tight-, 264, 77*
- LAMBERT, (? a poet, or Wm. Lambarde of Kent), praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- Lambs, 2, offerd on St. Agnes Day, Jan. 21, 327
- Land turnd into apparel, 245
- Landlords, hard, denounst, 76*, note: *see* *Poor*
- Largeous, 105/17, *adj.* free, open-handed, liberal
- LATIMER, Bp, on dicing, 317
- Latrones, 119/21, *sb. pl.* thieves

- Latter-Day Pamphlets* (T. Car-lyle's), commented on, 49*
- Lattice, 69, *sb.* as *adj.*
- Laughing and fleering at plays, 144
- Lawrell pall, xviii, the laurel crown
- Laws against vices should be enforst, 86
- Lawyers and their tricks, and pillage of the poor, 117, 289, 92*
- Lazy habits of women, 274
- Leapfrog, the game, 316
- Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38*
- Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; *En cueros*, in leather, in buff; used by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy
- Leaude, 89, *adj.* lewd
- Legittimats, 97, children born in wedlock
- Lent, fasting and customs in, 331
- Licensing of books: abuses in, 69*, 185
- Life: 'my life for yours,' 171
- Light-brain, *sb.* 250, idiot, goose
- Litter, Queen Elizabeth carrid in one, by 6 Knights, 71*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, *Lectica*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
- Liveries and Retainers, evils of too many, 86*
- LLOYD, Lodowick, calld Floide, and praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Logatinge, or Loggets, the game, 316
- London, † whoredom in, 283; other evils, 77*, 191*, 288, &c.
- Looking-glasses the devil's spectacles, 79; in hats, &c., 271
- Loose-hanging gowne for loose-lying body, 271 (foot), 270, 178, 93*
- Lord of Misrule, May-Games, &c., 146-150, 251, 304
- Lothsom, 111, *adj.* loathsome, filthy
- 'Love me, love my dog,' 178. Cotgrave, under both *aimer* and *chien*, gives *Bertrand* for Stubbes's *Jean*: '*Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien*: Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we).'
- Lovers court St. Andrew, 341
- buy girls fairings, 340; give em pippins at the theatre, 304; green gowns on Mayday, 305
- Loyting, xi, *sb.* loitering, lounging about
- Lubbers, idle, 145
- Lubricious, 71 margin; wanton, fickle
- LUPTON, T., on grasping landlords, 76*, note; on cruel using of the poore, 288; drunkenness, 285
- Lurdens, 138, *sb. pl.* idle vagabonds
- Lyllie-white, 53, *adj.* purely white
- MACHIAVEL'S instructions to his son, 276-9
- Madrid (Spanish leather) gloves, 251
- Maids, tradesmen's, used as lures, 277
- Maistered, 122, calld 'Master,' 122/4
- Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey
- Maltbugs lugging at liquor, 307
- Manchets made with holy wine, 325
- Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (*Knave of Harts*, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old *mandillions*." See also Harrison, I. 168
- Manure, 36, *v.* work by hand
- March paynes, Tartes & Custards, 325
- Margarets, 70, *sb. pl.* pearls. "Margery, perle. *Margarita*." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note
- Markets and Fairs on Sundays, 182-3
- Marriage, the object of, 91
- Marrid men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

† London.—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England . . . by Iohn Carre, Citizein of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. ii leaves,' Collier's *Bibl. Cal.* i. 108.

