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new Shakapere society " 10A

SHAKSPERE

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

PART I.

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EDITED BY

C. M. INGLEBY, M.A., LL.D.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

A section of our Reprints appears under the title of Allusion-Books, By this term we intend to cover not only those books which afford some allusion, or indirect reference, to Shakspere or to a work of his, but also those which directly deal with either: i. e. which mention him by name as the author of such and such a poem or play, or as a poet worthy of praise or of blame. This distinction is important, and it is but right, once for all, to insist upon it. Let us take an extreme instance of each term. In the Inferno of Dante (Cant. III.) occur these lines:

e vidi l'ombra di colui Che fece per viltate il grand rifiuto,

as to which it is still a debateable question, who is specially signalized under the description of the man "who made, through baseness, the great refusal": in fact, three different interpretations have found supporters. If, as has been suggested, the reference be to Celestine the Fifth, this is an extreme instance of an allusion De Quincey, in his admirable essay on Style (Works, Black's ed., vol. x. p. 254), has a note on the Cassandra of Lycophron, in which he speaks of the "symbolic images, which should naturally be intelligible enough to us who know the several histories" of the Trojan heroes, "but which (from the particular selection of accidents or circumstances used for the designation of persons) read like riddles without the aid of a commentator." De Quincey strictly calls these, allusions to the persons in question; "as if," he remarks, "I should describe Cromwell by the expression, 'unfortunate tamer of horses,' &c. &c., or a noble lord of the last century as 'the roaster of men.'" (Essay on Jean Paul Richter: Works, vol. xiii. p. 124.) Carlyle's works, again, are like Jean Paul's in this respect: full of allusions, often of the most obscure kind, to persons and events. To this day many of the allusions in the works of our old poets are uncertain. Assuredly "he who left untold," &c., in Il Penseroso, is Chaucer; but whether the next allusion be to Spenser only, or to Bojardo as well, remains an open question.

But, on the other hand, when a writer is named, or mentioned in terms which directly identify him, it is not strictly correct to call such a reference, an allusion, since there is no by-play, or side-glance at an incident or event which may serve as the middle term of identification. Thus when Henry Willobie's anonymous eulogist writes

And Shake-speare paints poor Lucrece rape,

one can hardly say that the Rape of Lucrece or its author are alluded to: they are directly noticed. But notwithstanding, it is a fact that a vast number of such notices involve an indirect reference to the writer or the writing; and we may surely be allowed, for the sake of convenience, to employ a title, to cover all our Reprints in this Section, which faithfully describes the greater part of them, and is applicable, with some little license, to nearly all.

The first instalment of our Allusion-Books consists of the fol-

lowing:-

I. Green's Groats-worth of Wit; bought with a million of Repentance. We know of no copy of the first edition, nor, in fact, of any edition earlier than that of 1596. We have therefore reprinted Mr Henry Huth's copy of that edition. The British Museum Library has a copy of the edition of 1617. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, has copies of the editions published in 1621 and 1629: the former of which, by a very common error of the press, reads "Tygres head," instead of "Tygers (or Tygres) heart," in the passage containing the famous allusion to Shakspere and

his Third Part of Henry VI.

The title of this work is not The Groats-worth of Wit, &c.; but Green's Groats-worth of Wit, &c., and herein lies matter for speculation. It was a practice with the writers of that time to combine some name, not always that of the author, with the title: e.g. The Countess of Pembrooke's Passion, Willobie his Avisa, &c. In the case of Robert Greene's remarkable tract, as in that of Avisa, there was a special motive for the prominence accorded to the author's name in the title. It was one of Greene's posthumous works, and was revised and curtalled by his literary executor Henry Chettle, before it saw the light. At that day Greene's name had an extraordinary prestige, owing to the quantity and popularity of his literary productions, both in prose and in verse, dramatic and lyric. Accordingly Chettle puts Greene's name first, not only to be peak the interest, and provoke the curiosity, of the public, but also to remind the reader of Greene's recent death and Chettle's editorship.

As Robert Greene died on Sept. 2 or 3, 1592, we may safely

refer the manuscript to the summer or autumn of that year: and as Kind-Hart's Dreame (which contains an allusion to Green's Groats-worth of Wit) was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Co. in Dec., 1592, it follows that Greene's book was printed and published between those two dates. That portion of this singular tract which entitles it to a place among our Allusion-Books is the address, (following on the main story, and immediately preceding Greene's farewell,) "To those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays;" which deals with five play-makers (not counting Shakspere), but is specially addressed to three of them. These three have been identified as (1) Christopher Marlowe, (3) George Peele, and (2) Thomas Nash. This address is eminently suggestive of the low estate of the players at that date, and the discredit which attached to the writers who supplied them with copy. Only ponder the scorn with which John Day, and John Davies of Hereford (the admirer, if not the actual friend, of Shakspere and Burbage), say of the player's vocation. The former (if, as the late Mr Bolton Corney conjectured, he were the author of The Returne from Pernassus, 1606, acted in 1602) puts the following speech into the mouth of Studioso (Actus 5, scæna 1):

Fayre fell good Orpheus, that would rather be King of a mole hill, then a Keysars slave: Better it is mongst fidlers to be chiefe, Then at [a] plaiers trencher beg reliefe. But ist not strange this [these] mimick apes should prize Unhappy Schollers at a hireling rate. Vile world, that lifts them up to hye degree, And treades us downe in groveling misery. England affordes those glorious vagabonds, That carried earst their fardels on their backes, Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes, Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes, And Pages to attend their maisterships: With mouthing words that better wits have framed, They purchase lands, and now Esquiers are made.

(the last couplet not improbably alluding to Shakspere). To this *Philomusus* replies,

What ere they seeme being even at the hest, They are but sporting fortunes scornfull jests.

John Davies writes thus:

Good God! that ever pride should stoop so low, That is by nature so exceeding hie:
Base pride, didst thou thy selfe, or others know, Wouldst thou in harts of Apish Actors lie,
That for a Cue wil sel their Qualitie?
Yet they through thy perswasion (being strong)

Doe weene they merit immortality, Onely because (for sooth) they use their Tongue, To speake as they are taught, or right or wronge.

If pride ascende the stage (ô base ascent) Al men may see her, for nought comes thereon But to be seene, and where Vice should be shent, Yea, made most odious to ev'ry one, In blazing her by demonstration Then pride that is more than most vicious, Should there endure open damnation, And so shee doth, for shee's most odious In Men most base, that are ambitious.

(Microcosmos, &c., 1603, pp. 214-5.) Even Lodge, who had indeed never trod the stage,1 but had written several plays, and had no reason to be ashamed of his antecedents, speaks of the vocation of the play-maker as sharing the odium attaching to the actor:-

At last he left me, where at first he found me, Willing me let the world and ladies knowe Of Scilla's pride, and then by oath he bound me To write no more of that whence shame doth grow: Or tie my pen to pennie-knaues delight, But live with fame, and so for fame to wright.

(Scillae's Metamorphosis: last stanza before L'Envoy.) day we can hardly realise the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood. Let their lives be as cleanly and their dealings as upright as they might

¹ In the Preface to Mr Collier's Reprint of the "Life and Death of William Longbeard, &c, by Thomas Lodge, 1593," (standing 7th in a volume of Reprints dated 1866) we have Mr Collier's latest deliverances on this matter. He says that "at one period, like many others, he [Lodge] coupled the profession of author and actor:" and subsequently says that Lodge "suffered so much from poverty, as to be driven from the university to the stage." The story is a pure fiction. It was started in

I. Dodsley's Select Collection of Old Plays, 1825, edited by Mr J. P. Collier,

and repeated in

II. Gosson's School of Abuse, 1841, edited by Mr J. P. Collier.

III. Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, 1841, pp. 40-45, by Mr J. P. Collier. IV. The Shakespeare Society's Papers, vol. iii. 1847, p. 145, Paper by Mr J. P. Reardon.

V. Lodge's Defence of Plays, and Alarum against Usurers, 1853, edited by Mr David Laing, with the aid of Mr J. P. Collier.

VI. Lodge's Life and Death of William Longbeard, [n. d.] edited by J. P. Collier. The true facts are set forth in

1. Was Thomas Lodge an actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status

of the Playwright, in the time of Elizabeth, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D., 1868. 2. Vol. ix. of Early English Text Society's Publications. Preface (on Vagabonds), 1869, pp. xxiv. xxv., by Edward Viles and F. J. Furnivall.

3. The Academy for Jan. 24, 1874. Letter from Mr F. J. Furnivall.

Mr Collier's last words on this and other falsifications with which he is charged, is to lay the fault if any on Messrs Amyot, Bruce, and others, who copied and collated for him, all of whom died years ago. See the Athenœum for Feb. 21, 1874. To Dr G. H. Kingsley belongs the credit of having first detected this miserable falsification.

they were deemed to be sans aveu, runaways and vagrants: and even Shakspere suffered so keenly from his pariah condition, that he exclaims,

My name be buried where my body is, And live no more to shame nor me nor you! For I am shamed by that which I bring forth, And so should you to love things nothing worth.

Things were come to a pretty pass when a reckless profligate like Robert Greene could afford to hurl scorn at Shakspere: the dramatist, low as he was, to pelt the poor player, who had done his best at that time to be a play-wright "of threads and patches," before showing himself a dramatist of the highest genius

and originality.

Apart from the identity of the second play-maker, which has been the subject of debate, there is happily no question as to the meaning of the address. It is the players whom he designates burs, puppets, anties, crows (deckt with peacock's feathers), apes, rude grooms, buckram gentlemen, peasants, and painted monsters. Now, hard measure as this is, insolent and insulting as such nicknames are and were, it is not too much to say that they were felt to be appropriate to the class at which they were hurled. It was the trick of the time to speak of them in those terms. Davies, as we have seen, has apish actors, men most base, &c.; Heywood, puppets, painted images, &c.; Robert Burton, butterflies, baboons, apes, and anties; and so forth.

At a time when the players were pelted on all hands, like men in the pillory, it was a safe game for Robert Greene, a repentant playwright, to fling muck-beds (to use De Morgan's phrase: Budget of Paradoxes, p. 163) at an unrepentant player, who had inherited the low caste of his class, and added to it the unpardonable sin of writing plays on his own account, and worse (if possible) of altering for the better the plays of other men.

It seems to have been the trick, too, of that age, as prolific in the language of abuse as of poetry, to invent ridiculous or contemptuous nicknames, and fasten them upon eminent men of the quality. Two in particular possess interest for us: viz., showthing (Shakspere's nickname for Ben Jonson as a Comedian), and Shake-scene, Greene's nickname for Shakspere as a Tragedian. Note here that one practice, by which the Tragedian made himself ridiculous in the eyes of the educated, was over-doing the buskin-

¹ Readers who are curious on this point are referred to a recently published Shakespeare-Anthology, entitled Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse, pp. 208 and 231. (Birmingham: printed by Josiah Allen for the Editor, Dr C. M. Ingleby.)

tread by which he shook the stage. (See Ben Jonson's Commendatory verses on Shakspere prefixed to the folio 1623.) But it was just one of the things which struck with awe the vulgar—the "penny-knaves"—that the great man's tread vibrated the frail structure on which he marched. Hence, Greene happily nicknames the new tragedian, a Shake-scene; and that this was meant for a parody on Shake-speare, we cannot doubt, when we see that the words in italics, "with his Tygers heart wrapt in a players hide" (Reprint, p. 30), parodies one in an early work of Shakspere's. In "The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt," &c. 1595, in the fifth scene, the Duke says to the Queen,

She wolfe of France, but worse than Wolves of France: Whose tongue more poison'd then the Adders tooth: How ill beseeming is in thy sexe, To triumph like an Amazonian trull Upon his woes, whom Fortune captivates! &c. Oh Tygers hart wrapt in a womans hide! How couldst thou draine the life bloud of the childe, To bid the father wipe his eies withall, And yet be seene to beare a woman's face?

The whole speech is retained in the third Part of Henry the Sixt, but much worse printed in the folio 1623 than in the quarto of 1595. This is not the place to settle the vexed question of the authorship of The True Tragedie. Three views, however, may be mentioned: (1) that of Malone, that Shakspere was not the author either of the First Part of the Contention or of The True Tragedie; but that he appropriated a large part of both plays, when he wrote his Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixt; (2) that of Mr J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps) that there were older plays, not by Shakspere, on the subjects of these: and "that when these plays were printed in 1594 and 1595, they included the first additions which Shakspere had made to the originals" (Introduction to the First Sketches of the Second and Third Part of King Henry the Sixth, 1843, p. xix); (3) that Shakspere was the sole author of these plays in their earliest form. This last view we believe to be utterly untenable. We hold that Marlowe was author, or joint author with Greene, of the older plays, republished as the First Part of the Contention, and The True Tragedie. If so, a special point might be felt in Greene's parody of the line in question, that possibly being one of those which were written by Marlowe or Greene and formed part of the older plays: and we should then see in the phrase "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers," not merely a player using the work of another man for representation, but a playwright appropriating another man's work, and

incorporating it with his own. But the phrase, as we shall shortly

see, admits of a less offensive interpretation.

It is note-worthy that the same line is imitated in Acolastus his After-Witte by S[amuel] N[icholson], 1600, where we have,

O woolvish heart, wrapt in a woman's hyde.

S. Nicholson made very free with Shakspere's Rape of Lucrece in this poem, appropriating several entire lines, and imitating others. (See Collier's Biographical and Critical Account: vol. II. p. 47; and also vol. I. Additions, p. xxviii*.) Dr B. Nicholson calls our attention to a similar instance of appropriation in Nicholas Breton's sacred poem, The Countess of Pembrooke's Passion, in the early stanzas of which he has managed to introduce by two or three lines at a time the greater part of two of

Watson's sonnets in his Tears of Fancie.

Green's Groats-worth of Wit on its first appearance was variously fathered, by some on Chettle, by others on Nash. The former in his Kind-Harts Dreame confesses to his having retrenched the more abusive parts of Greene's tract; but throws the whole credit (or discredit) of the performance on Greene. The latter (Nash) in his Pierce Pennilesse, 1593, indignantly repudiates the attribution of Greene's "scald, trivial, lying pamphlet" to himself. I have no doubt that the work was wholly written by Greene, with the reservation of certain parts retrenched or otherwise touched by Chettle; and that it was the genuine and hearty outcome of his repentance, written, moreover, with the kindliest motive. might be thought that the fact of the book being attributed to . Nash is an argument against his being "young Juvenall [the sweet boy], that byting Satyrist, that lastly with mee [Greene] together writ a Comedie;" strengthened, as it appears to be, by the absence of any proof that Greene and Nash had ever done such a thing: but there is positive evidence of the fact that Nash's nick-name was "young Juvenal," that he was at this time a youth of 24 (in fact in his 25th year); and that the epithet "sweet" was lovingly applied to him by some who did not smart under his "byting satire," and perhaps even by one who didviz. Gabriell Harvey. This we shall shew in its proper place in our Introduction. On the other hand, Lodge (who jointly with Greene wrote A Looking-Glass for London and England, acted in March 1591-2) was not known as a Satirist till the publication of his Fig for Momus in 1595, and was on a sea-voyage from August 26, 1591, till June 11, 1593; and moreover was a man of 34 when he left England. (Sae Mr Richard Simpson's

Letter in the Academy for April 11, 1874, which we have re-

printed at the end of the First Part of this Introduction.)

We must own that the balance of testimony is in favour of the view first suggested by Dr Farmer, that Thomas Nash was the second of the play-makers addressed by Greene in this strange book, though in making this declaration we are recanting a long-cherished belief.

The student of Shakspere will find some parallel passages in

this tract. The most remarkable of these runs thus:

"For if sic volo, sic jubeo hold in those that are able to command: and it be lawfull Fas et [aut] nefas to doe any thing that is beneficiall; onely Tyrants should possesse the earth, and they striving to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a slaughter man; till the mightiest outliving all, one stroke were left for Death, that in one age mans life should ende" (p. 29).

It would be too much to say that Shakspere used this (as he did so many other passages in the works of other writers) as the warps of his poetry; but unquestionably its sense is perfectly reproduced in that fine speech of Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*,

1. 3, including the lines,

"Then everything includes itself in power, Power into will, will into appetite; And appetite, an universal wolf, So doubly seconded by will and power, Must make perforce an universal prey, And last eat up himself."

A few biographical details of Robert Greene may not be deemed superfluous. This remarkable man was born at Norwich about 1560: graduated A.B. at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1578; and A.M. at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1583. In 1588 he was incorporated at Oxford. He took orders, and became Vicar of Tollesbury in Essex, June 19, 1584. His earliest publication was The Myrrour of Modestie, 1584. He also became a student in physic: (Planetomachia, 1585.) He married about 1586, and died Sept. 2 or 3, 1592, in his 32nd or 33rd year. His last work, printed in his lifetime, was A Quip for an upstart Courtier, 1592, which provoked the bitter animosity of Gabriel Harvey. His career and untimely end recal those of Edgar Allan Poe. Both were men of great literary and poetic genius: both were married and childless; both fell vietims to excess; and both were indebted to the hospitality of strangers for the last offices paid to a dying man.