- Martin chain, 250
 — St., his day, 340
- Masking, mumming, bowling, and such like fooleries, 173
- Masks, 272 ; use of by women, 80, 271, 272
- Master : every Tinker and Swineherd must be call'd so now, 122
- Mastives and bandogs, 178
- Material Hell, 188
- Mault-wormes, 107/9, *sb. pl.* drunkards. *See* Nares, *s. v.* comp. 1 *Hen. IV.* II. i.
- Maundy Thursday, customs on, 333
- Maw, a game, 316
- Mawmets, 75/8, *sb. pl.* puppets, dolls (cp. *Rom. & Jul.* III. v.). *See* Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, *Ydolum, simulacrum*) and Wedgwood, *s. v.*
- Maycocks, 101/11, *sb. pl.* ineaccocks, effeminate, spiritless fellows. *See* Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.
- May games, the fruits and dangers of, 149, 305
- Maypole, its bringing from the woods, 149, 306
- Medietie, 104, margin ; moderation
- Meditations and Prayers, Stubbes's, 215-230
- Meeres, 124, *sb. pl.* bounds, limits
- MELCHIOR, Reginald, 52*
- Melitean, Maltese, dogs, carrid in women's bosoms, 268
- Men, absurd dress of, 239
- Merchants' tricks to get high prices, 118
- Middest, 55, *sb.* middle
- Middlemen, mischief of, 46*
- MILWARD, Mrs. Katherine: Stubbes dedicates his *Pathwayto*, in 1592, p. 213
- Mincedness, 78/25, mincing manners
- Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety
- Minions, 70, *sb. pl.* affected minxes
- Minstrels and Musicians, 171
- Minstrels pipe up a dance to the devil, 172
- Misrule, Lords of, 146
- Mizzled, 87/19, *pp.* muddled, confused, fuddled
- Mockadoes, 231, 244
- Moe, 66, *adj.* more
- Molestations, passions, 162
- Money, mischief, and gains of, 291-2
- Monkey waist, a woman's, 256 : *see* Lacing
- Momentaine, 115, *adj.* short-liv'd, brief
- Mopsies, 147, *sb. pl.* sweethearts
- MORE, Sir Thomas : anecdotes or bits by him, 297, 310
- Morris-dancing, 316
- Moses, and the Jews' whoredom, 123
- Motherwort, or Vervain garlands on John the Baptist's Day, 339
- Mow, 145, *vb.* grin scornfully, mock
- MULCASTER, Richard, head master of Merchant-Taylor's School, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- MUNDAY, Anthony, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Munidnol, 136, Londinum, London Music in England, its dangers and fruits, 169
- Musk, sweet scent, 78, 269, 270
- Mutenie, 84, *sb.* mutiny, insubordination
- Naboth and Ahab, 121
- Naked breasts of women, 78, 255, 267 : *see* 'Bare breasts'
- Namely, 176, *adv.* especially
- NAOGEORGUS (Thomas Kirchnermaier), 4th book of his *Popish Kingdome*, 1553, english by Barnabe Googe, 1570, on Popular and Popish Superstitions, 322-348 ; his Works, 322
- NASHE, Th. : *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 232, 320 ; his abuse of Stubbes in it (1590), 39*, and in his *Almond for a Parrat* (1589), 37* ; is well slang'd by Gabriel Harvey, 41*-43*
- Neckerchers, 70, *sb. pl.* neckties
- Nekershofewe, the 2 Dutch Drunkards of, 113
- Nether-stocks, fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 247, 265, *sb. pl.* stockings
- Newfanglednesse, 31, *sb.* love of new inventions

- Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, *sb. pl.* new fashions. 'Louer of newe fangels, and trifles. *Elucus.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
- New-Year's Day, customs on, 325
- Nice, 158, *adj.* foolish
- Nicelings, 79/14, *sb. pl.* dainty creatures
- Nicenes, 58, *sb.* daintiness
- Nicholas, St., his gifts to children, 34^o
- NICHOLS, Mr. J. G. on Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, 72*
- Niffes or paltry stuff, 235
- Night before May day, spent by girls and men in the woods, 149, 305 foot
- Nine-holes, a game, 316
- Nippitatum, 63, 150, *sb.* a cant name for strong liquor, especially ale. *See* Nares, *s. v.* 'Pain benist de la S. Cy. Wine, good liquor. Nippitatie.' 1611. Cotgrave
- Nisitic, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
- Nobility, true, springs from virtue, 42
- Noddie, a game, 316
- NORDEN, John : quoted, on pride in England, 236-7
- NORTON, Thomas, joint author of *Ferrex and Porrex*, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- Nusled, 101/17, *pp.* pamperd
- Nusseled, 54, *pp.* nuzzled, cuddled, pamperd
- Oaths and cursing, 129-136, 294, 295
- Obnubilate, 78/16, *v.* cloud, darken
- Obtestation, *sb.* 131, calling to witness. 'Obtestation. *obtestatio, onis*, it is properlye wher one taketh God to wytnes, *Et obtestor, aris*, to take God to wytnes.' 1552. Huloet
- Obtused (dulled, F.), 170
- Ointment to grease Lawyers' fists with, 117, money
- Onions: husbands' names found out by, 324
- Ordinary, 2-shilling, 75*, note
- Orlando and Jaques, of *As you like it*, 50*
- Ornaments worn as head-dresses by women, 69, 258
- Ostenting, 30/7, *sb.* showing off, boasting, Lat. *ostentans*
- Ostrich feathers, 253, 270-1
- Othersome, 60, *adj.* some others
- Ouches, 67, *sb. pl.* ornaments, jewels. *See* Mr. Way's note in *Prompt. Parv.*, *s. v.* Nowche
- Ouermuche, 34, *adj.* excessive
- PAGE, Wm., his right hand cut off, 54* note
- Padded shoulders, women's, 254
- Pageants playd by Maskers, on Easter-Day, 336, and Corpus Christi Day, 337-8
- Painting of women's faces, 64, 80, 271, 273 : *see* *Sibbersawces*
- Palled, 88/8, *adj.* surrounded with palings
- Palls of St. Agnes's lambs' wool : Bishops forct to buy, 327
- Palm Sunday, customs on, 332
- Paned, 56, *adj.* formed of stripes, with small panes or squares of silk or velvet
- Panther smells sweet to beasts only, 40*
- Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239, *sb. pl.* slippers, patterns. "A shooe called a pantofle, or a slipper, *crepida, sandalium.*" — Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580. Baret also gives the form *Pantaffle*. 'Short-heeld pantoffles,' 37*/16
- Papist Bloodsuckers, Stubbes's 8 lines on, 64*
- Papist Superstitions and Customs on Saints' Days, &c., 323-348
- Papists and professors of Papisme, 130
- Papists keep stews, and don't care for Apostles, Moses, &c., 344-5 ; they hate Heretics, and persecute em, 346 ; call the gospel 'Turkish,' and defame its Preachers, 347 ; are no more 'Catolics' than Turks and Moors are, 347
- Paraphrasing, 167, commenting
- Pardons given away on the yearly church-festival, 341
- Parent's neglect to train their children properly, 75, 265, 82*