II. Kind-Harts Dreame, by H[enry] C[hettle], is an early

specimen of the ever common device of making one book out of several disconnected fragments. It is full of interest for us in many ways: but chiefly for its preliminary address "To the Gentlemen Readers." It is here that a supposed allusion to Shakspere occurs. "About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene;" this and the entry in the Stationers' Register fix the date of authorship as December 1592. But whether we possess the first edition is at least doubtful; and Mr J. O. Halliwell (Life of Shakespeare, 1848, p. 146, note) gives the preference to the Bodleian copy (formerly the property of Robert Burton) over others; all being without date. Chettle continues thus: "leaving many papers in sundry Booke Sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken," &c.; this doubtless means that Marlowe was galled, by the allusion to his Atheism; and perhaps another of the three had expressed annoyance at the personalities of Greene. Marlowe is the "one of them" with whom Chettle cared not to be acquainted, and "the first, whose learning" Chettle professed to reverence (p. 38, ll. 8 and 17). The chief question for us is, Who was "the other, whome at that time" Chettle did not so much spare as since he wished he had. The late Mr Howard Staunton, in a remarkable letter, dated Jan. 27, communicated to the Athenœum of Feb. 7, 1874, argues that "the other" referred to by Chettle could not be Shakspere, because Greene's letter was, as Chettle says, "written to divers play-makers," and "by one or two of them" offensively taken: and because Shakspere was not one of the persons addressed, but the chief of those against whom they were warned by Greene. Mr Staunton follows his predecessors in identifying the "famous gracer of tragedians" with Marlowe, and the last of the three, "no lesse deserving then the other two," with George Peele. The second, then, is "the other" of Chettle; and in Mr Staunton's opinion "young Juvenall" (the "sweet boy") is Thomas Nash; and therefore it is concluded that it is Nash to whom Chettle offers the sequent apology. This apology, however, is grounded on the personal testimony of Chettle and others to the civil demeanour, excellence in his qualitie, uprightness of dealing (which argues his honesty), as well as the facetious grace in writing of the person who had taken Greene's remarks offensively. Now, "young Juvenall" is not charged with any offence whatever, save the use of intemperate or libellous language. To publish a friendly warning, addressed to a public writer, counselling him not to make enemies by bitter words, might indeed be gall and wormwood

to an irritable, overbearing, and self-asserting man: but to apologise for it afterwards, as if his uprightness and honesty had been called in question, would be an absurdity not to be imputed to Chettle. The fact is, that none of the three addressed is assailed for want of any of the qualities which, according to Chettle, were conspicuous in "the other" who had taken Greene's remarks offensively.

But there is a person alluded to under the nick-name of a Shake-scene, on whom Greene plainly charges the want of those qualities; but unfortunately Greene does not address his remarks to that person-but rather talks at him. In fact, Greene addresses, not the "upstart crow," but the three play-makers whom he warns against him. It is not very easy to say what was the gravamen of the charge against the "upstart crow." hitherto been supposed that he is charged with appropriating other men's writing: and this is Mr Staunton's view; he holds that the passage in question imputes to the person assailed the offence of having remodelled the theatrical pieces of the persons But to this view Mr Richard Simpson demurs (Academy, April 4, 1874), and though he betrays a little too much eagerness in behalf of Shakspere's originality, and puts his case too strongly, he is substantially right. "Greene, in calling Shakspere an upstart crow 'beautified with our feathers,' probably did not mean to accuse Shakspere of stealing, but simply to call him an actor who had gained applause by spouting the lines of Greene, Marlowe, and Peele." But certainly the expressions "bombast out a blank verse" meant writing it; and the very gist of the nick-name Johannes fac-totum is that the person assailed was a Jack of all trades—one who not only put pieces on the boards, and acted in them himself, but essayed to write plays for his own house, and thus intruded on the author's privileged department. That the actual phrase "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers" might mean no more than a player is abundantly proved by the three following quotations which are advanced by Mr Simpson, viz.:

"Why art thou proud with Aesop's crow, being pranked with the glory of others' feathers?" Greene's Never too Late, 1590.

Again, "Sundry other sweet gentlemen I do know [besides Greene and Peele] that have vaunted their pens in private devices, and tricked up a company of taffata fools with their feathers, whose beauty, if our poets had not decked [them] with the supply of their periwigs, they might have anticked it until this time up and down the country with the King of Fairies, and dined every day at the pease-porridge ordinary with Delfragus."—Nash's preface to Greene's Menaphon, 1589.

Again, "Notice, by the way," writes Mr Simpson, "that these are the two plays mentioned by the actor to Roberto in the *Groatsworth*. Just in this way, when the degree of LL.D. was offered to the young son of the Duke of Suffolk at Cambridge, in Edward VI's reign, he said, 'who was he to appear among the doctors, and to plume himself, like Aesop's crow, in alien feathers?"

And lastly, Mr Simpson quotes these lines, which in our judgment scarcely support his view:

"Greene gave the ground, to all that went before him: 1
Nay more, the men that so cellipst his fame
Purloynde his plumes; can they deny the same?"
Greene's Fameralls, by R. B. Gent. 1594.

But the entire passage in Green's Groatsworth of Wit means a great deal more than Mr Simpson appears to find in it. It is difficult (as we have said) to realise at this day the excessive odium attaching to the theatrical profession, an odium shared by the playwrights who supplied them with dramatical pieces. if we do this, we shall be able to understand somewhat of the indignation which the regular staff of playwrights must have felt when they found a common player aspiring to the dignity of a playwright, and thus threatening to bring the dramatist's vocation into tenfold discredit, and to defraud the regulars of their pay. Surely it was not in human nature for the ruined and dying Greene to hold his peace, when he found the great shadow of this New Reputation cast on the field occupied by himself, Marlowe, Peele, and some others: keeping these considerations in view, Greene's language will seem quite natural and unstrained, without resorting to the hypothesis that Shakspere's conduct was, in his view, more than constructively dishonest. fact, believing that the Shake-scene was Shakspere, we can very well see that his noiseless yet strenuous aggrandisement as a tragic and comic writer, an advent of dramatic genius for which there appeared no adequate preparation, must have provoked both to jealousy and to admiration the men whose functions were thus superseded: and that they would see in the advantage so taken of them some evidence of dishonesty. On this view alone there was reason for Chettle's apology, when he found that Shakspere was not only a man of exquisite grace in writing, but of gentle and honest life. But further, we may suppose that Chettle saw that Greene's insolence bore a construction prejudicial to Shakspere's

^{· 1 &}quot;Went before him;" i. e. were preferred before him, and so far eclipsed him. Surely these lines bring a direct charge of dishonesty against Greene's later competitors in play-writing.

honesty; and if so, there was an additional reason for the apology.

The difficulty however remains, that Chettle distinctly says that he is apologising for one of the three to whom Greene wrote his epistle; and most assuredly the "upstart crow" is not addressed at all. The only explanation which occurs to me, is that we have Greene's remarks in an imperfect form. Chettle owns to having retrenched some of the more abusive passages in Greene's manuscript; and it is no very violent assumption that he cut out some highly offensive passage in which Greene apostrophised the Shake-scene; and that when Chettle wrote the apology prefixed to Kind-Harts Dreame he remembered the apostrophe, but forgot the omission. This view is countenanced by some remarks in Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter, to which we shall shortly have to call attention. We must add, that Mr Staunton's letter was replied to with great ability by Mr Richard Simpson in the letter which we have reprinted.

In Chettle's tract the five "invectives against abuses reign-

ing" may be thus summarised:

1. Against the liberty of ballad-printing; by Anthony Nownow.

2. Against quack-salving; by Dr Burcot.

3. Robert Greene to Pierce Pennilesse (i. e. Thos. Nash).

4. A plea for public amusements; by Richard Tarleton.

5. Against juggling; by William Cuckoe.

A word on some of these "Apparitions." Anthony Now now is the nickname of an itinerant fiddler. Dr E. F. Rimbault (Percy Soc. Tracts, vol. v. p. 63) quotes an old ballad from the Second Part of the Gentlecraft, by Thomas Deloney, 1598, of which the refrain is

O Anthony, now, now, now;

where it is said, "Anthony in his absence sung this song so often in S. Martins, that thereby he purchast a name which hee never lost till his dying day, for ever after men cald him nothing but Anthony Now now." This Anthony has been supposed to be Anthony Munday, but without a vestige of reason.

1 On this point Dr B. Nicholson writes to us, as follows:-

[&]quot;Some time ago I read this part of K. H. Dreame very carefully, and with the view of examining this supposition. I could not find one word in support, rather many showed me that A. Now now was a known but yet merely an itinerant streetfiddler, with nothing to connect him with Meres' best plotter.' So in Munday's history I know nothing which would connect him with a street-fiddler origin. He history I know nothing which would connect him with a street-number origin. He was an author in 1579, in Rome before 1582, a translator probably from the Italian 1584 (see Coll. Ann. of 81, III. 241); would be then in 1592 be spoken of merely in the terms used in K. H. Dreame? It is hazardous reasoning from negatives, but Jonson in his depreciation of him says nothing of street-fiddling. The origin of the supposition appears to have arisen as in the Museum copy of K. H. D., where the

refrain occurs in a ballad at the end of Le Prince d'Amour, 1660. Of Dr Burcot nothing is known. Richard Tarleton was the most famous extravagant Comedian of Elizabeth's reign. The earliest mention of him is as the author of a ballad in The Floods of Bedfordshire. He died Sept. 1588 (Rimbault, ibid. p. 63). References to him and his famous "jigge" are frequent in the old literature. Dr Rimbault compares Chettle's description of Tarleton with that given in Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie. William Cuckoe was doubtless an itinerant juggler; but his name, or nickname, has not been found in any other work.

Kind-Hart was the conventional name of an itinerant tooth-drawer, and it occurs frequently in the literature of this period. Plaine Percevall, 1589, says "if [thou wilt have thy Colts tooth drawne] gently, let me be thy tooth-drawer, I have a kind hart of mine owne, and that name hath been good at such a practise heretofore." Dr Rimbault quotes five couplets from The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head Vaine, 1600, in which is the line

"Not as Kind-heart, in drawing out a tooth."

III. Englandes Mourning Garment, by Henry Chettle, though out of chronological order, is next reprinted. Its title-page has neither name nor date; but the allusions to the death of Elizabeth as a recent event prove that it was printed in 1603, and the address "To the Reader," immediately before the colophon, signed "Hen. Chettle," claims the principal work as his, through the accident of correcting Hewres (or as he quotes it Herores) which the printer had set up for Heroes, on p. 98.

The part which immediately concerns us is the second verse-fragment, extending from p. 97 to p. 99. Of course "the Arcadian Shepheards inchaunting phrase of speaking," at foot of p. 96, alludes to Sir Philip Sidney, and "the excellent and cunning Collin" on p. 97, is Edmund Spenser, from whom Chettle appears to quote the couplet, which serves for motto of the sequent prolusion; though we have not found it in Spenser's works.

In the prolusion itself there are eleven allusions,

He that so well could sing the fatall strife Betweene the royall Roses White and Red,

is Samuel Daniel, of whose Civile Wares betweene the Howses of Lancaster and Yorke, four books were published in 1595, the fifth

similarity of the Christian name (a very common one at that time) has led some one to scribble Munday on the margin. See also W. Webbe's notice of Munday in his Disc. on Engl. P. 1586 (p. 35 of Arbr. reprint)."

in 1599, and the sixth in 1602, the remaining two not appearing till 1609.

He that sung fortie yeares her life and birth, And is by English Albions so much famde,

is William Warner, whose Albion's England was published in 1586.

Coryn full of worth and wit, That finisht dead Musæus gracious song,

is, of course, the illustrious George Chapman, the continuator and ender of that noble work which Marlowe (who had been "dead" ten years in 1603) left unfinished; viz., the *Hero and Leander* of Musæus.

On the next page

our English *Horace*, whose steele pen Can drawe Characters which will never die,

is doubtless the *Horace Junior* of Dekker, i. e. Ben Jonson. The next allusion we will consider at greater length hereafter. "Sweete singer *Coridon*" is Michael Drayton, identified by the reference to his *Isabel* and his *Poly-olbion*, here called by a presserror, *Poly Albion*. "Delicious sportive *Musidore*" is probably Thomas Lodge, who had renounced poetry for medicine; whence the allusion,

Although thou have resignd thy wreath of Bay.

But as Chettle does not elsewhere allude to *Thomas* Greene, *Musidore* may be he; the probability however is the other way: and other poets as prominent as that Greene are also ignored, as Wm. Browne, George Wither, John Reynolds, &c. "Quicke *Anti-horace*" is, of course, Thomas Dekker, and "yong *Mælibee*" must be John Marston; and lastly, "*Heroes* last *Musæus*" should be Henry Petowe, who published in 1598 *The Second Part of the Loves of Hero and Leander*, which was, like Chapman's, a continuation of Marlowe's poem.

In this prolusion Chettle complains that none of these poets had celebrated in verse the memory of Queen Elizabeth, then lately dead: and amongst them he thus speaks of another poet in

these terms:

Nor doth the silver tonged Melicert, Drop from his honied muse one sable teare To mourne her death that graced his desert, And to his laies opend her Royall eare, Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth, And sing her Rape, done by that Tarquin, death.

The concluding couplet shows pretty plainly that by Melicert,

Chettle meant Shakspere. It is quite certain that he intended no allusion to the ancient story of Melicerta (or Melicertus); but the second line renders it likely that he had an eye to the possible etymology of the word, μέλι, honey, and κηρός, bees-wax, or κηρίον, comb; so that Melicert would be Honeycomb, or the "honied muse," from which his verse distilled. We must here bear in mind that in a poem (1598) attributed to Barnefield, Shakspere's Muse is spoken of as his "honey-flowing Vaine;" and that Weever in his 22nd Epigram (1595) and Mercs (1598) call our Bard "Honeytonged Shakespeare." (See postea, pp. 159, 180, 184.) Whence one might almost conclude that it was proverbial to associate "honey" with Shakspere's early writings. Melicertus, however, is named by Chettle on p. 87 of Englandes Mourning Garment, and by Robert Greene in his Menaphon; and naturally the question has been raised whether in these three allusions we have three or two, or only one real person. In entering upon this question, it is necessary to be on our guard against supposing that there was anything like an appropriation of a pastoral or other nickname, at least beyond the lifetime of the bearer. Thus Chettle dubs himself Colin, mainly because Spenser had been called so (see E. M. Garment, p. 97); and many poets were called Melibœus: and so forth. Chettle thus associates three poets of mark (p. 87):

"O, saith *Thenot*, in some of those wrongs resolve us, and thinke it no unfitting thing, for thou that hast heard the sorgs of that warlike Poet *Philesides*, good *Melæbee*, and smooth-tongued *Melicert*, tell us what thou hast observed in their sawes, seene in thy owne experience, and heard of undoubted truths touching those accidents: for that they adde, I doubt not, to the glory of our

Eliza."

The plot thickens. We have now to discriminate all three names, Philesides and Melibee, as well as Melicert, and to identify them if we can. Assuredly no change can be got out of the assumption that the same poet is, as a matter of course, alluded to under the same name. Mr Richard Simpson, in his Introduction to A Larum for London or the seige of Antwerp (Longmans, 1872) pp. 2 and 3, appears to do this. Speaking of the passage we have just quoted, he writes—

"Probably the reason why this reference to Shakspere under the name of Melicert, has not obtained the attention it deserves is the fact that none of these topics [the relations of the English to the Spanish] are discussed in any of his recognised works. It is remarkable how silent they all are on Spanish matters, which during a great part of his life were the occasion of anxiety and even panic to the whole country. The other two poets who, in common with Shakspere, touched upon Spanish perfidy to England, were 'the warlike poet Philesides, and good Melibee.'

The first is not again mentioned by Chettle, and cannot therefore be identified from his pamphlet. Many of the Elizabethan poets were also soldiers; Gascoigne, Churchyard, Raleigh, Sidney, Barnaby Rich, Barnaby George, Gervase Markham, and others. Any of these may be Philesides. The good Melibee, on the other hand, is subsequently addressed as the 'young Melibee,' the friend of Antihorace or Decker. This goes far to identify him with Marston; and this conclusion is much strengthened when we find Chettle's friend Drayton, two years later, addressing Marston as 'good Melibeus' who

Down from the goodly Western waste, To drink at Avon, drivest thy sunned sheep.

Marston was married to a daughter of the rector of Banford St Martin, in Wiltshire, and had apparently settled with his wife at Christchurch in Hampshire."

This is Mr R. Simpson's case; and we must candidly own that we think it is a very weak one. For ourselves, we have not the least doubt that Philesides, or Philisides, is Sir Philip Sidney; for it was under this name that Sidney figured himself in his Arcadia; and when Chettle wrote we may be quite sure that all readers saw in Philesides no other poet than Sidney. Again in the Pastoral Æclogue upon the Death of Sidney, printed with Colin Clout's Come home again, 1595, Sidney is addressed as Philisides. The truth is, the name is simply a compound of Phil[ip] Sid[ney] with a connecting vowel and a Greek termination. Mr C. Elliot Browne (Notes and Queries, 4th S. xii. 510) corroborates these arguments by quoting from the Earl of Stirling's Supplement of the Defect, 1621, a note in which the Earl apologizes for several divergences from the plan of the Arcadia,

"specially in the death of Philisides making choice of a course whereby I might best manifest what affection I beare to the memorie of him whom I tooke to be alluded unto by that name, and whom I only by this imperfect parcell (denying more) had a mind to honour,"

clearly referring to the fall of Sidney on the field of Zutphen. Further, as Mr C. E. Browne points out, the Earl thus describes his hero: "Philisides [was] a Muroni of courage and courtesie, of learning and armes;—so that it seemed that Mars had begotten him upon one of the Muses."

The identification of Chettle's *Philesides* with Sidney is the cardinal point in the interpretation of the prose passage; and therefore we make no apology for reprinting the following remarks on that point from an admirable paper by Dr Brinsley Nicholson (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. i. 109). We agree with him that we may positively assert Philesides, as well as Philisides, to be Sir Philip Sidney; and that we must not allow this identification to be disputed, whatever may be its consequences.

First, Alexander, in his addition to the third book of the Arcadiu, makes Philisides die of a wound in the thigh from an empoisoned dart thrown by an unknown hand, and Sidney died of a chance bullet wound in the thigh, which, ending in in-

ward mortification, seemed to confirm the belief that shot wounds were poisoned wounds. [Secondly,] Philisides' calm death and quiet address to his friends is an imitation of Sidney's, and the desire to live in their friends' memories is common to both deathbed speeches. [Thirdly,] The history of the "tilting in Iberia (where I was borne) dedicated to the memorie of the Queen Andromanes marriage,''—when a novice in armes he, with Musidorus, Pyrocles, and others in their train, ran in a pastoral show against the Corinthian knights,—is a plain reference to the magnificent tournament and show before the French embassy that came over to negociate the marriage with the Duke of Anjou in 1581, and in which Sidney, Fulke Greville, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Windsor were the challengers and knights of Desire that attacked the Fortresse of Perfect Beautie. In the chroniclers (see Nichols' Progr.), the feats of arms in this tournament are described in much the same glowing terms as those used by Alexander's Philisides. Fourthly, Sidney writing, Philisides speaks autobiographically of himself in

"The song I sang old Lanquet [i. e. Languet] had me taught" (Arc., B. III.), and thus identifies himself with Sidney. Fifthly, the second book of Browne's Britannia's Pastorals is dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke (1616); and in one of the commendatory verses, probably by Wm. Herbert, we have,

"Hee masters no low soul who hopes to please The Nephew of the brave Philisides."

As to the name of *Melibee*, Mr C. E. Browne, in the note from which we have already quoted, suggests "that Melibee and Melicert were dead Statesmen, not living poets; that, in fact, the allusions in the political portion of the work [of Chettle] are entirely independent of those in the poetical part, and refer, perhaps, to Walsingham and Burghley, who, with Sidney, were associated together in the popular mind, as the three great leaders of the Anti-Spanish policy." Mr Browne specifies these reasons for this view:

- 1. The nature of Collin's narrative, which reads more like a pièce justificative or State paper than anything likely to be derived from a drama or poem. The context also clearly shows that the writer is referring to a past state of the Spanish question, and to a period when Shakspere and Marston were little more than children.
- 2. The use of the word "sawes," which although certainly not excluding the idea of poetry, has primarily, I think, a graver meaning. Shakspere has "holy sawes of sacred writ" (Hen. IV., part ii., i. 3), and Marston, in What you will, speaks of

"-- the musty sawe Of antick Donate."

3. The great improbability that any work which at this time (1603) was well known to have been written by Shakspere would be allowed to perish.

4. The curious infelicity of the word "good," if applied to such a professor of strong language as Marston, and the unlikelihood that he would be coupled with Sidney.

5. Thomas Watson had celebrated Walsingham under the name of Melibœus in his *Ecloque* of 1590. Statesmen and politicians, as well as poets, were spoken of pastorally as shepherds. Lodge has introduced Burghley in his ecloques as Eglon, and there is the well-known epitaph on Robin ascribed to Raleigh.

As to the origin and employment of the name Melicert, Mr

Browne writes:-

It is scarcely likely that Chettle intended to allude to the son of Ino, who was no shepherd, but it is probable, I think, that he referred to the Melicertus of Greene's Menaphon, one of the principal characters in the most popular fiction of Shakspeare's old antagonist, and whether Chettle originated or only applied the compliment, it shows, at any rate, the continuance of the good understanding which had been commenced by the amende made to Shakspeare ten years before in Kind Heart's Dreame. Greene's Melicertus had been a shepherd "elsewhere" before he came to Arcadia, and though himself born to "base fortunes," yet knowing that "Venus loved Adonis, and Luna Endymion, that Cupid had bolts feathered with the plumes of a crow as well as with the pen of an eagle," he devoted himself to a mistress of much higher rank than himself. She dies, or appears to die, very suddenly, and the wretched Melicertus, after the manner of the pastoral romances, retires into Arcadia to keep sheep, where he meets with the beautiful shepherdess, Samela, who in the end turns out to be his former mistress, still alive. Melicertus contends with Menaphon for the mastery of the shepherds. "Am I not the king's shepherd," says Menaphon, "and chief of all the bordering swains of Arcadia?" "I grant," quoth Melicertus, "but am not I a gentleman, though tired in a shepherd's skin-coat, superior to thee in birth, though equal now in profession?" Their rival pretensions are decided by a kind of poetical tournament, and Melicertus is declared the winner. The character was evidently a favourite with Greene, who has put into his mouth the best poetry in the book. There are certainly some points of resemblance between Melicertus and the traditional idea of Shakspeare. Melicertus is a great maker of sonnets, and after his poetical excellence, the leading quality ascribed to him is the possession of a very ready and smooth wit, which enables him to shine in the euphuistic chaffing-matches with which the work is interlarded.

Dr Brinsley Nicholson, in the note from which we have made one extract, replies to Mr Browne as to the names, *Melibee*, and *Melicert*. As Dr Nicholson's paper is exceedingly able, we make no apology for giving nearly all the rest of it *in extenso*:

Next, as to "good Melibee." Thenot asks Collin—that is, Chettle, who, as appears from another passage in the Mowning Garment, was then about fifty—what had been said by wise men of old as to certain state events of their times. He asks Collin, one of the passing generation, what he had heard from men of his own and a past generation as to the causes of war between Spain and England in 1586 or 7. Now here it is to be noted that, Spenser being dead, Chettle wittingly calls himself "Collin," acknowledging that he takes the name in these words—"I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning Collin indeed (for alas I confesse my selfe too too rude)." And it is to be noted, in that it is, as I believe, one of the three examples in the book of the re-giving of a pastoral name after the first owner's death. Melibee is a second instance. The "good Melibee" of this passage I have for some time taken to be Walsingham, as suggested by Mr Elliot Browne, not only because Watson so called him in his ecloque on his death, but because Spenser in reference to this very ecloque calls him, in The Ruins of Time (1591), by the epithet which Chettle, as Collin the second, takes from him—

"Good Melibee, that hath a poet got
To sing his living praises being dead."

But this good Melibee being dead, Chettle, speaking of poets now alive, calls Marston the friend of Anti-Horace Dekker, not good Melibee nor even Melibee, but "young Melibee." The error of thinking that "songs" in pastorals necessarily meant songs or plays, and not the sayings, or as the text glosses it "saws," of the persons spoken of, according as they were poets, statesmen, or prose writers, and non-attention to this distinctive epithet young, have lead to Mr R. Simpson's curious mistakes in his Introduction to the Siege of Antwerp. As Mr Browne justly says, Marston in 1586, or even 1588, was but a child. Again, Walsingham, being dead in 1590, Drayton, not bound by Chettle's authority, or probably writing some time before 1603, applies the name Melibee to some one who was either related to, or a great friend of, Sidney, and of a station at least equal with Sidney's or Walsingham's. In his eclogue lament of Sidney he says (Ecl. vi.)—

"Thou that down from the goodly western waste To drink at Avon driv'st thy sunned sheep, Good Melibœus that so wisely hast Guided the flocks delivered thee to keep, Forget not Elphin."

And then in similar strains he adjures

"Alexis that dost with thy flocks remain Far off within the Caledonian ground."

Now this Melibœus cannot be Walsingham, because the latter had no connexion by birth or property with Salisbury Plain and Wiltshire, and because we know that this eclogue is a re-written form of a previous lament published in 1593. Nor can he be Marston, as MB SIMPSON would again have it, for first the words and the context show that statesmen or nobles are spoken of; secondly, because Marston was then a young man about town writing plays, and, in 1605, imprisoned for writing Eastward Ho; thirdly, because though his father-in-law, or future father-in-law, as a clergyman in Wilts, might have had sheep to keep there, Marston had none; and, fourthly, because all that we know or rather can suppose of Marston's place of residence after he ranged himself is that it was at Coventry. But, as I have said, the poem, by its subject and wording, was probably written long before its supposed date of publication in or about 1605 (for the volume has no date), and its good Melibœus is, I should say, the husband of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke.

Lastly, as to Melicert. I confess that though the conjunction of Sidney, Walsingham, and Shakspeare was a strange one, I was inclined to think that Chettle could not have given the same name to two people in one book. But, since reading MR ELLIOT BROWNE's note, and reconsidering the matter, I believe that the smooth-tongued Melicert of the Philisides and Melibee trio must have been a statesman or person of eminence, and the significant name Honeycomb, or he of the honeycomb, agrees well with Ascham's notice of Burghley in his Introduction to his Scholemaster, and with the description given for instance in Chalmers' Biography. The same consideration is, I believe, the common key of the three examples. Colin dead, Chettle adopts the name; Walsingham dead, Drayton gives the name Melibœus to another of eminence, probably the Earl of Pembroke, who died 1601; and both being gone, Chettle gives it, with the distinctive adjunct young, to a new poet; Melicert the statesman, being dead, Chettle applies it, when speaking of living poets, to Shakspeare of the honied muse.

Clearly, if it be a condition of identification, that all three shepherds shall be poets, or at least well-known versifiers (and this is *primâ facie* the inference from Chettle's use of the word songs), Mr C. E. Browne's conjecture, that "the smooth-tongued

Melicert" is Burghley, is put out of court. Apart from this condition, we do not understand Dr Nicholson to give Burghley the decided preference over every competitor; for manifestly Lord Buckhurst would equally well fit the place, besides satisfying the condition of being a song-writer; and for choice, perhaps we should give the preference to the latter, as the associate of Sidney and Walsingham in Chettle's prose. Meanwhile the phrase "smooth-tongued Melicert" is perhaps too vague to furnish ground for more than a plausible guess.

Yet, after all, it is by no means certain that by songs Chettle had in view the lyrical or other poetical performances of the three personages in question: for in a pastoral work, the prose judgments of the real men would be described as the songs of the shepherds; and that being so, the allusion is altogether too indefinite to be spotted. On the other hand, Philesides being called a Poet, the songs in his case would seem to be actual poetical performances; and if so, it would be difficult to contend that the word has not

the same meaning in the reference to the other two.

The chief point of interest in Dr Nicholson's paper, is the doctrine, now first propounded, that literary nick-names not infrequently lapsed on the death of their owners, and were revived in certain of their survivors. If we are right in identifying Philesides, Melibee, and Melicert in Chettle's prose, with Sidney, Walsingham, and Buckhurst, we may very well look for those names in association with others after their former owners had passed away. Thus Walsingham and Buckhurst being dead, it is the most natural thing in the world for Chettle to bestow them on Marston and Shakspere.

To persons unaccustomed to the literary practices of those times it must seem almost incredible that in his prose Chettle should speak of the songs of "good Melibee and smooth-tongued Melicert," and in his verse prolusion (in the same work) of "the silver-tonged Melicert" and "yong Mælibee," and not intend to designate the same two personages by the latter as by the former pair of nick-names. But we believe that there is really nothing incredible in the supposition. On the contrary, we have shown that the very attempt to restrict the allusions to two persons only, involves the question in a mesh of absurdities.

At page 61 is a passage which recals the magniloquent speech

of the King in Hamlet:

Do not feare our person:
There's such Divinity doth hedge a King,
That Treason can but peepe to what it would,
Acts little of his will.

In Chettle's tract Colin says of Queen Elizabeth,

"Such majestie had her presence, and such boldnesse her heart, that she despised all feare; and was, as all Princes are, or shall be, so full of divine fulnesse [?], that guiltie mortalitie durst

not beholde her but with dazeled eyes."

In 1591 Chettle became a partner with William Hoskins and John Danter in a printing business (Ames, Typ. Ant. by Herbert, ii. 1113). That he died about 1607 may be inferred from Dekker's Knight's Conjuring, Done in Earnest, Discovered in Jest, published in that year, where Chettle is introduced, as a new comer, into the limbo of poets. A list of Chettle's writings is given in Mr H. Barrett Leonard's Introduction to his edition of The Tragedy of Hoffman; or, A Revenge for a Father, 1631, the only extant play of those which Chettle wrote alone. This list contains, besides one translated and four original works, sixteen plays of which Chettle was sole author, and thirty-one plays which he wrote in conjunction with another or others. Only three or four of the latter are extant.

We know but very few biographical details of Henry Chettle. Dr Rimbault's researches have added but little to the slender stock of his predecessors. Henry Chettle was born about the year 1564-5. He had a child named Mary buried in the Church of St John, New Windsor. The inscription upon her tomb, which is preserved in Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire,

1719, iii. 75, is as follows:---

Here lyeth the Body
of MARY CHETTLE,
The Daughter of Henry Chettle; who
dy'd the 22 of
September 1595. Ætatis Suæ 12.
In Memory of whom, Robert Gwine,
Yeoman of the Guard,
hath caus'd this to be done.

IV., V. In connection with Englandes Mourning Garment we take A Mournefull Dittie and I. C.'s Epigrame, the latter referring to that and other ballads published upon the accession of James. We are unable to identify I. C. In the old catalogue of the Bodleian Library, the volume of Epigrames is given under E, and is attributed to John Elsum: but in correcting this for the new Catalogue, the clerk has placed the work under C. (I) only, and cancelled the entry under Elsum. In Lowndes' B. M. the initials are altered and expanded into J. Can., on what authority, and with what view, we are unable to say. Anyhow, John Elsum can hardly be the author, if he be rightly credited there with two

books respectively dated 1700 and 1704. The uncomplimentary style in which I. C. speaks of the ballad-writers of the day, as "The hated Fathers of vilde balladrie,"

and also as

'the slanderers of the time,'

is accounted for in a sonnet prefixed to Robert Anton's Philosophers satyrs, 1616:

To his ingenious friend, R. A. [Robert Anton.]

Deesert [sic] and praise are Twins. The first being quicke, The second still is so; or if it die, Then is the first too sound, or else too sicke, And so may dye in grace, or Envies eye! But this with wonder in my stomacke stickes, That Satyrs wrapt but in base Balladrie Are praisd beyond the moone (of lunatickes) As being sun-begot; so cannot die. Needes must I hugge the Muse, and praise the pen Of him that makes his Satires dance a brall Unto the musicke of the spheares even then When as the planets footed it withall: Thou sharply singst, but he the burden beares

That would have songe more sharpe but for his eares.

The allusion in the 11th and 12th lines to Sir John Davies' Orchestra inclines us to believe that the signature I. D. stands for his name. The truth is that not a few of the poets of the time were envious of the popularity which greeted the political ballads, due not to their literary merit, but to their scurrility, and to the impunity enjoyed by the authors, which they owed to their obscurity.

VI. We have reprinted Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter for his remarkable notices of Robert Greene (pp. 130-133, 139, 142), and for his supposed allusions to Shakspere (pp. 130, 148), viz. "The worst of the four," and "one whom I salute with a hundred blessings." We know otherwise that Harvey was a great admirer of Shakspere's writings; for we learn from George Steevens (Ed. of Sh. 1766) that Harvey had written on a blank leaf of Speght's Chaucer.

"The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis; but his Lucrece, and his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort. 1598."

The editors of the Clarendon Press Ed. of Shakespeare (Hamlet, 1872, p. ix.) write thus:—

"Steevens . . . attributed to the note the date of the book, but Malone has shewn that, although Harvey may have purchased the volume in 1598, there is nothing to prove that he wrote the note till after 1600, in which year Fairfax's translation of Tasso, mentioned in another note, was published."

If the book could be found we might possibly set this question at rest; but unfortunately, after making search, we have been unable to trace it. It belonged to Bishop Percy, then Dean of Carlisle, and was probably destroyed in 1780 with his *first* Library in the fire at Northumberland House.

This letter, long-winded and verbose as it is, is interesting for its connection with Green's Groats-worth of Wit. On p. 130 Greene is abused for his voluminous writings, being called "Greene with the running Head, and the scribbling Hand, that never linnes [i. e. ceases] putting forth new, newer, and newest books of the maker." Harvey then says, " Green, vile Greene, would thou wearest [wert] halfe so honest, as the worst of the foure, whom thou upbraidest: or halfe so learned, as the unlearnedst of the three." That is, half as honest as Shakspere, or half as learned as Nash: the four being, as we have seen, Marlow, Peele, Nash, and Shakspere. "Thanke other for thy borrowed and filched plumes of some little Italianated bravery: and what remaineth, but flat Impudence, and grosse Detraction: the proper ornaments of thy sweete utterance?" This clearly alludes to Greene's attack on the Shake-scene. He had called Shakspere "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers." Harvey now retaliates on Greene, and tells him that his plumes are borrowed and filched from the Italian stories.

Harvey here, also, seems to apply to Nash the expression "good sweet orator."