- Paris Garden, Southwark, 296
 PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65*
 Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, 93*
 Parted, 76* *n.* having good parts or abilities, clever
 Particularities, 56, *sb.* details, minute items
 Partlets, 70, *sb. pl.* ruffs or bands worn by women. "*Amiculum.* A neckercher or a partlet." Withals. *Partlet*, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman's ruff. *Dunton's Ladies' Dict.* 1694, in *Nares*, ed. 1859; with other quotations. 'Partlet, *Strophium.*' 1552. Huloet
 Paste, 112, *pp.* past
 Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse
 Patrocinny, vii, 27, patronage
 Peacemeale wise, 39* (at foot), in pieces, tatters
 Peaking, 51, *pr. p.* running to a peak or point
 Pearking, 50, *pr. p.* (? peaking), rising into a peak
 Pedagogie, 37/32, *sb.* instruction, example, guidance
 Pelts, 36/21, *sb. pl.* fleeces.
 Peltynge, 72/9, *adj.* violent, furious
 Pendants, 35/11, 67; *sb. pl.* hangings, vails, pendants
 Pen-and-inkhorn Sir John, a game, 316
 PENNELL, Francis; judgment on his serving-man, 57*
 Perfumes and musks used by women, 77, 266, 269
 Permissive law, a, 123/16
 Perpended, 124, *pp.* weighed, considered
 Perriwincles, 69, *sb. pl.* periwigs, wigs
 Pesteruing, 102, *pr. p.* ? = pestering, crowding
 Pestiferouse, 45, *adj.* pestilent
 Pet dogs, 268
 Pezants, 40, *sb. pl.* peasants
 Phantasies, 50, *sb. pl.* fancies
 Philip's, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots)
 Pick, *vb.* 184, pitch, throw
 Picktooth in a fops's mouth, 78* *n.*
 Pies, 87, *sb. pl.* magpies. 'Pye byrde. *Citta, æ, Pica, æ.*' Huloet
 Pigeons, white, flown on Whitsunday, 337
 Pillage and pollage, 116
 Pinched, 50, *adj.* with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form *pinked*
 Pinions, 73, *sb. pl.* skirts
 Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, *sb. pl.* small thin-soled shoes. 'Pynson, *Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ.* Pynson wearer. *Osatus, a, um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
 Pipers and bawdy Minstrels thought more of than Divines, 172
 Pippins given to girls at theatres, 304
 Pirrus, 46, *pr. ncun*, Pyrrhus
 Pithonically Hidraes, 130
 Planets and Stars' influence on men, 323
 Plash, 115, 168, *sb.* pool, puddle
 Players, masking, you painted sepulchres, 141; idle lubbers and buzzing dronets, 145; beggers, roagues and vagabonds, 146, 301-4; 83*
 Playhouses, Theatres, and Actors, 140; their great naughtiness, 144, 301
 Plays: curse those who say Plays are equal to Sermons, 144; the evil of them, 83*, 85*
 Pleated, 59, *pp.* plaited
 Plowman's fine dress, 244
 Pluresie, 108, *sb.* pleurisie
 Poals, 97, *sb. pl.* poles, trees
 Poll, 116, *pr. pl.* plunder, rob
 Pollage, 116, *sb.* plunder, robbery. 'Pollynge or pillynge. *Exactio.*' 1552. Huloet
 Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77*, *note*
 Pomanders, 77, 266, *sb. pl.* A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, *s. v.* 'Pomander or sweete perfume. *Diaspasma.*' Huloet