The motto, "Omne tulit punctum," is that of Greene's Oberon, and not improbably appears on other of his writings.

VII. We have next taken "Five Sections of Palladis Tamia," out of their chronological order, with the view of preserving the series of works which contain any notice or have any bearing upon the first of our Allusion-Books.

Wits Common-Wealth is a generic title for (probably) four distinct works, which were a series of literary commonplace books, containing miscellaneous jottings on important truths, and also on notable persons, with their wise or witty sayings. The book which gave this name to the series bears the title

(1) Politeuphuia, Wits Common-Wealth, 1597. It was a compilation by John Bodenham, and such was its popularity, that it was from time to time "newly corrected and amended," and passed through eighteen editions before the Restoration of

¹ The worthy Bishop's second Library now forms part of that of Ambrose Isted, Esq., of Ecton Hall, Northamptonshire.

Charles II., and twenty-two before the abdication of his successor. A copy of this edition was in the catalogue of Asher of Berlin, for 1844. The second edition of 1598 was issued conjointly with

(2) Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury, being the second part of Wits Commonwealth. By Francis Meres, 1598. Then followed the third part, which Mr W. C. Hazlitt believes to be "Wit's Theatre of the Little World," (N. Ling) 1599: but we think this hardly likely. Lastly,

(4) Palladis Palatium: Wisedomes Pallace, or the fourth part of Wit's Commonwealth, (G. Elde for Francis Burton) 1604.

Of the second of these works we reprint from leaf 275 to leaf 288 of the first edition. In this short compass we have nine references to Shakspere by name, and mention is made of his two principal poems, his sonnets, and twelve of his plays, including Love[s] Labours Wonne, which has not been satisfactorily identified with any of the plays in our collection. For one thing, we do not think it likely to be All's well that ends well, as Farmer conjectured, which, in our opinion, offers no sufficient resemblance or contrast to serve as a pendant to Loves Labours Lost. Meres has also one quotation from I Hen. IV. ii. 3; and on leaf 286, what is more important for our purpose, we find the most curious notices of R. Greene, G. Harvey, Nash, Peele, and Marlowe. Here we obtain the evidence of Nash being nicknamed "young juvenall" and being called "sweet"—whether boy or Tom matters not.

"As Acteon was wooried of his owne hounds: so is Tom Nash of his Isle of Dogs. Dogges were the death of Euripedes, but bee not disconsolate, gallant young Juvenall, Linus, the Sonne of Apollo died the same death. Yet God forbid that so brave a witte should so basely perish, thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment like Ovids, eternally to converse with the barbarous Getes. Therefore comfort thy selfe sweet Tom."

VIII. Spenser's Aetion has been identified with Shakspere on two grounds. (1) because

"A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found;"

and gantle was the proverbial prefix to his Christian and surname: (2) because his name,

"Doth like himselfe heroically sound;"

and Shake-speare was par excellence an heroic name, and our Shakspere was the author of heroic histories. As to the first point: we may very well demand the evidence of the assertion that Shakspere was proverbially called "gentle Shakspere," or "gentle Will;" and to this we shall find no answer till we come to those who wrote of him regretfully after his death. That he was re-

membered as such then is no proof that he was recognized in his lifetime as the "gentle shepherd." As to the second point: we remark that, just as Chettle, calling Shakspere Melicert (Honeycomb), expounds its meaning by referring to "his honied Muse;" so may Spenser be expanding the classical nickname Aëtion, by referring to its heroic sound. If this be so, what poet soever may be alluded to under that heroic name, the last two lines are per-

fectly intelligible.

But for ourselves, we must own to a pretty strong conviction that Aëtion is applied by Spenser to Shakspere. so far as concerns the heroic name Aëtion (i. e. 'Αετίων, from άετος, an eagle,1) meaning the man of eagle-flight, Spenser might just as well be celebrating Warner, Drayton, or Daniell, all of whom had dealings with the heroic muse. Mr W. Minto, indeed, remembering that Drayton had first written under the heroic name of Rowland, is convinced that Aëtion is Drayton, whose "high thoughts invention" is sufficiently shown in his Barons' Warres and other works (Academy, January 24, 1874). Mr J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps), on the other hand, was in 1848 disposed to see in that expression an allusion to Albion's England, and found an heroic sound in Warner (Life of Shakespeare, p. 142). But Shake-speare is the typical name of martial achievement as surely as his series of heroic dramas, English and Roman, are matchless in English literature.

In proof of our assertion as to Shakspere's surname, take the following: Fuller compares him to *Martial* (the Roman poet) for

'the warlike sound of his Surname (whence some may conjecture him of a Military extraction), Hastivibrans, or Shake-speare.' (The Worthies of England, 1662, pp. 120.)

The name, too, is perfectly represented by either of two Greek words, Ερχεσπάλοs and Δορίπαλτοs. There could not be better proof, than is afforded by these equivalents in the classical languages, that the act of shaking the speare was a recognized type of all martial deeds. In many places the act itself is described. The following may serve as examples of the heroic and the mock-heroic:

"He all enraged, his shivering speare did shake,
And charging him afresh thus felly him bespake."

(Faerie Queen, b. iv. c. iii. st. 10.)

¹ Malone's two attempts at the etymology of this name (Variorum, 1621, ii. 274) are a caution to ambitious editors. He was ignorant of the only two essentials: he neither knew that Aëtion was a recognized Greek surname; nor that it took its rise from the Greek word for Eagle. See Shakspeare's Centurie of Prayse, 1874, p. 73-4; and the Academy for January 10, 1874. Our note in the former was printed six months too early to profit by that of Mr Hales.

"Behold, behold, thy garter blue,
Thy knight his valiant elboe weares,
That when he shakes his furious speare,
The foe in shivering fearefull sort,
May lay him downe in death to snort."
(Histriomastix, or, the Player whipt, 1610. Sig. C. 4 recto.)

Finally, we have the name designated in an undated work of the time, entitled *Polydoron*:

"Names were first questionlesse given for distinction, facultic. consanguinitie, desert, qualitie: for Smith, Taylor, Joyner, Saddler, &c., were doubtlesse of the trades; Johnson, Robinson, Williamson, of the blood; Sackville, Saville, names of honourable desert; Armestrong, Shakespeare of high qualitie."

In our recently-published work, Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse, p. 10, we have referred this poem to the period April 16—December 27, in the year 1594, believing, with Malone and Halliwell, that 1591 at the foot of the dedication was a misprint for 1594; i. e. the period elapsed between the death of Lord Derby and the supposed date of the dedication. As there are difficulties to clear up in this matter of date, we have submitted it to Mr J. W. Hales, who sends us the following remarks:—

"Colin Clout's Come Home Again was not published till 1595; but there is no reason for doubting that it was in the main written by the time mentioned in the Dedicatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, viz. December, 1591. Spenser crossed over to England in 1589; he probably returned to Ireland in 1591, but he may have done so in 1590. That he was back in Ireland sometime in 1591 may be confidently concluded from the words of 'the Printer to the gentle reader' prefixed to 'Complaints; containing sundrie small poemes of the world's vanitie'; see the Globe Edition of Spenser's Works, p. xliv. In the quiet of Kilcolman his thoughts would naturally recall his recent sojourn in the midst of the busy world. In the letter just referred to he speaks of 'my late being He wishes his friend to accept 'this simple in England'. pastoral' in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my selfe bounden unto you for your singular favours & sundrie good turns shewed to me at my late being in England'. This would have little force, if not written till December 1594, as Todd and others have urged, declaring 1591 to be a mere misprint. That Colin Clout's Come Home Again could have been written in no December later than that of 1591 is further proved by this fact: that when Spenser wrote it the image of Rosalind had not yet been superseded in his fancy; see the concluding lines of the poem. The old love still prevailed. Now it was in 1592 that a new love arose. It was in the course of that year that the Elizabeth, whom he married in 1594, conquered him with her charms; see Amoretti & Epithalamion. Clearly then the dedicatory letter is accurate; Colin Clout's Come Home Again was written by the close of 1591. But it was slightly altered at the time of its publication in 1595. One of the 'shepheard's' commemorated in it had died in the interval. Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, the 'Amyntas' of the poem, died April 16, 1594 ('in the flower of his youth . . . not without suspicion of poyson,' says Dugdale, Baronage of England, ii. 250). The words are these, and they sufficiently indicate some alteration:

There also is (ah no, he is not now!)
But since I said he is, he quite is gone,
Amyntas quite is gone, and lies full low,
Having his Amaryllis left to mone.
Helpe, O ye Shepheards, helpe ye all in this,
Helpe Amaryllis this her loss to mourne;
Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is,
Amyntas, floure of Shepheards pride forlorne.
He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine,
That ever piped in an oaten quill;
Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,
And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.

It may plausibly be conjectured that the original copy ran thus:

There also is Amyntas, noblest swaine,
That ever piped in an oaten quill;
Both does he other, which can pipe, maintaine,
And eke can pipe himselfe with passing skill.

"'Nash had reproached Spenser with not having admitted this nobleman, then Lord Strange, into that honourable catalogue of our English Heroes which insucth the Conclusion of thy famous Faerie Queene' (see quotation from the Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication, &c., apud Todd's Spenser, i. xci.), and in the revision of Colin Clout's Come Home Again Spenser made amends. Possibly other corrections were introduced, as in the case of Daniel; see Todd, i. xciii; but with regard to this point one must remember how commonly in the Elizabethan works circulated in manuscript years before they found their way into print.

"The only external objection to the date 1591 for the writing of Colin Clout's Come Home Again—and it is really trivial by the side of the arguments in favour of that date—is that Daphnaida is dated 'London this first of Januarie 1591.'—Either this is a misprint, to adopt Todd's method of solving such a difficulty, only applying it differently; or, as the late Prof. Craik suggested, Spenser here makes January the first month of the year 1591." This argument would require modification if Mr Edward Arber's view should turn out to be correct: viz. that Spenser's Amyntas was Thomas Watson. (English Reprints: Thomas Watson's Poems.

15 March, 1870, p. 16.) But Mr Hales's view is probably right.

Prof. Craik's suggestion is supported by Spenser's division of the year in his Shepherds Calender. After all, we need not inquire whether six days was not enough time for Spenser to have travelled from Kilcolman to London: for the Daphnaida appears to be alluded to in Colin Clout's Come Home Again, so that the December of the latter should be after the January of the former work.

IX. Willobie his Avisa, said to be a poem "in hexameter verse," because each verse contains six lines, was first published in 1594; and we have reprinted the commendatory poem and four canti from that edition. Other editions were in 1596, 1605, 1609, and 1635. From the Epistles found in these several editions we learn all we know of the presumptive author of this remarkable poem. A word on some of these first. To the edition of 1594 are prefixed an "Epistle Dedicatory" as well as an "Epistle to the Reader." Both are from Hadrian Dorrell, the reputed editor of the book and friend of its author. The latter he dates "from my chamber in Oxford, this first of October." To the edition of 1605 Dorrell adds an "apologie, shewing the true meaning of Willobie his Avisa," which professes to answer some who misconstrued the poem, especially P. C. [Peter Colse], and ends with these remarkable words:—

"If any notwithstanding will continue the errour of their vnsatisfied minds they must for ever rest in the[ir] rightlesse erring, till the author (now of late gone to God) returne from Heaven to satisfie them farder touching his meaning. And so farewel. Oxford this 30 of June 1596."

A poem called The Victory of English Chastity printed next to the Apologie is signed "Thomas Willoby Frater Henrici Willoby nuper defuncti" [n. d]. From these premises we should naturally conclude that there were two brothers, Henry and Thomas Willoby (Willobie, or Willoughby, the orthography being phonetic), both of whom were poets, and wrote on one and the same subject. The Apologie also records that Henry Willobie left "many other pretty things—of his devising," and a poem called Susanna, which must have been suggested by the story of Susanna and the Elders, and therefore we are asked to believe that both brothers wrote poems (Avisa, Susanna, and The Victory of English Chastity) on one subject—chastity, maidenly, or matronly; which, to say the least, is surprising. We also learn from the same premises that Henry Willobie died at Oxford between Oct. 1, 1594, and June

¹ Having been unable to see a copy of this edition, we are here trusting to the account of it in the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iii. p. 241. The edition of 1596 is only "presumed" in that work, nor has Mr Hazlitt "met with" it.

30, 1596, and that his brother survived him. One might almost guess already that Hadrian Dorrell is hoaxing us; that he was the Henry Willobie of the Avisa and Susanna, and after June, 1596, the Thomas Willobie of the Victorie. We shall soon find fresh suggestions of doubt.

In the editions of 1605 and 1635 are found the *Apology* and the *Epistle to the Reader*. In the former Dorrell says the author "fained an Individuum: * * to this fained Individuum, he gave

this fained name Avisa;" and in the latter he writes

"I found this very name AVISA, written in great letters, a pretty distance a sunder, and under every letter, a word beginning with the same letter, in this forme,

A. V. I. S. A.

Amans Vxor Inuolata Semper Amanda."

But Dorrell presently goes on to say,

"Yet of the other side, when I doe more deeply consider of it and more narrowly weigh every particular part, I am driven to thinke that there is something of truth hidden under this shadow. The reasons that move me are these. First in the same paper where I found the name of Avisa written in great letters, as I said before, I found this also written with the author's owne hand, viz. 'Yet I would not have Avisa to be thought a publike fiction, nor a truthlesse invention, for it may be, that I have at least heard of one in the west of England, in whom the substance of all this hathe been verified, and in many things the verie words specified which hath endured these and many more, and many greater assaults, yet, as heere, she stands unspotted, and unconquered.'"

Who the lady was has never been determined, nor yet where she abode. We must not rush to the conclusion that her name was Susan, from the mention of Avi-Susan in the commendatory poem: for that has no more reference, of necessity, to the real lady's name than Lucres-Avis (phonetic for Lucrece-Avis), the Susan being the Susanna of the Apocrypha, and the Lucres being the Lucrece of Roman History; the former celebrated by H. W. (Henry Willobie), the latter by W. S. (William Shakspere). Avisa, like the lady "in the west of England," abode

At Westerne side of Albion's isle Where Austine pitcht his monkish tent,

which suggests Glastonbury; and her homestead is described in the single stanza which constitutes Canto XLVI. If one might make a guess at the lady's real name, from the hint given in that stanza, St George is at once suggested, and one is reminded of Rich. III. v. 3,

Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George, Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons! Upon them! Victory sits upon our helms.

But there are two statements in Dorrell's *Apology* which are hard to reconcile. He writes:

"This poeticall fiction was penned by the Author at least for thirtie and five yeeres since (as it will be proved), and lay in wast papers in his study, as many other prettie things did of his devising; and so might have continued still (as his Susanna yet doth) had not I, contrarie to his knowledge, with paine collected it and publisht it."

We know from the British Bibliographer, vol. iii. pp. 242, 258, that this passage is in the Apology (dated 1596) added to the edition of 1605. Now, 35 from 1596 leaves 1561, so that, according to Dorrell's statement, Henry Willobie had written his Avisa by June, 1561. The poem showing no sign of immaturity, we must conclude that he was nearly of age at that date; which will throw his birth back to about 1540. Taking that year as a basis of computation, he must have been from 53 to 56 at the time of his death. At least he was then a man of fifty, an elderly man, of whose achievements Dorrell might have written with praise, but of whom he could not have written as of a promising student and a young soldier: yet Dorrell describes him, in his epistle of Oct. 1594, as "a scholar of very good hope," and what is even more absurd, as a "young man, who, desirous of seeing the fashion of other countries, had not long sithence departed voluntarily in her Majesty's service," whereas he was in June, 1596, nuper defunctus, and had "not long sithence" departed at the bidding of the King of kings. Sir Egerton Brydges considered that this "anachronism [might] be ascribed to inadvertency." For ourselves, we see in it the pes clauda which so persistently dogs the hoaxer; and we are led to the conclusion, already mentioned, that Willobie his Avisa is of the same class as The Legacy of an Etonian, Edited by Robert Nolands. sole executor (Macmillan, 1846), where the executor's name is a pseudonym, and the editor was sole author of the poems, which are there attributed to "a young friend, Mr E-n." Here, nostro judicio, we have the key to the Willobie-Dorrell mystery. Otherwise, we should be driven to the conclusion that this poem. which is redolent of late Elizabethan associations, belongs (by a miraculous anachronism) to the reign of Henry VIII., and that therefore the interlocutor whose initials are W. S. could not be William Shakspere, seeing he was not born till the third year after the poem was written.

On the other hand, the name of Willobie is found in a marginal note in William Clarke's *Polimanteia*, 1525, where he is referred to as one of those of Oxford who "are able to sing sweetly when it please thee." Clarke makes "England to her three daughters,"

the Universities, say,

Sweet Master Campion.

Britton.
Percie.
Willobie.
Fraunce.
Lodge.
Master Dauis of L. I.
Drayton.
Learned M.
Plat.

"I know, Cambridge, howsoeuer now old, thou hast some young, bid them be chast, yet suffer them to be wittie; let them be soundly learned, yet suffer them to be gentlemanlike qualified: Oxford thou hast many, and they are able to sing sweetly when it please thee. And thou youngest of all three, either in Hexameter English, thou art curious (but that thou learnedst of my daughter Cambridge) or in any other kinde thou art so wisely merrie, as myselfe (though olde) am often delighted with thy musick, tune thy sweet strings, & sing what please thee," (sign. 0.3, back.)