- Pope of Rome, that Italian Philistin, and archenemy of all trueth, 161/3
- Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116, 169; house and land got from them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead outside London walls, 288
- Port, 117, *sb.* state, behaviour
- Potestates, 33/21, *sb. pl.* those in authority, the powers that be, men in high places
- Powlyng, 117, *pr. p.* robbing, cheating
- Pozic, 134, *sb.* inscription, verse
- Prayers, Stubbes's, 224-230; babbed by Papists, 343
- Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69*
- Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to†
- Preparaunce, 72/21, *sb.* preparations
- President, 118, *sb.* precedent (see Huloet below)
- Pretely, 87, *adv.* pretty well, tolerably
- Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2
- Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97
- Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Stafford and Harrison I., New Sh. Soc.
- Pride, 26; the cause of all evils, 27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28, 234; vainglorious, 29; in England, 33, 235, 236; hell, the reward of, 39; the child of proud apparel, 44; punishment of, by God, 85, 86
- Priests, the head revellers at the yearly Church-festivals, 340
- Primacie, 94, *sb.* headship, priority
- Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung, worse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293
- Prittill-prattle, the evils of it, 93*
- Procession or Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, 336-7
- Profanation of the Sabbath and its results, 137, 297, 298, 344
- Profluous, 105, footnote 13, bounteous, extravagant
- Promulgate, 48, *pp.* promulgated, published. See *Ingenerate*
- Proper, 72, *adj.* fine, handsome: 'Proper, feate, and well fashioned. *Concinuus . . Elegans . . Proper man. Graphyrus uir.'* 1552. Huloet.
- Proud apparel deformeth man, 40; does not always cover wisdom, 41; abhorred by the godly, 45; condemned by our Lord, 48
- Proverbs and proverbial phrases: A dunghill gentleman (upstart), 122; a good companion too trauayle withall, is in-steade of a Wagon, 22; as drunk as apes, 151; as drunk as rats, 151/3 *n.*; as mad as March hares, 151; as quick as a Bee, 96/61; as round as a ball, 126; maie saie blacke is their eye (impute blame to), 96, 130, 152; butter would not melt in their mouthes, 89; by hooke or crooke, 75; dance the wilde Moris in a needle's eye, 171; farre fetched and deare boughte, 33; feight dog, feight beare, the deuill part all, 178; go together by the eares (come to blows), 118; laugh in their sleeues, 118; loue me, loue my dog, 178; make bones of anie thing, 178; more is the pytie, 41; shooe the goose (undertake impossibilities), 117; stand on their pantoffles, 53; tagge and ragge, 43; three steppes and a halfe to the gallows (ruffs so call'd), 53
- Pseudo-christian, *sb.* 182
- Puff-wings, 260
- Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's, 255
- Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99, 282
- Puppits, 75, *sb. pl.* dolls
- Puritan embroidresses, 245; laundresses, 260

† 'Preiudice, *præiudicium*, *ij*, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contraye to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, which remayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determynye and discusse semblablye; Or els it maye be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yerres [Year-Books] whyche be as precedences; and thereof commeth thys verbe *præiudico*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Puritans abused by T. Nashe, 39*
- Pursie, 107, *adj.* fat, bloated
- Pusels and fusles, of women's dress, 255
- Pussle (*pucelle*), 78/3; 266, *sb.* a maid, girl, drab, 1 *Hen. VI.* I. iv. "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of *poesele*, Du.], a dirty slut." *Bailey's Dict.*, ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.
- Puttockes, 116, *sb. pl.* kites, avaricious persons
- Quaile, 124, *vb.* sink, fail
- Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, *adj.* squeamish, dainty
- Quavemire, 115, 168, *sb.* quagmire, bog
- Quirks, 57, *sb. pl.* the same as clocks, *q. v.*
- Rabbied, 122, *pp.* addressed as *Rabbi*, master
- Rackte rentes, 76,* note: *see* Landlords
- Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636
- Ragged-School anecdote, 49*
- Rapiers, gay, 62, 252
- Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18; 151/3, *notes*
- Revished *in* (with) her behaviour, 163
- Rayling, ix, *adj.* railing, mocking
- REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58*
- Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; "*Porte-fraise*, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diuers panes." 1611. Cotgrave. *See* Supportasse
- Redintegration, 90, *sb.* renewal
- Reduce, 25/19, bring back
- Refelled, 40/21, refuted
- Refelleth, 160, *pr. s.* refutes
- Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: 'Refrayne, *Cohibeo, contineo, reprimo.*' 1552. Huloet
- Reguilte, xii, *pp.* regilt
- Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328
- Renowned, 167, renowned
- Repentance, not to be put off, 190
- Repentants, who are true, 189
- Reproched of, 176, reproacht by Resolue, 79, *v.* solve, answer, explain
- Retainers, evil of too many, 86*
- REYNOLDS, John, poet, &c., praised by G. Harvey, 43*
- RICH, Barnaby, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Rich men eat vp poore men as beasts doo grasse, 117
- Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291
- Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330
- Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2
- Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116
- Riueleth, 95/33, *pr. s.* wrinkles: Ryueled, 74/26, pleated
- Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300
- Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7
- Roisteth, 41, *pr. s.* acts riotously. *Harrison*, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and *roist* it out." *Tusser, Five Hundred Points*, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."
- Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343
- Rose in a dandy's ear, 77*, 94*
- Rose shoestrings, 240
- ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316
- Ruffle, 45, *pr. pl.* dress grandly. *See Roist.*
- Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71*
- Rugges, Ruggs, 33, *sb. pl.* rough cloths
- Running, play at, 316
- Rushbearings, 310, *n.*
- Russet, 50, *adj.* reddish-brown; russet boots, 253
- Ryall, 57, *sb.* a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, *sb.* profligacy
Ryueled, 74, *pp.* wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, *sb.* (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, *Advance of Learning*, II. 24; and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in *Ivanhoe*, ch. x.

Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like

Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna; 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it, † 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344, 78*; works to be done on, 140
Sabbath-breaking, † 136-140, 177; God's judgment on, 179, 180, 182; shaving held to be, 313

Saciete, 104, *sb.* excess

Saints' Days, customs on :—

St. Agnes (Jan. 21), 327

St. Andrew (Nov. 30), 340

St. Blase (Feb. 3), 323

St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340

St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27), 325

St. John the Baptist (June 24), 339

St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325

St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4), 339

St. Urban, 338-9

St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :—

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, *sb.* a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205

Sate, 77, *pp.* sat

Saturday Review and swearing, 46*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50*, note

Scabbed and scurvy companie of dauncers, 167*

Scarfs worn by women, 79; by men, 243

Scarsly, 60, *adv.* scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, 71*

Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on St. Martin's Day, 340

Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly, 140

Scotch daggers, 250

Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128, 294

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seelie, xix, *adj.* simple. A.S. *selig*

Semblable, vi, *adj.* like, similar : 'Semblable, *Idem.* the neutre

gendre of *Isdem*, and some time signifyeth the same man, or the same thyng.' 1552. Hulocet

Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women : 'Sempronia, that renowned whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot

Sereous, 88, *adj.* serious, important

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :—'If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holidais, shall be found in the alehouse or tavern, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churchyard, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offende, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge the performance therof.

'If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarilie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute.'—From the *Cecil Papers in the 27th Volume of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum.*

- Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276
- SHAKSPERE: on men's dress, 44*, his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carrid in girls' bosoms, 263
- Shirts, 53, 245
- Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77
- Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, 240
- Shooting out of doors, turnd into gulling and whoring indoors, 317
- Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252
- Shove-groat, a game, 316
- Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30
- Shurts, 53, 245, *sb. pl.* shirts
- Sibbersawces, 67, *sb. pl.* washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: *also* Slibber Sawce †
- Sidenes, 56, *sb.* width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the ankle. *Talaris.*' 1552. Huloet
- Sielie, 225, *adj.* simple
- Signitor, 138, pointer, index
- Silver hilts to rapiers, 252
- Simples, 65, *sb. pl.* specifics
- SINGLETON, printer of *the Gaping Gulf*, 1579, 54*
- Sin, the origin of, 24; two kinds of, 27, 233
- Sir Ihon, 151; the priest. Chaucer's *Dan Joha*n
- Sixpenny rooms (boxes) at theatres, 302, *n.*
- Skittles, playing at, on Sundays, 300
- Slabbering, 78, *adj.*
- Slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold, 163; 'slabbering's, bussings, and smouchings,' 165
- Slaightes, 118, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Slashed, 56, *adj.* cut
- Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316
- Slibber sawce, 105, footnote 2-2, buttery, oily, made-up sawces
- Slops, big breeches, 246-7
- Slut, 51, *sb.* a sloven
- Sluttered sutes, 40*/6
- Small, 103, *adj.* poor, weak (drink)
- Smick-smack, 269, kissing
- Smouching, 155, 165, *sb.* loud smacking kisses
- Snowball playd, 330
- SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, 270, 307
- Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdye parasits,' 171
- Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.
- Sodomites, 145, fornicators
- Sodomitical, 153
- Solomon on dancing, 164
- Someddeal, 53/8, *adv.* somewhat, rather
- Spagnolized (pincht-in) body, 77* note
- Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320
- Sour sauce, 96, 98
- Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Spare, 105, *adj.* stingy, sparing
- Sparkled, 71, *pp.* sprinkled: 'Sparple here and there, *segrego* . . . *spargo.*' 1552. Huloet

† *Slibber sauce*: this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "*The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce.* Wherein is explained the wilfull blindness of subtile mischief, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. *Nulla pietas prauis.*—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a wonder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry colour, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of *slibber sauce*, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayed modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Ægypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchauntments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap foolles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besotteth other with these bitter smyles."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 28.

Speare, sphere (*note*), 50, *sb.* spire, steeple
 Spicke and spanne, *adv.* quite, entirely
 Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344
 Splendente, 39/11, splendid
 Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, *vb.* garnish
 Spoke, *pp.* 188, spoken
 Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296 : *see* Sabbath
 Spurs, ginging, 242
 Square-toed shoes, 252
 Stage-plays and Enterludes, 140 ; unlawful, 142 ; the cause of much mischief, 145, and Notes, 296, 298, 301-304, 83*, 85* ; Nashe's allusion to players, 39*
 STANYHURST, poet, &c., praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 Starch, use of, 52, 71, 238 ; made of various colours, 52 ; the devil's liquor, 70, 260 ; yellow, 236
 Starcht ruffs and rabatas, 51, 242
 Stationers' Registers : entries of Stubbes's books in, 55*, 56*
 Stays, abuse of, by women, 262 ; 77*
 Stelliferous, 79/23, *adj.* lit. star-bearing, bright, radiant
 Sternes, 51/9 ; 68/5, *sb. pl.* standards (so glossed in F. at p. 68)
 Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist Priests, 344-5
 Stile, match at running to one, 316
 Stimule or pricke, *sb.* 90
 Stinginess of the rich to the poor, 104, 288
 Stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection, 156
 Stint, xiv, *vb.* cease, stop. A.S. *astyntan*
 Stiptick, 98, *adj.* bitter, astringent
 Stockings (netherstocks), fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 265 ; extravagance in, 57, 247 ; silk, 246
 Stoolball, a game, 316

Store, xviii, *adj.* in numbers
 STOWE the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42* ; inserts Parry's trial in Holinshed's Chronicle, 65* *note* ; quoted, 54*, 248
 Stride-wide and lift-leg, 307, strong ale
 Strosser (trouser), close Italian, 243
 Stub-bearded, 269
 STUBBE, John, of the *Gaping Gulfe*, 1579, 53*, 54*
 STUBBS, Mr. Henry, 51*, 74*
 STUBBES, Ph., his wife's life, 197 ; her death, 208 ; her contest with the devil, 205
 STUBBES, Phillip : T. Nashe's stories of him and his dice-playing, 37*, 39* ; and his courting a widow for his friend Clarke, 38* ; defended and praised by Gabriel Harvey, 43* ; his motives and character, 36*, 43 to 50*, 69*-71* ; the fleas and gnats that gnawd him in bed, 221 ; his care for dumb creatures, 50* ; his Meditations and Prayers, 71*, 215 ; his father mentiond, † 103/3 ; his marriage and wife, 51*, 52*, 193-208 ; her boy John, 51*, 200 ; her repentance for loving her dog too much, 202 ; her belief, 203 ; her abuse of Satan, 205 ; her visions, 207 ; her death, 208 ; popularity of her *Life*, 74*
 His Works :—
Anatomie, Part I. (1583), 35*, 37*, 40* (T. Nashe on) ; 39*, 60*, i—xx, 21-192 ; inkhorn words changd in the 1595 ed., 63* ; the 1584 ed., 95*
Anatomie, Part II. (1583), 35*, 36*, 64*
A Christal Glasse : his Life of his Wife (1591), 66*, 74*, 193-208
A fearefull and terrible Example (1581), 56*

† On the ' Godly simplicitie of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, " Of the rudenesse and rusticitie of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englishing of Stephen's *World of Wonders*, 1607 : " we will easly graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful] : so that they yeeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical ; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked."

STUBBES—his Works :

- Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie* (1585), 65*
 Lines on Popish Bloodsuckers (1583), 64*
Motive to good Workes (1593), 67*
Perfect Pathway to Felicitie (1592, 1610), 66,* 71*, 209-30
Rosarie of Christian Praiers, 1583 (no copy known), 64*
Theatre of the Popes Monarchie, 1584 (no copy known), 65*
Two wonderful and rare Examples (1581), 58*
View of Vanitie, 1582 (no copy known), 60*
 Stut, 107/15, stutter : 'Stut or stamber. *Balucinator* . . . Stutting. *Tertiatio uerborum.*' Stutter [one who stuts] *Balbus* . . . Stutter [one who stuts] in readyng, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c. *Offensator.* 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, *Titubo*; Stambrer, *Titubator*; Stammer and stamber, *Idem.*'
 Successe, 41, *sb.* succession : 'Successe. *Processus, us; successus.*' 1552. Huloet.
 Succinctorie, 48, *sb.* girdle. Lat. *succingere*, to gird
 Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147
 Sunday sports and Sabbath-breaking, 136-140, 177, 180, 182, 183, 226, 298; 331-404; 78*-81* : see Sabbath
 Sundays profaned by games and plays, 137-140, 297-301
 Superiall, supernall, 126
 Supportasse, 52/11, *sb.* wire-frame to support folk's ruffs : see woodcuts, and Rebato
 Surcease, vii, 114, *vb.* leave off,

- cease. Not connected with "cease," but from "*sursis*," which is from *surseoir*, Lat. *supersedere*. It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 4, and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 97
 Surphling of women's breasts, 257; faces, 271; washing them with cosmetics (Nares), ? painting or enamelling
 Surprised, 33/1, overtaken
 SURREY, Henry Howard, Earl of, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 Sute, 48, *sb.* suit : see Sluttered
 Swearing, great in England, † 129, 136 (this chapter not in 1st ed.), 294
 Swearing, when lawful, 131; punishment of, 134, 136, 296
 Sweeted, 79 margin, scented
 Swilbowles, 86/32, *sb.* drunkards
 Swill, 104, 173, *v.* drink in excess
 Swords, extravagant fashions in, 62, 252
 Tables, 173, *sb. pl.* backgammon, 37*. 'Table-playing. *Alea.*' 'Tables to playe wyth dice and men. *tabula.*' 1552. Huloet
 Tabling, 174, playing at tables, back-gammon
 Tabretters, 172, players on the tabret (157/6), small tabour
 Tagge and ragge, 43, *phr.* of the lowest class, 238
 Tailor, a woman's, 247, 260
 Tapers, big, lit on Candlemas Day, 328
 Tarantara, Christ's, 24, *sb.* a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet
 TARLTON, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedi in 'pleasant Willy,' in *Tears of the*

† "If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemor or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havinge only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol 36, p. 43.