But this does not clear up the difficulty, as Clarke may have only known Willobie's name from the book.

The commendatory poem (called an Hexameton) contains the earliest printed mention of Shakspere that has yet been discovered. Its date is at least as early as the first edition of Willobie his Avisa, viz. 1594; i.e. one year earlier than that of Clarke's Polimanteia, in a marginal note to which the name of Shakspere also occurs. The second verse of this Hexameton, in which Shakspere is named as the author of Lucrece, was quoted by Mr J. P. Collier in his Introduction to that poem (Ed. of Shakespeare, 1858, vol. vi. p. 526). He here also refers to the Canti of the Avisa, which we have reprinted at large, in his Life of Shakespeare (Ibid. vol. i. p. 115). The dialogue between H. W. and W. S. was first reprinted in Ellis' Specimens, vol. ii. p. 378, and subsequently at greater length by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, in Notes and Queries, 2nd S. ix. 59-60, under date Jan. 28, 1860.

The Hexameton is signed Contraria Contrariis: Vigilantius: Dormitanus, under which fanciful signature some have supposed to lurk the real name of the writer: but all that it appears to mean is that, if we designate contraries by contraries, the author is Wide-awake Sleepy-head: which might possibly contain a pun on

his name.

X.—XVII. Sir Wm Harbert's *Epicedium* and the stanza from Michael Drayton's *Matilda* are supposed to allude to Shakspere's *Rape of Lucrece*, which was first printed in 1594. Some doubt as to the latter allusion is raised by the expression

Acting her passions on our stately stage.

Undoubtedly that line means what it says; for in another poem of Drayton's, *Mistress Shore to Edward V*., we have the same expression applied to Tragedy,

Or passionate Tragedian in his rage Acting a Love-sick passion on the stage.

But we know of but one play on the subject of Lucrece,

Thomas Heywood's Rape of Lucrece; and that was not printed till 1608; and we do not know of its having been performed before that year; and having regard to the recent publication of Shakspere's poem, we should naturally refer Drayton's allusion to that piece. The verse we have reprinted is found in two editions of Matilda, viz. those of 1594 and 1596. A copy of the former is at Sion College, and of the latter in the British Museum. In subsequent editions that verse is not found. Can it be that Drayton was originally under the impression that Shakspere's poem was a play; and on finding out his mistake expunged the allusion?

Who shall say?

We have reprinted nearly two pages of "a letter from England to her three daughters," appended to Polimanteia, 1595, for the sake of some most curious and enigmatical marginalia or sidenotes, where occurs what is for us the "captain-jewel of the carkanet "-"Lucrecia sweet Shakspeare;" in which we see a recommendation of Shakspere's second heir, Lucrece, so called on the title-page of the first edition, 1594. This is the second mention of Shakspere; and in both Avisa and Polimanteia his name is associated with his Rape of Lucrece. We may note, too, the epithet "sweet," which must be taken in corroboration of the fact, to which we have already adverted, that Shakspere was, par excellence, designated mellifluous and honey-tongued, and his muse proverbially compared to honey, sugar, and nectar. In this we recognize a conventional compliment of the day; but also to some extent an accurate estimate of Shakspere's poetry; for his versification was so melodious, and his subject and treatment so sensuous, that with young and susceptible readers his poems were "the best books in the world." (See Machin's Dumb Knight.)

Most of the text of our extract relates to Samuel Daniel, whose tragedy of *Cleopatra* (and "well graced *Anthonie*"), *Complaint of Rosamond*, and LVII. Sonnets (with *Ode* and *Pastorall*) To Delia, are here praised. The divine Lady is Daniel's patron-

ess, Mary, Countess of Pembroke.

Below "sweet Shakspeare" is "Eloquent Gaveston," which is certainly an allusion to Michael Drayton, who wrote Piers Gaveston: and between this and the allusion of Daniel's Cleopatra (or else to the prefixed Letter from Octavia to Anthony) are the enigmatical words "Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre." These have been variously explained. Some have read the two expressions together, and identifying "Wanton Adonis" with the "first heir" of Shakspere's invention, have declared him to be "Watson's heyre" or literary successor. This would appear to be Mr Edward Arber's view (English Reprints: Thomas Watson's

Poems, 15 March, 1870, p. 16), but he unintentionally gives a point to the allusion which the original work does not countenance, by printing "Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre," by itself, on the opposite margin of the extract from Polimanteia; it is so, indeed, in the original; but only because it is on the next page, all the notes being on the outside margin of the text. If the division of the pages be disregarded, the four words in question should be placed on the same margin as the preceding notes. Mr C. Elliot Browne argues for the same conclusion (Notes and Queries, 4th S, xi, 378, May 10, 1873); and regarding the heirship of Shakspere to concern the Sonnels mainly or solely, sees in that fact (if fact it be) "some ground for inferring that he [Shakspere] had acquired a reputation for his sonnets, three years before the notice by Meres in 1598." But this is mere circular reasoning: for we must first know the fact of that reputation before we can infer the desired heirship from the note in Polimanteia: since it is highly probable that W. C. would not have given Shakspere such a name as "Watson's heyre" (q. d. in sonnet-writing) unless Shakspere had already been publicly recognized as Watson's chief rival in that art.

Others have seen in the same four words an allusion to some posthumous poetical work of Watson's, which at that time would be recognized under the name of "Wanton Adonis," and evidently the date of Watson's death favours that hypothesis, for there would be from two to three years for such a work to be printed and published; so that it might be just exciting notice at the time W. C. wrote his Polimanteia. Another view has occurred to ourselves; viz. that as Watson was nicknamed "the English Petrarch," and W. C. himself calls Spenser "thy Petrarch," i. e. the Petrarch of Cambridge, he may have regarded Spenser (who survived Watson) as "Watson's heyre." It is true he has already named Spenser in the margin: but he names Drayton in the margin, and afterwards praises his Gaveston. On this view, however, "Wanton Adonis" presents some difficulty: for if the "sweet and chaste" poem of Venus and Adonis, in which Venus is the wanton and assailing party and Adonis the coy and unconquerable youth, could be called by that singularly inappropriate name, W. C. would surely have mentioned it with "Lucrecia," and not have inserted "Eloquent Gaveston" between Shakspere's two poems.

Another view is that "Watson's heyre" is Henry Constable; and Dr Brinsley Nicholson has with some ingenuity supported this as the more probable conjecture (*Notes and Queries*, 4th S. xi. 491, June 14, 1873), but his argument does not carry conviction

to our mind. Others think the "heyre" was Abraham Fraunce. Our impression is, that the full points in these marginalia were intended to mark a complete separation of names; and therefore that "Wanton Adonis" (poem or author) is not to be identified with "Watson's heyre." At present there is not sufficient evidence before us to interpret satisfactorily those enigmatical terms. marginalia are just such notes as the author might have written on the margins of his manuscript, as suggestions for perfecting the "Letter;" and these, by reason of his absence or death, might have been printed as integral parts of his work. It is always exceedingly difficult to identify these loose allusions of an Elizabethan author to a contemporary writer, especially if they are complimentary: for either the compliment is too weak a generality, or it contains an estimate of literary merit which is utterly discrepant with the verdict of posterity. This fact is brought home to us with great force when we see how inappropriate, as well as inadequate, was the praise bestowed on Shakspere by his contemporaries: and to this day we are unable to identify the rising wit, whose exceeding great promise, as that of a splendid sunrising, is celebrated by John Davies of Hereford in his Paper's Complaint.

Of the other small pieces here reprinted, the little that was to be said, is said in the brief notes appended to them

respectively.

We will only add that the allusions in Marston's Scourge of Villanie are the earliest distinct allusions to any of Shakspere's plays. Those of Greene, Chettle, and Harvey, and that of Spenser (if it be an allusion to Shakspere, which is certainly somewhat doubtful) do severally contain a side glance at his Histories: the writers of our other excerpts know him, for the most part, as an amatory poet. In Marston we meet with a distinct recognition of his popularity as a playwright. From this time forward till Shakspere's death (as we shall see in the Second Part of our Allusion-Books) his contemporaries notice his plays much more frequently than his poems, and utterly ignore his Sonnets.

The lines parodied by Marston in the first extract from The Scourge of Villanie are in Romeo and Juliet; where Capulet cries,

A hall! a hall! give room and foot it girls.

More light, ye knaves.

The "worthy poet" was Sir John Davies, the gifted author of Orchestra, or a Poeme on Dauncing, 1596. Kemp's jig (like Tarleton's jig, alrealy mentioned) was one of those diversions of

combined singing and dancing, which was invented and performed by him. (See Dyce's Introduction to Kemp's Nine days Wonder, p.

xx., and Collier's Memoirs of Actors, pp. 100-102.)

The Committee desire me to express their thanks to Mr Henry Huth for his great kindness in lending them his very rare originals of the first three of these 'Allusion-Books' to reprint. I have also to record my thanks to Miss L. Toulmin Smith for her aid in the revision of my proofs.

C. M. I.

Valentines, Ilford, September, 1874.

A FEW NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

то

GABRIEL HARVEY'S THIRD LETTER.

Page	Line	
		"the olde Fox" is Dr Perne, who is mentioned on p. 5. Nash
125	34	alludes to him more than once. See his Strange Newes or
		Four Letters Coupled (Sig. F 4, verso), where we find in
		italics, "the olde Foxe Doctour Perne".
129	1	"than". It is "then" in the old copy.
	20	"we" is an error of the old copy for "with".
13 0	22, 23	"him or them": i. e. Robert Greene or the brothers Harvey.
	24	"their lives": i. e. the lives of the brothers.
	25	"he that lived not" is John Harvey.
131	20	"The second Toy of London": Toy was the name of a con-
		temporary stage clown. (See Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Col-
		lier, 1825, vol. 9, p. 50, note.)
	30	"a Player" means a gamester or gambler—not an actor or a
		playwright.
133	17	"be like" (sic in the old copy) is "belike".
	24, 25	"and how many millions of greene youthes, haue in ouer-
		mounting, most ruefully dismounted": a parallel to a well-
		known crux in Macbeth.
134	4, 5	"his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe":
		an allusion to Robert Greene's death. (See our reprint from
		Meres' Wits Treasury, p. 164, ll. 29, 30.)
	34, 35	"Fauste precor gelida". This is also given to Holofernes in
		Loves Labours Lost, IV. iii. 95. It is quoted, says Dyce, from
		the beginning of the First Eclogue of Mantuanus: i. e. Bap-
		tista Spagnolo.
136	11	Nocta is our error for Nocte.
137	17	Harvey has "bostesse", an evident error for "hostesse".
139	24	"haunted" (sic in the old copy) should be "hunted".
143	17	"mouths". The old copy has "mouth".
144	24	The "verse" is probably Gabriel Harvey's.
	26	The "Sonnet" is probably that printed by Harvey at the end of
		his Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets.
148	4	May not "Gnomes" be an error for "Tomes", a word elsewhere
		used by Harvey ?
	9, 10	The mention of Thomas Watson proves that he was alive at the
		date of the letter; and we know that he died before the end
		of the year.
149	7	"Dammeo" is the word of the old copy. It is probably an error
		for "Dammes", i. e. "Dams."

SUPPLEMENT

I. GREENE ON NASH. II. CHETTLE ON SHAKSPERE. III. MARLOWE, GREENE, AND SHAKSPERE.

BY RICHARD SIMPSON, ESQ., B.A.

(Reprinted from The Academy, April 11, 1874, p. 400.)

MR HOWARD STAUNTON, in a recent letter to the Athenæum, tries to show that a passage in the Epistle prefixed to Chettle's Kind Heart's Dream, 1592, which has been always considered to refer to Shakspere, does not so refer; and, incidentally, that the three playwriters to whom Greene addressed his epistle, appended to his Groatsworth of Wit, are not Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, but Marlowe, Nash, and Peele. On the former point I differ from Mr Staunton, on the latter I agree with him. Perhaps it is worth while to discuss the two points, as Chettle's and Greene's two pamphlets are to be among the first publications of the New Shakspere Society.

I.—First, with regard to the question whether the "Young Juvenal" of Greene's letter was Lodge or Nash-Dr Farmer first said it was Nash, but Malone denied it on two grounds; that we know that Greene and Lodge wrote a comedy together, The Looking-glass for London, but we know of no comedy written by Greene and Nash; and that Nash was pointed at as the real author of Greene's posthumous letter, which would not be natural if he was one of those to whom it was addressed. Therefore, Malone concluded "Young Juvenal" was Lodge and not Nash. And Shaksperian scholars have generally followed Malone's lead, till Mr Howard Staunton.

But "Young Juvenal" cannot be Lodge. The chief point which Greene dwells upon is the age of the man he addresses. He is "young," and "boy." Now Lodge was three years older than Greene. In 1592 Lodge was 35 and Greene was 32, neither of them "boys." Lodge was born probably in 1557; he was B.A. July 8, 1577. In 1592 he was a weather-beaten sailor. Greene was born in 1560, and became B.A. at an earlier age in 1578.

Again, Lodge was absent from England at the date of Greene's letter. He sailed in Cavendish's second expedition; the ships left Plymouth Aug. 26, 1591, reached Brazil Dec. 15, and remained at Santos till Jan. 22, 1592, when they sailed for the Straits of Magellan: on Sept. 13, 1592 the South Sea was sighted, but the ships were driven back into the straits. October 2 they fetched the South Sea again, where they were cruelly buffetted, but recovered the straits a third time. February 6, 1593, they were at Placentia. One of the ships, without victuals, sails, and almost without men, came to land, at Bearhaven in Ireland, June 11, 1593. It is not to be supposed that the absent Lodge was one of those to whom Greene addressed his letter, as if they were all present in London at the time.

Again, it is generally thought that Lodge had forsworn writing for the theatre in 1589. The last stanza of his Scillaes

Metamorphosis of that date contains the lines :-

. . . "And then by oath he [Glaucus] bound me To write no more of that whence shame doth grow, Or tie my pen to Pennie Knaves delight, But live with fame, and so for fame to write."

If he kept this vow, it is clear that his two plays must be dated before 1589. And The Looking-glass for London, in which Greene was parcel author with him, seems to have been written early in 1589, for Greene in the dedication of his Mourning Garment (1589) to the Earl of Cumberland has some allusions to the matter of the play, as if it was then fresh in his memory. Thus Lodge and Greene had written a comedy together early in 1589. Is this any proof that Lodge must have been the person whom Greene, three and a half years later, addressed as having "lastly with me together writften] a comedy"? Lastly means "quite lately." It would be absurd to torture the meaning of the word to prop up so weak a conclusion as this, that Lodge must have been the man, because a comedy written by Lodge and Greene nearly four years before happens to have survived, whereas in the general shipwreck of Greene's dramatic works no comedy avowedly written by him with any one else has been preserved.

Again, Lodge could not with propriety be called a Juvenal in 1592. A Fig for Momus, his only satirical work, was not published till 1595. And when he there states that the present instalment was only a trial, and that he had in his hands a whole centon more Satires, which should suddenly be published if those passed, he implies that those then printed were the only ones that had seen the light, or had been submitted to men's judgment. But the satirist whom Greene mentions had already "vexed scholars with his sharp and bitter lines," and they had "reproved his too much liberty of speech." "Young Juvenal" had attacked individuals, and Greene advises him to do so no more. Lodge had

never done so. Even after 1595 Lodge was never called "Juvenal." His Satires fell flat, and the world never asked him to publish the store which he had in reserve, or to print a new edition of those he had given forth. Two years after A Fig for Momus, Hall published the first three books of his Satires, and in his prologue, oblivious of Lodge, claimed to be the first writer of this kind:

"I first adventure, follow me who list, And be the second English satirist."

In the controversy about priority between Hall and Marston, no one ever thought of pleading Lodge's indubitable first claim. Perhaps the title of Juvenal, except in irony, would have been the last to be conceded by his contemporaries to this sweet pastoral poet, indifferent satirist, and still less commendable playwriter.

Young Juvenal then is not Lodge. Is he Nash?

Nash's age and appearance fit well. He was born in November, 1567. He was 7 years younger than Greene, and wanted some two months of 25 years when Greene's letter was written. He was a beardless youth, with a shaggy head of hair, if we may credit his portrait in *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, where however his open mouth and "lips ugly wrested" might, on a too

slight inspection, be mistaken for a hungry beard.

Nash also was a "biting satirist," who since 1589 had been sowing his pasquinades broad-cast, and had already "vexed scholars with his sharp and bitter lines." He had begun writing as Greene's coadjutor, with a preface to Menaphon, in which whole classes of the writers of the time were treated with much disdain. The attack was followed up the same year in his Anatomy of Absurdity. The Puritans, their favourers, and all who wished to give them a fair hearing, were attacked with wit, malice, buffoonery, and venom in The Countercuffe, 1589, The Return of the Renowned Cavaliero, Pasquil of England, 1859, Martin's Month's Mind, 1589, Pasquil's Apology, 1590, An Almond for a Parrott, The personal war with the Harveys was already begun in the Wonderful Strange Astrological Prognostication, 1591. Pierce Penniless, 1592, is subsequent to Greene's death, for Nash tells us that he had intended to print an epistle "to the ghost of Robert Greene" in the first edition of it, had not the fear of infection detained him with his Lord (Whitgift) in the country (at Croydon). Here was abundant material for calling Nash

¹ He is also spoken of as beardless in Harvey's text: and in it (further back, I think) there are two satirical lines on his want and its cause.—B. Nicholson.