- Muses*, 1590, according to the nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, Spenser)
- Tartarian, and mercilesse Turck, 126
- Tea-gowns in 1878, 93*
- Tear, 118, *vb.* bluster, protest
- Tennis, 173, 316: 'Tennyse game, or playing at tennyse. *Speromachia.*' 1552. Huloet
- Ten-pins, a game, 316
- Than, *adv.* then
- Theare, iii, there
- Theatre*, The, James Burbage's, 143, 299, 300
- Theatres, a meeting-place for men and women, 144, 304; and actors, 140-150, 301; not wanted open on Sundays now, 47*
- Thend, 138, the end, the purpose
- Theopompus and Moses, 141, 300
- Thetherward, 85, *adv.* thither
- Thripple, 153/10, *vb.* labour hard
- Tick-tack, 269, copulation; a game, 316†
- Ticktack tauerner, 78*/21, keeper of a tavern and brothel
- Tigerlike saying of Creditors about their Debtors, 127: *see* Dice
- Tight-lacing, evils of, 262, 263, 77*
- Time wasted by women, 87, 274, 276
- Tituillers, 122, *sb. pl.* flattering fellows
- Tittle-tattle, the evils of it, 93*
- To the purpose, 180, for the purpose
- Tobacco, 78*
- Too too, 75, *adv.* exceedingly, over: *see* *Telltroth*, 37/8, 82/16, &c.
- Tokens of the coming Day of Doom, 188
- Tongues, flattering, blearing men's eyes, 92*
- Tortoise, 36, *adj.* deceitful
- Tossing a guy in a blanket, 330
- Toty (fuddled) with drink, 284
- Tract path, 41*/24 (T. Nashe)
- Tradesmen's wives used as lures, 87, 276
- Tradeswomen, how to get presents from, 279
- Transnatureth, 54, *pr. s.* changes (their) natures
- Travelling players, evils of, 301
- TRAVERS, Walter, alluded to by T. Nashe, 37*
- True-looues knottes, 74, *sb. pl.* bows of ribbons
- Trumperies, 180. 'Trumpery or old baggage. *Vide* in baggage' (above). 1552. Huloet
- Trunk hose, 56, 246; sleeves of wire, 261
- Tung, 48, *sb.* tongue, voice
- Turd carrid on a cushion, 330
- TUSSER, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Tutche, 84, *vb.* touch, reach
- Tutched, vi, *pp.* touched
- Twelfth-Day, customs on, 326
- TWELL, John, of Donnington, 58*
- Twist, 76, *sb.* twig, bough. "A twist: *frons.*" *Catholicon Angl.*
- Twopennie Catichismes, 40*
- Tyborne, 233, gallows
- Vgglesome, 72/13; 188, 205, *adj.* hideous
- Vnbowable, *a.* 76, unbendable
- Unchastity, temptations to, 84*, 76*: *see* Dancing, Music, Stage-Plays
- Vnconcluded, 176
- Vnderpropped, 52, *pp.* supported, propt up
- Vnlest, 43, *conj.* unless
- Vnreasonable, 92/27 *adj.* unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowd with reason
- Upsy-freeze, the German's, 286
- Vre, 118, *sb.* use
- Usury, and the treatment of the poor, 288, 292
- Usury in England, 119, 122; punishment of, 120; unlawful, 124
- Vagaries, 49/21, circumlocutions and generalities
- Vaile, 51, *sb.* veil
- Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

† 'In this lande I did see an ape plaie at *ticke-tack*, and after at *Irish* [see *Irish* above] on the tables with one of that lande.'—1573. Bullain's *Dialogue*, in Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*: '*Ding-Dong Dictionary*,' the 2nd ed. is to be calld.