"Young Juvenal." He had already christened himself the Pasquil of England; and "Juvenal," if I remember rightly, was the name

given him by Meres in 1598.

It remains to show that Nash and Greene had probably written a comedy together shortly before September, 1592. That Greene joined Nash, Lily, and perhaps Kempe in writing the Anti-Martinist plays and pamphlets we have this evidence, among much more to the same purpose. Nash, in his Strange News, 1592, explains why Greene attacked the Harvey family in his Quip for an Upstart Courtier. He says that Richard Harvey, in his Percival the Peacemaker, took upon him to play "jack of both sides twixt Martin and us," and snarled at Lily and Nash himself; and afterwards in his Lamb of God reviled Nash and Lily, and "mistermed all our other poets and writers about town 'piperly make-plays and make-bates.'" Then, Greene, "being chief agent for the company," canvassed Harvey and his brothers in the work mentioned above. This shows that Greene was one of those who wrote the plays and pasquinades against Martin, and that they were a company, and wrote in common. Hence it is more than probable that Greene and Nash together wrote one or more of those multitudinous comedies, referred to by Lily in Pap with a Hatchet, and Nash in his Martin's Month's Mind, and Pasquil's Return, some of which only were acted, and those so violent that the children of Paul's were inhibited from acting before October, 1589, and a strict censorship set up over all other companies of actors a month later. But the company's business was not over with this inhibition; nor did the controversy with the Puritans altogether forsake the stage. In 1592 we find it still going on. Early in that year, Lord Strange's company brought out a new play, or rather an old one re-written, A Knack to know a Knave, a "moral" similar to Greene and Nash's Looking-glass, consisting of an historical over-plot-in which Edgar stands for Queen Elizabeth, and Dunstan for Whitgift, where Dunstan is treated much as Bacon is treated in Greene's Friar Bacon,—and a satirical underplot, in which the puritanical clerical knave comes in for the chief lashing. A careful perusal will show many scenes written by a euphuistic poet like Greene, and many others, pervaded with the gibing spirit of Nash. I should be loth to affirm that this is the comedy actually referred to by Greene in his letter to the play-writers, but it seems to me to be much more likely to be the play "lastly" written by him and "Young Juvenal" together, than the Looking glass for London is; tecause for other reasons Lodge, the joint-author of the latter play, cannot be the "Young Juvenal" of the letter.

There is only one other point to notice; it is Malone's argument, that because some contemporaries supposed the letter to be Nash's and not Greene's, therefore Nash could not be one of the persons to whom it was addressed. But surely these readers may have been either careless readers who had failed to notice the two short sentences in which Nash is described, or wary readers who thought that Nash, when he wrote in Greene's name, not impoliticly addressed the letter to himself, in order to put guessers off the true scent, and to suggest to them the very same false argument which took in so good a critic as Malone.

Mr Staunton says that he has "evidence" that Nash and not Lodge is the person intended. If he has any new facts bearing on the point, "I take it there is but two ways, either to utter them or to conceal them." For myself, what I have adduced convinces me that Lodge certainly was not, and Nash almost as certainly was, the person addressed by Greene as "Young

Juvenal."

II.—The second point is, whether Chettle refers to Shakspere in the apology for the *Groatsworth of Wit*. In the Epistle to the Gentlemen readers prefixed to *Kind Heart's Dream*, Chettle says,

"About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers' hands; among other, his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter written to divers playmakers is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceits a living author; and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. . . . With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be: the other whom at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had. . . . I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes: besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

Mr Staunton bows to the general consent which identifies the first of these two with Marlowe, but not to the equal unanimity which identifies the other with Shakspere. For, he remarks, Chettle expressly says that Greene's letter was written to divers playmakers and by one or two of them offensively taken. Now the letter was not written to Shakspere, but against him.

This is true, and if Chettle wrote with unerring accuracy and with classical refinement he would not have confounded the "ad"

and "in." As the epigrammatist says :-

In libris tria verba meis celebrantur; ad, in, de:
1)e docet; Ad dignos laudat; et In lacerat.

Greene wrote ad, to Marlowe, "Young Juvenal", and Peele, and in, against Shakspere. Chettle, if he had been writing with the forethought and care with which a lawyer makes a will, should

have said that Greene's letter was to divers playmakers and against another. But in common and less fastidious speech the first phrase "to divers" would comprehend the second, and would point out all the persons aimed at in the letter. A Frenchman would say that the letter was directed to Shakspere as much as to the others: "Ce trait malin est allé à son adresse." The argument, therefore, which builds so much on Chettle's use of the word "to" is entirely unsafe. The assumption of such a prudish precision in him is a precarious hypothesis.

The application of Chettle's words to Shakspere should be rather tested by facts, than by grammatical niceties. First, we may examine it thus. Greene addresses (so to say) four persons, and says something characteristic of all four. Two of them take offence, and Chettle apologises; the apology ought naturally to fit the offensive remarks. We may see for whom the apology is meant, by finding out to whom Greene addressed the insults

which it retracts.

The four objects of Greene were: 1. Marlowe; 2. "Young Juvenal" (either Lodge or Nash); 3. Peele; 4. Shakspere. The first three he extols, but with some mixture of blame. Marlowe, though the famous gracer of tragedians, had said in his heart there is no God; had an excellent wit, but gave no glory to the Giver; studied Machiavelli, and was a disciple of his political liberty.

"Young Juvenal" was a biting satirist, who made enemies by bitter words addressed to persons not to characters, and who "had vexed scholars with bitter lines," and had in turn been re-

proved for his too much liberty of speech.

Peele was no less deserving than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferior. He had but one fault, he wrote for the common players, and thereby was worthy of the extreme shifts to which he was driven.

All these three in common were also warned against profane

oaths, drunkenness, lust, and epicurean flatterers.

Shakspere is described as an upstart crow "beautified with our feathers" (by which I believe Greene meant simply an actor who had assumed the part of an author, but which Chettle and others understood as implying a charge of dishonest appropriation of other men's compositions), "a tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide" (a ferocious ruffian)—one who supposed himself as well able to bombast out a blank verse as Marlowe himself; an absolute Johannes factorum; in his own conceit the only Shakescene in a country; and one who, by favour of his fellows the players, those apes, rude grooms, buckram gentlemen, peasants,

and despicable painted monsters, had already supplanted Greene in his calling of playwriter, and would soon supplant Marlowe, Peele, and "Young Juvenal" also, unless they were beforehand with him, and forsook the trade.

Chettle's apology is made to two of these four persons. To Marlowe he can say no more than this: that he does not desire his acquaintance; that he reverences his learning; that he hopes he will use him no worse than he deserves; and that he did greatly mitigate Greene's charges against him. To the other he apologises by bearing witness to his "civil demeanour," his "excellence in the quality he professes," his "honesty and uprightness of dealing," his "facetious grace in writing," and his "art." These are exactly the points which Greene had assailed in Shakspere, but had not touched in the cases of "Young Juvenal" and Peele. If Chettle, therefore, dealt out his retractation with any view whatever to the imputations he was retracting, he must have

meant Shakspere, and neither of the others.

Again, if this apology was not addressed to Shakspere, it must have been meant either for Peele, or Lodge, or Nash. No one has ever suggested that Peele took offence; nor indeed had he reason to be offended. It could not have been Lodge, because Chettle within three months of Greene's death, September 3, 1592, had become acquainted with the man, had witnessed his civil demeanour and his excellent carriage in his profession. at Christmas, 1592, Lodge was in the Straits of Magellan. Staunton thinks that it was Nash; but there are several reasons against this. First, Chettle says that the two who took offence, because they could not be revenged on a dead man, wilfully forged a living author; and having tossed it to and fro, having thrown suspicion first on one, then another, at last they fixed on Chettle. In reply to this, he ends his apology by protesting that "it was all Greene's, not mine, nor Master Nash's, as some unjustly have affirmed." This clearly means that the two who took offence in tossing the imputed authorship to and fro, had first fixed on Nash, and then on Chettle. Nash, then, cannot have been one of those two.

But though he was not one of these two offended persons, Nash did take offence at Greene's posthumous pamphlet, or rather, perhaps, at the report that it was his. "Other news I am advertised of," he writes in an Epistle prefixed to the second edition of Pierce Penniless, "that a scald, trivial, lying pamphlet called Greene's Groatsworth of Wit is given out to be of my doing. God never have care of my soul, but utterly renounce me, if the least word or syllable in it proceeded from my pen, or if I were

in any way privy to the writing or printing of it." He was evidently sore that Marlowe and the other [Shakspere] should have attributed the pamphlet to him, and in his vexation he called it "scald, trivial, lying." "Possibly," observes Mr Collier, "one of the lying portions of it, in the opinion of Nash, was that in which an attack was made upon Shakspere." Dyce is surprised at this remark, because Nash was in the same fellowship of playwrights, and must have shared Greene's jealousy and fear of Shakspere. But, he adds, Nash's offence at the pamphlet resulted from his view "of the probable consequences of such a publication to himself: he was vexed and irritated because its disclosures concerning men with whom he was well known to have associated -the dead Greene and the still-living Marlowe-had a strong tendency to injure his own character; and he boldly pronounced it to be a 'lying pamphlet,' in the hope of shaking its credit with the world," Dyce's observation gains much force from the fact, unknown to him, that at this time, in the autumn of 1592, Nash was the guest of Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon, whither the household had retired for fear of the plague, and that as the official antagonist of Martin Marprelate, he had to keep up such a character as would not disgrace his clerical employers.

A second reason why this "other," to whom Chettle apologises, cannot be Nash, is this. The person was evidently an anonymous writer, none of whose compositions had as yet been published; so Chettle, instead of referring to his books as showing his skill, only brings forward the witness of sundry gentlemen who "reported his facetious grace in writing." Now Nash, as I have shown, had already published a whole series of works. Shakspere had published nothing, and his authorship of his plays

was only known within a very narrow circle.

A third reason is, that Chettle had seen this man's "excellence in the quality he professed." The man professed some calling which obliged him to make a personal exhibition of himself—such as preaching, pleading, or acting. Shakspere was an actor. I never heard that Nash was either actor, advocate, or preacher.

A fourth is this; Chettle, at the time of the publication of Greene's letter, was not acquainted with either of the two to whom he afterwards apologised. But he seems to have been acquainted with Nash. Greene reproves Nash for vexing scholars with bitter lines. Chettle in his apology protests that he has, all the time of his conversing with printing, hindered the bitter inveighing against scholars; and in 1596 he signs himself, in a letter to Nash, "your old compositor." It seems as if Chettle had set up some of Nash's satirical works, and had induced him

to mitigate their gall. The very title page of Kind Heart's Dream bears witness to the familiarity between Chettle and Piers Penniless or Nash.

In the fifth place, the gentlemen who reported to Chettle on the honesty and art of the "other," are much more likely to have been the patrons of the stage where Shakspere acted, or the private friends among whom his Sonnets circulated, than the reverend circle of Archbishop Whitgift's family at Croydon, among whom Nash's patrons were then to be sought.

I do not claim very great weight for these last four arguments taken separately; but their converging conclusions go to reinforce the peremptory conclusion of the first argument, that the "other" (besides Marlowe) to whom Chettle apologised, was not Nash,

but Shakspere.

No doubt Mr Staunton has started a difficulty which deserved investigation, but investigation dissolves the mist which he has raised; and he has not established the faintest pretence for asking the New Shakspere Society to refrain from publishing Chettle's Kind Heart's Dream as a book containing a manifest and indubitable allusion to Shakspere.

III. MARLOWE, GREENE, AND SHAKSPERE.

From the passage above it appears that Marlowe and Shakspere, having been insulted in common by the publication, took prevailing action against it. Chettle says of them, that "because on the dead they could not be avenged, they wilfully forged in their conceits a living author; and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me." In this "tossing to and fro" it appears that at one time they fixed upon Nash as the author; he therefore protests that "it was all Greene's, not mine, nor

Master Nash's, as some unjustly have affirmed."

Shakspere and Marlowe thus acting together, and fixing upon Nash as their common enemy, is somewhat inconsistent with the prevailing idea which classes together Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Lodge, and Nash, as the confraternity of University wits, more or less in hostility to the interloper Shakspere. The idea is founded on this letter of Greene's, which has been accepted without making allowances for the ingrained falsehood of the man. Greene gives us to understand that he and Marlowe were great friends; yet in addressing Marlowe he makes against him the vilest insinuations; and those which we can now read are little in comparison with those which the manuscript, probably, contained.

At the perusing of Greene's book, says Chettle, I "stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ [concerning Marlowe], or, had it beene true, yet to publish it was intolerable."

Greene had alluded to Marlowe in previous writings, but always in the same spirit. In the Epistle prefixed to his *Perimedes* (1588) he tells how a play of his had been scorned "for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the fa-burden of Bowbell, daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlaine, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the sun." Marlowe, we know by Harvey's sonnets, was known by the name of Tamburlaine, just as Shakspere was called by the name of his most popular character, and was written of by the Countess of Southampton, and

by Sir Edwin Sandys, as Sir John Falstaff.1

Again, in his Farewell to Folly, 1591, Greene tells his University readers that his Mourning Garment had so ready a sale that the pedlar "found them too dear for his pack, and was fain to bargain for the life of Tamburlaine to wrap up his sweet powders in those unsavoury papers." And when he employed Nash, then just returned from a three years' absence, to criticize his contemporaries in the Epistle prefixed to Menaphon in 1589, he made Nash cite, not Marlowe, to whom common consent gave the palm, but Peele, as "the chief supporter of pleasaunce now living, the Atlas of poetry, and primus verborum artifex" with a "pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold variety of invention, wherein (me judice) he goeth a step beyond all that write."

The impression, then, that Greene seems to wish to make, that he had been an intimate friend and comrade of Marlowe, appears to be untrue. On the contrary, in the heyday of Marlowe's success in 1588-91, Greene was as jealous of him as he was

of Shakspere in 1592, and for a similar reason.

On the other hand, I know of no evidence, beyond Greene's malicious insinuation, of any unfriendly rivalry between Shakspere and Marlowe. Marlowe, I believe, is one of the two contemporary poets to whom Shakspere directly refers in any of his plays, and then his allusion is anything but unfriendly:—

Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might, 'He never loved that loved not at first sight.'

¹ See Historical MSS. Commission, 3rd Report, p. 148, and Sir Edwin Sandys letters—a volume published in the middle of the 17th century; I have mislaid the reference. Of course I assume Marlowe to be the author of Tamburlaine; the indirect evidence is abundant; the chief direct evidence hitherto relied on has been proved to be a forgery.

That there was a rivalry may be surmised from this; that in 1593 they were both occupied in writing amatory poems; Shakspere with his Venus and Adonis, Marlowe with his Hero and Leander. If this rivalry was friendly, whatever there may be in common between Marlowe and Shakspere in the 3 parts of Henry VI. is not to be imputed, on Greene's word, to dishonest pilfering on the part of Shakspere—a charge from which Chettle's apology ought to bear him free,—but rather to the co-operation not unusual among dramatists. Dyce has pointed out some verbal parallelisms of Marlowe's Edward II. with the 1st part of the Contention, and the True Tragedy. The very structure of Edward II. seems to bear witness to the counsel and aid of Shakspere, just as the construction of Ben Jonson's Sejanus, as compared with his Catiline, may bear witness to the co-operation of some "second pen" whose contributions Ben erased, preferring "to put weaker, and no doubt less pleasing, of mine own, than to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed usurpation." A play brought out by the same company (that of Lord Pembroke), and about the same time with Edward II., is The taming of a Shrew. Marlowe's share in this only fails of proof through the abundance of internal evidence. There are whole passages of three and four lines each verbally transcribed from Marlowe's plays. That an author should so closely repeat himself is unusual; but that any one should so openly plagiarize from the works of a living or recently deceased writer universally known, and where detection would be certain, is next to incredible, except perhaps on the hypothesis that Shakspere might have written the comedy, with its Marlowesque turgidity in the more serious parts, in order to show what manner of writer he would be, if, as had been said of him, he was a mere plagiarist from Marlowe; just as he seems to have published Locrine in 1595 (it was entered in the Stationers' books, July 20, 1594) "newly set forth, overseene and corrected by W. S.,"—an old play, written, according to Sir George Buck, by Charles Tylney, who was executed for treason in Sept. 1586,—with interpolations from Peele (pointed out by Dyce), and imitations from Greene, and perhaps from Marlowe. Either, it seems to me, we must accept the hypothesis that these two plays are an ironical answer to Greene's charges, showing the difference of the new school of Comedy and Tragedy from the old, which the author was accused of plagiarizing from; or else, if we think, as most of us do think, that Shakspere must have had a hand in the old Taming of a Shrew, we must assign to him as a partner in writing it, either Marlowe himself, or one of his direct imitators and scholars.

Again, when Greene reproaches Marlowe as being a defender of liberty, which Greene chooses to designate as being the doctrine of Machiavelli, and Bame as atheism (see Bame on Marlowe's opinions, Harleian MS. 6853, fol. 320, printed by Dyce), it is doubtful whether by liberty he meant anything more than toleration, as understood by those whom the men in power chose to designate politiques; who considered that the State ought to act for the good of the State, not in the interests of the Church; and that useful citizens should not be burned or subjected to penal laws, because they happened to differ in religion from their sovereign. or the majority of their fellow-subjects. This is probably the tenet of Marlowe which Greene describes as teaching that it is "lawful, fas et nefas, to do anything that is beneficial." That is, that the general prosperity of the country ought to be aimed at, without attending to the bloodthirsty demands of Whitgift and the clergy, who held that the first thing was, fas aut nefas, to reduce the people to unity of belief, and to suppress with equal weight both Puritans and Papists. If this was the charge against Marlowe, it is no prejudice against the probability of an intimate sympathy between him and Shakspere. That Marlowe was really as much opposed to Machiavelli's reputed teaching as Greene himself may be seen from his prologue to the Jew of Malta, where he confesses that Barabas is meant for the maligned philosopher.

Two of the matters I have advanced are facts that can hardly be controverted: the co-operation of Marlowe and Shakspere in investigating the authorship of the *Groats-worth of Wit*, and Shakspere's sympathetic mention of the dead poet in As You Like It. The rest is hypothesis, which I put forward for the purpose of

further inquiry, not as propositions already proved.

R. SIMPSON.

GREENS, Groats-worth of Wit,

bought with a Million of

Repentaunce.

Describing the follie of youth, the falshoode of makeshift flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes of deceiuing Courtezans.

VVritten before before his death, and published at his dying request.

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.



LONDON,

Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Oliue, dwelling in long long Lane, and are there to be solde. 1596.





THE PRINTER TO

the Gentle Readers.



Haue published heere, Gentlemen, for your mirth and benefit, *Greenes* groateswoorth of wit. With sun- 4 dry of his pleasant discourses, ye haue beene before

delighted: But now hath death giuen a period to his pen; onely this happened into my hands, which I haue published for your pleasures: Accept it fauourably because it was his last 8 birth, and not least worth, in my poore opinion. But I will cease to praise that which is aboue my conceit, and leaue it *felse to speake for it selse: and so abide your learned censuring.

Yours, VV: VV.



TO THE GEN-

tlemen Readers

Entlemen. The Swan fings melodioully before death, that in all his life time vieth but a jarring found. Greene, though able inough to write, yet deeplyer fearched with ficknesse then euer heretofore, sendes you his Swanne-like fong, for that he feares he shal neuer againe carroll 8 to you woonted loue layes, neuer againe discouer to you youths pleasures. How euer yet sicknesse, riot, incontinence, haue at once shown their extremitie, yet, if I recouer, you shall all see more fresh springs then euer sprang from me, directing you how 12 to liue, yet not diffwading you from loue. This is the last I haue writ; and I feare me, the last I shall write. And how euer I have been cenfured for fome of my former bookes, yet Gentlemen I protest, they were as I had special information. 16 passing them, I commend this to your fauourable censures; and like an Embrion without shape, I feare me [t] will bee thrust into the world. If I liue to ende it, it shall be otherwise: if not, yet will I commend it to your courtesses, that you may as wel be acquainted with my repentant death, as you have lamented my careleffe course of life. But as Nemo ante obitum felix, so Acta Exitus probat: Beseeching therefore to bee deemed hereof as I deserve, I leave the worke to your likings, and leave you 4 to your delights.

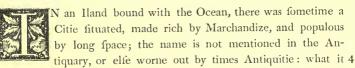
1 Orig. Exiitus.







GREENES Groatsworth of wit.



was, it greatly skilles not: but therein thus it happened. An old new made Gentleman herein dwelt, of no small credit, exceeding wealth, and large conscience: he had gathered from many to bestowe vpon one; for though he had two sonnes, he esteemed but one, that, being 8 as himselfe, brought vp to be goldes bondman, was therefore held heire apparent of his ill gathered goods.

The other was a Scholler, and maried to a proper Gentlewoman, and therefore least regarded; for tis an olde said saw: To learning and 12 law, ther's no greater foe, then they that nothing know: yet was not the father altogether vulettered, for he had good experience in a Nouerint, and by the vniuersall tearmes therein contained, had driuen many gentlewomen to seeke vnknowen countries: wise he was, for he 16 boare office in his parish, and sate as formally in his fox-surd gowne, as if he had beene a very vpright dealing Burges: he was religious too, neuer without a booke at his belt, and a bolt in his mouth, ready to shoote through his sinfull neighbor

And Latin he had fome where learned, which, though it were but little, yet was it profitable, for he had this Philosophie written in a ring, Tu tibi cura, which precept he curiously observed, being in selfeloue so religious, as he held it no point of charitie to part with 24 any thing, of which he, living, might make vse.

But as all mortall things are momentarie, and no certaintie can bee founde in this vncertaine world, fo *Gorinius*, (for that shall be this Usurers name) after many a goutie pang that had pincht his exterior 4 parts, many a curse of the people that mounted into heauens presence, was at last with his last summons, by a deadly disease arrested; whereagainst when hee had long contended, and was by Phisitions giuen ouer, hee cald his two sonnes before him: and willing to performe 8 the olde prouerbe, *Qualis vita*, *sinis Ita*, hee thus prepared himselfe, and admonished them.

My fonnes, (for fo your mother faide ye were) and fo I affure my felfe one of you is, and of the other I wil make no doubt. 12 You fee the time is come, which I thought would neuer haue aproached, and we must now be seperated, I seare neuer to meete againe. This fixteene yeares daily haue I liued vexed with difeafe: and might I liue fixteene more, how euer miserably, I should thinke 16 it happie. But death is relentlesse, and will not be intreated witlesse: and knowes not what good my gold might do him: fenfeleffe, & hath no pleasure in the delightfull places I would offer him. In breefe, I thinke he hath, with this foole my eldeft fonne, beene brought 20 vp in the vniuerfitie, and therefore accounts that in riches is no vertue. But you my fonne, (laying then his hand on the yongers head) haue thou another spirit: for without wealth, life is a death: what is gentry, if wealth be wanting, but base seruile beggerie? Some comfort yet it 24 is vnto me, to fee how many gallants sprung of noble parents, haue croucht to Gorinius to have fight of his gold: O gold, defired gold, admired golde! and haue loft their patrimonies to Gorinius, because they have not returned by their day that adored creature! How 28 many fchollers have written rimes in Gorinius praife, and received (after long capping and reuerence) a fixpeny reward in figne of my superficiall liberalitie. Breefely, my yong Lucanio, how I haue bin reuerenst, thou feest, when honester men, I confesse, haue beene set 32 farre off: for to be rich is to be any thing, wife, honest, worshipfull, or what not? I tell thee my fonne: when I came first to this Cittie, my whole wardrop was onely a fute of white sheepe skins, my wealth an olde Groate, my woonning, the wide world. At this inftant (O 36 greefe to part with it) I have in readic coyne threefcore thousand

pound; in plate and Iewels, xv. thousand; in bonds and specialties, as much; in land, nine hundred pound by the yeere: all which, *Lucanio*, I bequeath to thee; onely I reserve for *Roberto* thy well red brother, an olde Groate, (being the stocke I first began with,) wherewith I 4 wish him to buy a groatsworth of wit: for he in my life hath reprodued my maner of life, and therefore at my death, shall not bee contaminated with corrupt gaine.

Heere by the way, Gentlemen, must I disgresse to show the reason 8 of Gorinius present speech: Roberto being come from the Academie, to visit his father, there was a great feast prouided: where for table talke, Roberto, knowing his father and most of the companie to be execrable vsurers, inuayed mightily against that abhorred vice, inso-12 much that he vrged teares from divers of their eyes, and compunction in some of their hearts. Dinner being past, hee comes to his father, requesting him to take no offence at his liberall speech, seeing what he had vttered was truth. Angrie sonne (saide he) no, by my hon-16 city, (& that is somwhat, I may say to you) but vse it still, and if thou canst perswade any of my neighbours from lending vppon vsurie, I should have the more customers: to which when Roberto would have replied, he shut himselfe into his studie, and fell to telling over 20 his money.

This was Robertos offence: nowe returne we to ficke Gorinius, who, after he had thus vnequally diffributed his goods and poffeffions, began to aske his fons how they liked his bequestes: either seemed 24 agreed, and Roberto vrged him with nothing more then repentance of his fin: loke to thine owne, said he, fond boy, and come my Lucanio, let me giue thee good counsel before my death: as for you, fir, your bookes are your counsellors, and therefore to them I bequeath 28 you. Ah Lucanio, my onely comfort, because I hope thou wilt, as thy father, be a gatherer, let me blesse thee before I die. Multiply in wealth, my sonne, by anie meanes thou maist; onely slie Alchymie, for therein are more deceites then her beggerly Artistes haue wordes; 32 and yet are the wretches more talkatiue then women. But my meaning is, thou shouldest not stand on conscience in causes of profite, but heape treasure vppon treasure, for the time of neede: yet seeme to be deuout, else shalt thou be held vile: frequent holy excercises, 36

grate companie, and aboue all, vie the conversation of yong Gentlemen, who are so wedded to prodigalitie, that once in a quarter necessity knocks at their chamber doores: profer them kindnesse to 4 relieue their wants, but be sure of good assurance: give faire words till dayes of payment come, and then vie my course, spare none: what though they tell of conscience, (as a number will talke) looke but into the dealings of the world, & thou shalt see it is but idle words. 8 Seess thou not many perish in the streetes, and fall to thest for neede, whom small succor would releeue: then where is conscience, and why art thou bound to vie it more then other men? Seess thou not daily forgeries, periuries, oppressions, rackings of the poore, raysing of 12 rents, inhauncing of duties, even by them that shuld be all conscience, if they meant as they speake: but Lucanio, if thou reade well this booke (and with that hee reacht him Machiauels works at large), thou

shalt fee what it is to be so foole-holy, as to make scruple of con-

16 science, where profit presents it selfe.

Besides, thou hast an instance by thy threed-bare brother heere, who, willing to do no wrong, hath loft his childs right: for who would wish any thing to him, that knowes not how to vse it? So much, Lucanio, for conscience: and yet I knowe not whats the reason, but somewhat stings mee inwardly when I speake of it. father, faid Roberto, it is the worme of confcience, that vrges you at the last houre to remember your life, that eternall life may follow 24 your repentance. Out foole (faid this miferable father) I feele it now, it was onely a stitch. I will forward with my exhortation to Lucanio. As I faide, my fonne, make spoyle of yong gallants by infinuating thy felfe amongst them; and be not mooued to think their Auncestors 28 were famous, but confider thine were obscure, and that thy father was the first Gentleman of the name. Lucanio, thou art yet a Bacheler, and fo keepe thee, till thou meete with one that is thy equall, I meane in wealth: regard not beautie, it is but a baite to 32 entice thine neighbors eie: and the most faire are commonly most fond: vse not too many familiars, for few prooue friends; and as easie it is to weigh the wind, as to dive into the thoughts of worldly glosers. I tell thee, Lucanio, I have feene foure fcore winters befides the odde 36 feauen, yet faw I neuer him that I esteemed as my friend, but gold, that defired creature, whom I have deerely loued, and found fo firme a friend, as nothing, to me having it, hat hbeene wanting. No man but may thinke deerely of a true friend, and fo doe I of it, laying it vnder fure locks, and lodging my heart therwith.

But now (Ah my Lucanio) now must I leave it; and to thee I leaue it with this lesson, loue none but thy selfe, if thou wilt liue efteemed. So turning him to his fludy, where his chiefe treasure lay, he loud cried out in the wife mans words, O mors quam amara, O 8 death how bitter is thy memorie to him that hath al pleafures in this life; and fo with two or three lamentable groanes he left his life: and to make fhort worke, was by Lucanio his fonne enterd, as the custome is, with fome folemnitie: But leaving him that hath left the world, 12 to him that 1 cenfureth of every worldly man, passe we to his sons: and fee how his long laied by flore is by Lucanio looked into. The youth was of condition fimple, shamefast, and flexible to any counsaile, which Roberto perceiuing, and pondering how little was left to him, 16 grew into an inward contempt of his fathers vnequall legacie, and determinate refolution to worke Lucanio al possible iniurie: herevpon, thus converting the fweetnesse of his studie to the sharpe thirst of reuenge, he (as Enuie is feldome idle) fought out fit companions 20 to effect his vnbrotherly resolution. Neither in such a case is ill companie farre to feeke, for the Sea hath fcarce fo [many] ieoperdies, as populous Citties haue deceiuing Syrens, whose eies are Adamants, whose worldles are witchcrafts, whose doores leade downe to death. With one 24 of these female Serpents Roberto consorts, and they conclude, what ever they compassed, equally to share to their contentes. This match made, Lucanio was by his brother brought to the bush, where he had fcarce pruned his wings, but hee was fast limed, and Roberto had what 28 he expected. But that we may keepe forme, you shall heare how it fortuned.

Lucanio being on a time very penfine, his brother brake with him in these tearmes: I wonder, Lucanio, why you are so disconsolate, 32 that want not any thing in the world that may worke your content. If wealth may delight a man, you are with that sufficiently furnisht: if credit may procure a man any comfort, your word, I knowe well, is

as well accepted as any mans obligation: in this Citie are faire buildings and pleafant gardens, and cause of solace; of them I am affured you haue your choyse. Confider, brother, you are yong; then plod not 4 altogether in meditating on our fathers precepts: which, howfoeuer they fauoured of profit, were most vnfauerly, to one of your yeeres applied. You must not thinke but certaine Marchants of this Citie expect your company, fundry Gentlemen defire your familiaritie, and 8 by converfing with fuch, you will be accounted a Gentleman: otherwife a pefant, if ye liue thus obscurely. Befides, which I had almost forgot, and then had all the reft beene nothing, you are a man by nature furnished with all exquisite proportion, worthy the loue of any 12 courtly Ladie, be fhe neuer fo amorous: you have wealth to maintaine her, of women not little longed for: wordes to court her you shall not want, for my selfe will be your secretary. Brieflie, why ftande I to diftinguish abilitie in perticularities, when in one word it may 16 bee fayde, which no man can gainfay, Lucanio lacketh nothing to delight a wife, nor any thing but a wife to delight him? My young maister beeing thus clawde, and pust vp with his owne prayse, made no longer delay, but having on his holyday hofe, he tricked himfelfe 20 vp, and like a fellowe that meant good footh, hee clapped his Brother on the Shoulder, and fayde: Faith, Brother Roberto, and yee fay the worde, lets go feeke a wife while it is hote, both of vs togither, Ile pay well, and I dare turne you loose to say as well as anye of them all: 24 well Ile doe my best, said Roberto, and since ye are so forward, lets goe nowe and trie our good fortune.

With this, foorth they walke, and Roberto went directlie towarde the house where Lamilia (for so wee call the Curtezan) kept her 28 Hospitall, which was in the Suburbes of the Cittie, pleasauntly seated, and made more delectable by a pleasaunt Garden, wherein it was scituate. No sooner come they within ken, but Mistresse Lamilia like a cunning angler made readie her chaunge of baytes, that shee 32 might effect Lucanios bane: and to begin, shee discouered from her window her beauteous inticing face, and taking a lute in her hand that she might the rather allure, she sung this Sonnet with a delicious voice.

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Lamilias Song.

Fie fie on blind fancie, It hinders youths ioy: Faire virgins learne by me,

To count love a toy.

VVhen Loue learned first the ABC of delight,
And knew no figures, nor conceited phrase:
He simplie gaue to due desert her right,
He led not louers in darke winding wayes,

He plainly wild to love, or flatly answered no, But now who lists to prove, shall find it nothing so:

Fie fie then on fancie,
It hinders youths ioy,
Faire virgins learne by me,
To count love a toy.

For fince he learnd to vse the Poets pen, He learnd likewise with smoothing words to faine, VVitching chast eares with trothlesse toungs of men, And wronged faith with falshood and distaine.

He gives a promise now, anon he sweareth no, Who listeth for to prove, shall find his changings so:

> Fie fie then on fancie, It hinders youths 1 ioy, Faire virgins learne by me, To count love a toy.

While this painted fepulchre was shadowing her corrupting guilt, Hiena-like alluring to destruction, Roberto and Lucanio vnder the windowe, kept euen pace with euery stop of her instrument, but 28 especially my yoong Russler, (that before time like a bird in a cage, had beene prentise for three liues, or one and twentie yeeres at least; to extreame Auarice, his deceased father) O twas a world to see how he sometime simperd it, striuing to set a countenance on his turnd 32 face, that it might seeme of wainscot proofe, to beholde her sace without blusshing: anone hee would stroake his bowbent-leg, as though he went to shoote loue arrows from his shins: then wipte his chin (for 1 Orig. youth,

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his beard was not yet grown) with a gold wrought handkercher, whence of purpose he let fall a handfull of angels. This golden showre was no fooner rained, but Lamil[i]a ceast her fong, and Roberto (affuring 4 himselfe the foole was caught) came to Lucanio (that stoode now as one that had ftarde Medusa in the face) and awaked him from his amazement with these words: What, in a traunce, brother? whence fprings these dumps? are yee amazed at this obiect? or long ye to 8 become loues fubicct? Is there not difference betweene this delectable life, and the imprisonment you have all your life hitherto endured? If the fight and hearing of this harmonious beautie work in you effects of wonder, what will the poffession of so divine an 12 effence, wherein beautie and Art dwell in their perfecteft excellencie? Brother, faid Lucanio, lets vie few words, and she be no more then a woman, I trust youle helpe mee to her! and if you doe, well, I fay no more, but I am yours till death vs depart, and what is mine, shall 16 be yours, world without end, Amen.