- Velvet, viii, xii, 32; its derivation, &c., 231; visors made of, for women to ride in, 80, 272
- Vendicate, 26, 185, challenge, claim
- Venereous, 74/4, lecherous
- Veins painted on women's skins, 255
- Velvet scabbards for rapiers, 252
- Vent, 129, *sb.* a market, disposal
- Venter-poynt, a game, 316
- Venus and Adonis* (Shakspeare's) carried in girls' bosoms, 269; the modern play or burlesque of, 47*, *note*
- Verses in commendation of the author, xiv
- Vertiginie, 62/3, *sb.* giddiness, unsteadiness, weathercock nature
- Vintners' God, St. Urban: his festival, 338-9
- Vice, in Plays, 146
- Victimates, iv, l. 6 from foot; 168, victims
- Virtue, the reuerence due to, 41; maketh gentilitie, 42, 236-7; is the comeliest ornament, 46; is not hereditary (Chaucer), 327
- Visors, 80, 272, *sb. pl.* masks
- Vizard, 130, 271, *sb.* mask
- Waists, women's tight-laced, 256, 77*, *n.*
- Wakes and feasts, the abuses of, 152-3, 309-313
- Wakeesses, 137; Wakesses, 152, *sb. pl.* wakes, feasts: 'Wakedayes. *Esuriales ferie.*' 1552. R. Huloet
- Wanion, 183, *sb. in a wanion* = a curse on it
- Wanton Looks and Books, † 84*; 144, *see* Bawdy
- WARNER, WATSON, WHETSTONE, poets praised by G. Harvey, 42* foot, 43*
- Weale publique, 34, *sb.* commonwealth
- Welts, 73, *sb. pl.* hems on borders of fur
- Whalebone bents to bear out women's bums, 254; bodies, and backs of lath, 261, 262; stays, 77*
- Wheel, blazing, run down a mountain on John the Baptist's Day, 339
- WHETSTONE, G., on Dicing-houses, 317
- Whipt, 52, *pp.* wound round, covered
- WHITE, Rowland, on Q. Elizabeth's procession to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600, 71*
- Whitsun-ales *or* Church-ales, 150, 305
- Whitsunday, white pigeons flown on, 337
- 'Who' (relative) left out, 147, "I haue knowen diuers [who] haue in short time become decrepit and lame:" frequent, earlier
- Whoredom and Brothels in England, 88, 90, 280; God's curse on, 91; punishments for, 94, 281, 282; unpunished in England, 101; the cause of beggary, 97; whores kept in taverns, 78*
- Whylest, 76, *adv.* whilst
- Widows and fatherless oppresst, 92*
- Wife, a young, describd, 270-1
- Wine turned to water on Christmas-Day, 324; hallowd on St. John's Day (Dec. 27), and sold, 325
- Wings on a man's dress, 241, 246; on a woman's, 260
- Winking and glancing of wanton eyes at plays, 144
- Winter and Summer, guys of, made to fight, 332
- Witches kept off by frankincense smoke, 326
- Wives' treatment of husbands,

† 'Want onwordes. *Bellatula*: as iolye, pretye, fayremayde, mynon, swete herte, pyggesnye,' &c. 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. See 'Dearlynges,' p. 356, col. 1.

‡ "It happed that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchant sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod I, it were pitie but that an euil priest were punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame."—*Sir T. More's Works*, p. 26, ed. 1557. —R. Roberts.

- 275†; they live by whoredom, 101, 283
 Wolf, sign of, in Cheapside, 275
 WOLFE, Reginald; his printing-house, 38*
 Womanish, 171
 Womanisheth, 170, makes effeminate, weak
 Women, extravagance of, in dress, 63-68, 74, 253-265; paint their faces, 63-65, 254, 257; wear false hair, 68, 258; fashions of in England, 71, 259; fashions of, in other countries, 82, 274; how they spend the day, 87, 274-6; their character ‡, 255; motives, 274; imitate men, 77*
 WOOD, Antony (or his informant), on Phillip Stubbes, 53*
 WORDSWORTH'S song on the Cuckoo, and Shakspeare's, 45*
 Worship, 103, *sb.* position, honour
 Worshipful: who entitled to be so calld, 122
 WORTH'S dresses, and gimcracks, 236
 Wrانckled, 136, *pp.* rankled, festered
 Wrestling, 316, 319
 Wyers, 52, *sb. pl.* wires
 Yarne, 57, *sb.* yarn
 Ydiocie, 110, *sb.* foolishness
 Ydiotacy, 41, *sb.* folly, stupidity
 Ydlenes, xi, *sb.* idleness
 Yellow Band, a dandy's, 253
 ——— Starch, 235
 Yeomen affect the dress of their superiors, 52, 244
 Young men: how their day was spent, 252-3
 Youth, work neglected in, 86*

† Cp. Huloet's explanation of the word *Honeymoon*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme prouerbially applied to such as be newe married, which wyl not fall out at the fyrste, but thone loueth the other at the beginnyng excedyngly: the likelyhode of they rexceedyng loue appearing to aswage, the whiche time the vulgar people col the hony mone. *Aphrodisia, ferie, hymene.*" 1552. *Abcedarium Anglico-latinum pro Tyrunculis.*

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. *Is anything lighter than a woman?*" 1617. Fynes Moryson. *Itinerary*, p. 13.





PR
2888
L6
ser.6
no. 6

New Shakspeare Society,
London
[Publications]

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