Roberto, smiling at his simplenesse, helpt him to gather vp. his dropt golde, and without any more circumstance led him to Lamilias house: for of such places it may be said as of hell,

Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua ditis.

So their doores are euer open to entice youth to destruction. They were no sooner entred, but Lamilia her selfe, like a second Helen, court like begins to salute Roberto, yet did her wandring eie glance 24 often at Lucanio: the effect of her entertainment consisted in these tearmes, that to her simple house Signor Roberto was welcome, and his brother the better welcome for your sake: albeit his good report, consirmed by his present demeaner, were of it selfe enough to give 28 him deserved entertainement, in any place how honourable soeuer: mutuall thanks returned, they lead this prodigal childe into a Parlor garnished with goodly portratures of amiable personages: neere which an excellent consort of musicke began at their entrance to play.

32 Lamilia, seeing Lucanio shamesaft, tooke him by the hand, and tenderly wringing him, vsed these words: Beleeue me, Gentleman, I am

verie forie that our rude enter[tain] ment is fuch, as no way may worke your content: for this I have noted fince your first entering, that

your countenance hath beene heauie, and the face being the glasse of the heart, affures me the fame is not quiet: would ye wish any thing heere that might content you, fay but the word, and affure ye of present deliuerance to effect your full delight. Lucanio being so farre 4 in loue, as he perfwaded himselfe without her grant hee could not liue, had a good meaning to vtter his minde, but wanting fit wordes, hee ftoode like a trewant that lackt a prompter, or a plaier, that being out of his part at his first entrance, is faine to have the booke to 8 fpeake what he should performe. Which Roberto perceiuing, replied thus in his behalfe: Madame, the Sunnes brightnesse daisleth the beholders eies; the maiestie of Gods amazed humane men; Tullie, Prince of Orators, once fainted, though his caufe were good; and he 12 that tamed monfters, floode amated at beauties ornaments: Then blame not this yoong man though hee replied not, for he is blinded with the beautie of your funne-darkening eies, made mute with the celeftiall organe of your voyce, and feare of that rich ambush of 16 amber colored darts, whose pointes are levelde against his heart. Well, Signor Roberto faide shee, how euer you interpret their sharpe leuell, be fure they are not bent to doe him hurt; and but that modeftie blinds vs poore Maidens from vttering the inwarde forrowe of our 20 mindes, perchaunce the cause of greefe is ours, how euer men do colour, for as I am a virgin, I protest, (and therewithall shee tainted her cheekes with a vermilion blush) I neuer sawe Gentleman in my life, in my eie, fo gratious as is Lucanio; onely that is my greefe, that 24 either I am despised, for that he scornes to speake, or else (which is my greater forrow) I feare he cannot speake. Not speake, Gentlewoman, quoth Lucanio? that were a least indeede! yes, I thanke God I am founde of winde and lim, onely my heart is not as it was woont: 28 but and you be as good as your word, that will foone be well, and fo crauing ye of more acquaintance, in token of my plaine meaning receive this diamond, which my olde father loued deerely: and with that deliuered her a Ring, wherein was a pointed 1 Diamond of won- 32 derfull worth. Which shee accepting with a lowe conge, returned him a filke Riband for a fauour, tyed with a truelouers knot, which he fastened vnder a faire Iewell on his Beuer felt. [1 Orig. a pointed a]

After this Diamedis & Glauci permutatio, my yoong master waxed 36

cranke, and the musicke continuing, was very forward in dauncing, to fhew his cunning: and fo defiring them to play on a hornepipe, laid on the pauement luftily with his leaden heeles, coruetting like a fteede 4 of Signor Roccoes teaching, and wanted nothing but bels, to bee a hobbyhorse in a morrice. Yet was he soothed in his folly; and what euer he did, Lamilia counted excellent: her praise made him proude, infomuch, that if he had not beene intreated, hee would rather haue 8 died in his daunce, then left off to shew his mistresse delight. At last reasonably perswaded, seeing the table furnished, he was contented to cease, and settle himselfe to his victuals, on which (hauing before labored) he fed luftily, especially of a Woodcocke pie, wherewith 12 Lamilia his caruer, plentifully plied him. Full difhes having furnisht emptie stomackes, and Lucanio thereby got leifure to talke, falles to difcourse of his wealth, his lands, his bonds, his abilitie, and how himfelfe, with all he had, was at Madame Lamilias disposing: defiring her 16 afore his brother, to tell him fimply what she meant. Lamilia replied: My fweet Lucanio, how I esteeme of thee, mine eies doe witnesse, that, like handmaides, have attended thy beautious face euer fince I first beheld thee: yet seeing loue that lasteth gathereth by 20 degrees his liking, let this for that fuffice: if I finde thee firme, Lamilia will be faithful: if fleeting, she must of necessitie be infortunate that, having neuer feene any whome before fhee could affect, fhee shoulde bee of him iniuriously forsaken. Nay, saide Lucanio, I 24 dare fay my brother here wil giue his word: for that I accept your own, faid Lamilia, for with me your credit is better then your Roberto brake off their amorous prattle with thefe speeches: Sith either of you are of other so fond at the first fight, I 28 doubt not but time will make your loue more firme. Yet, madaine Lamilia, although my brother and you be thus forward, some crosse chaunce may come: for Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labe. And for a warning to teach you both wit, Ile tell you an olde wives 32 tale.

Before ye go on with your tale (quoth mistresse Lamilia) let me giue ye a caueat by the way, which shall be figured in a Fable.

Lamiliaes Fable.

He Foxe on a time came to vifite the Gray, partly for kindered, cheefely for craft: and finding the hole emptie of all other companie, fauing onely one Badger, enquiring 4 the cause of his solitarinesse, he described the sodaine death

of his dam and fire, with the rest of his consorts. The Foxe made a Friday face, counterfeiting forrow: but concluding that deaths stroke was vneuitable, perfwaded him to feeke fome fit mate wherwith to 8 match. The Badger foone agreed, fo forth they went, and in their way met with a wanton ewe ftraggling from the fold: the Foxe bad the Badger play the tall strippling, and strout on his tiptoes: for (quoth he) this ewe is lady of all these lands, and her brother cheese belwea- 12 ther of fundrie flocks. To be flort, by the Foxes perswasion there would be a perpetuall league, betweene her harmeleffe kindred, and al other deuouring beafts, for that the Badger was to them all allied: feduced, fhee yeelded: and the Foxe conducted them to the Badgers 16 habitation. Where, drawing her afide vnder color of exhortation, pulde out her throate to fatiffie his greedie thirst. Here I should note, a yoong whelpe that viewed their walke, infourmed the shepheard of what hapned. They followed, and trained the Foxe and 20 Badger to the hole: the Foxe afore had craftily conuaied himfelf away; the shepheard found the Badger rauing for the ewes murther; his lamentation being helde for counterfet, was by the sheapheards dog wearied. The Foxe escaped: the ewe was spoiled; and euer fince, 24 betweene the Badgers and the dogges hath continued a mortall enmitie: And now be aduifed Roberto (quoth she) goe forward with your tale; feeke not by flie infinuation to turne our mirth to forrow. Go too Lamilia (quoth hee) you feare what I meane not, but how 28 euer ye take it, Ile forward with my tale.

Robertoes Tale.

N the North parts there dwelt an old Squier, that had a yong daughter his heire; who had (as I know, Madame 32 Lamilia, you haue had) many youthfull Gentlemen that long time fued to obtaine her loue. But flie, knowing her

owne perfection (as women are by nature proude), woulde not to any ALLUSION-BOOKS.

of them vouchsafe fauour: infomuch that they, perceiuing her relentleffe, shewed themselves not altogether witlesse, but left her to her fortune, when they founde her frowardnesse. At last it fortuned 4 among other strangers, a Farmers sonne visited her fathers house: on whom at the first fight shee was enamored, he likewise on hir. Tokens of loue past betweene them, either acquainted others parents of their choife, and they kindly gaue their confent. Short tale to 8 make, married they were, and great folemnitie was at the wedding feaft. A yong Gentleman, that had beene long a futer to her, vexing that the fonne of a farmer should be so preferred, cast in his minde by what meanes (to marre their merriment) he might iteale away the 12 Bride. Hereupon he confers with an old beldam, called mother Gunby, dwelling thereby; whose counsell having taken, he fell to his practife, and proceeded thus. In the after noone, when dauncers were very busie, he takes the Bride by the hand, and after a turne or 16 two, tels her in her eare, he had a fecret to impart vnto her, appointing her in any wife, in the euening to find a time to confer with him: fhe promifed fhe would, and fo they parted. Then goes he to the bridegroome, and with protestations of entire affect, protests that the 20 great forrow hee takes at that which he must vtter, wheron depended his especial credit, if it were knowne the matter by him should be discouered. After the bridegroomes promise of secrecie, the gentleman tels him, that a friend of his received that morning from y 24 bride a letter, wherin fhe willed him with fome fixteene horse to awaite her comming at a Parke fide, for that she detested him in her heart as a base country hinde, with whom her father compelled her to marrie. The bridegroome almost out of his wits, began to bite 28 his lippe. Nay, faith the Gentleman, if you will by me be aduifed, you shall faue her credit, win her by kindnes, and yet preuent her wanton complot. As how, faid the Bridegroome? Mary thus, faid the gentleman: In the euening (for till the guests be gone, she intends 32 not to gad) get you on horsebacke, and seeme to be of the companie that attends her comming: I am appointed to bring her from the house to the Parke, and from thence fetch a winding compasse of a mile about, but to turne vnto olde mother Gunbyes house, 36 where her louer, my friend, abides: when she alights, I wil

conduct her to a chamber far from his lodging, but when the lights are out, and fhe expects her adulterous copefinate, your felfe (as reason is) shall prooue her bedfellow, where privately you may reprooue her, and in the morning earely returne home without 4 trouble. As for the gentleman, my friend, I will excuse her absence to him, by faying, shee mockt thee with her maide in stead of her felfe, whom when I knew at her lighting, I distained to bring her vnto his presence. The Bridegroome gaue his hand it should be so. 8

Now by the way we must vnderstand, this mother Gunby had a daughter, who all that day sate heavily at home with a willow garland, for that the bridegroome (if he had dealt faithfully) should have wedded her before any other. But men (Lamilia) are vnconstant; 12 mony now a daies makes the match, or else the match is marde.

But to the matter: the bridegroome and the Gentleman thus agreed: he tooke his time, conferred with the bride, perfwaded her that her hufband (notwithftanding his faire flew at the marriage) had 16 fworne to his olde fweete heart, their neighbour *Gunbyes* daughter, to be that night her bedfellow: and if fle would bring her father, his father, and other friends to the house at midnight, they should finde it so.

At this the yong gentlewoman inwardly vext to be by a peafant fo abused, promised, if she sawe likelyhood of his slipping away, that then she would doe according as he directed.

All this thus forting, the old womans daughter was trickly attired, 24 ready to furnish this pageant, for her old mother prouided all things necessarie.

Well, Supper past, dauncing ended, all the guests would home; and the Bridegroome, pretending to bring some friend of his home, got 28 his horse, and to the Parke side he rode, and stayed with the horsemen that attended the Gentleman.

Anone came *Marian* like miftris Bride, and mounted behind the gentleman, away they post, fetch their compasse, & at last alight at 32 an olde wives house, where sodenly she is convaied to her chamber, & the bridegroome sent to keepe her company, where he had scarce devised how to begin his exhortation, but the sather of his bride knockt at the chamber doore. At which being somewhat amazed, 36

yet thinking to turne it to a least, fith his wife (as he thought) was in bed with him, hee opened the doore, faying: Father, you are heartily welcome, I wonder how you found vs out heere; this deuife 4 to remooue our felues, was with my wiues confent, that we might rest quietly without the Maids and Batchelers disturbing vs. But where is your wife, faid that gentleman? why, heere in bed, faid he. I thought (quoth the other) my daughter had beene your wife, for fure 8 I am to day shee was giuen you in marriage. You are merrily difposed, faid the Bridegroome: what, thinke you I have another wife? I thinke but as you speake, quoth the gentleman, for my daughter is below, & you fay your wife is in the bed. Below (faid he) you are a 12 merie man, and with that, casting on a night gowne, he went downe, where, when he faw his wife, the gentleman his father, and a number of his friends affembled, he was fo confounded, that how to behaue himselfe he knew not; onely hee cried out that he was deceived. At 16 this the olde woman arises, and making her felfe ignorant of al the whole matter, enquires the cause of that sodaine tumult. When she was tolde the new bridegroome was found in bed with her daughter, fhe exclaimed against so great an iniurie. Marian was called in 20 quorum: fhe iustified it was by his allurement: he, being condemned by al their confents, was judged vnworthy to haue the gentlewoman vnto his wife, & compelled (for escaping of punishment) to marrie Marian: and the yong Gentleman (for his care in discouering the 24 farmers fonnes lewdnes) was recompenft with the Gentlewomans euer [1 Orig. yt. during loue.

Quoth Lamilia, and what of this? Nay, nothing, faide Roberto, but that I have told you the effects of fodaine love: yet the beft is, 28 my brother is a maidenly batcheler; and for your felfe, you have not beene troubled with many futers. The fewer the better, faid Lucanio. But brother, I con you little thanke for this tale; hereafter I pray you vie other table talke. Lets then end talk, quoth Lamilia, and you 32 (fignor Lucanio) and I will goe to the Cheffe. To Cheffe, faid he, what meane you by that? It is a game, faid she, that the first danger is but a checke, the worst, the giving of a mate. Wel, faid Roberto, that game ye have beene at alreadie then, for you checkt him first 36 with your beauty, & gaue your felf for mate to him by your bountie.

That is wel taken, brother, faid *Lucanio*, fo haue we past our game at Chesse. Wil ye play at tables then, said she? I cannot, quoth he, for I can goe no furder with my game, if I be once taken. Will ye play then at cards? I, said he, if it be at one and thirtie. That sooles 4 game, said she? Weele all to hazard, said *Roberto*; and, brother, you shall make one for an houre or two: contented, quoth he. So to dice they went, and fortune so fauoured *Lucania*, that while they continued square play, he was no looser. Anone cosonage came about, 8 and his Angels being double winged, slew cleane from before him. *Lamilia* being the winner, prepared a banquet; which sinished, *Roberto* aduised his brother to depart home, and to surnish himselfe with more crowns, least he were outcrakt with new commers.

Lucania, loath to be out countenanft, followed his aduife, defiring to attend his returne, which he before had determined vnrequefted: for as foone as his brothers backe was turned, Roberto begins to reckon with Lamilia, to bee a fharer, as well in the mony deceitfully woonne, 16 as in the Diamond fo wilfully giuen. But she, secundum mores meretricis, iested thus with the scholler: Why Roberto, are you so well read, and yet flew your felfe fo shallow witted, to deeme women fo weake of conceit, that they fee not into mens demerites. Suppose 20 (to make you my stale to catch the woodcocke your brother) that my tongue ouerrunning mine intent, I spake of liberal rewarde: but what I promised, there is the point; at least, what I part with, I will be well aduised. It may be you wil thus reason: Had not Roberto 24 trained Lucanio vnto Lamilias lure, Lucanio had not now beene Lamilias pray: therfore, fith by 'Roberto she possesseth her prize, Roberto merites an equal part. Monftrous abfurd, if fo you reafon; as wel you may reason thus: Lamilias dog hath kilde her a deere, 28 therefore his mistris must make him a pastie. No, poore pennilesse Poet, thou art beguilde in me; and yet I wonder how thou couldest, thou haft beene fo often beguilde. But it fareth with licentious men, as with the chased bore in the streame, who, being greatly refreshed 32 with fwimming, neuer feeleth any fmart vntill he perifh, recurelefly wounded with his owne weapons. Reafonlesse Roberto, that having but a brokers place, asked a lenders reward. Faithlesse Roberto, that haft attempted to betray thy brother, irreligiously forsaken thy wife, 36

deferuedly beene in thy fathers eie an abiect: thinkest thou Lamilia fo loose, to consort with one so lewd? No, hypocrite, the sweete Gentleman thy brother, I will till death loue; and thee, while I liue, 4 loath. This share Lamilia gives thee; other gettest thou none.

As Roberto would have replied, Lucanio approched: to whom Lamilia discourst the whole deceit of his brother, & neuer rested intimating malitious arguments, till Lucanio vtterly resused Roberto 8 for his brother, and for ever forbad him of his house. And when he wold have yeelded reasons, and formed excuse, Lucanios impatience (vrged by her importunate malice) forbad all reasoning with them that was reasonlesse, and so, giving him Iacke Drums entertainment, 12 shut him out of doores: whom we will follow, and leave Lucanio to the mercie of Lamilia. Roberto, in an extreame extasse, rent his haire, curst his destinie, blamed his trecherie, but most of all exclaimed against Lamilia, and in her against all enticing Curtizans, in these 16 tearmes.

What meant the Poets to invective verse, To fing Medeas shame, and Scillas pride, Calipfoes charmes, by which fo many dide? Onely for this, their vices they rehearfe, 20 That curious wits which in this world converse, May shun the dangers and enticing shoes. Of fuch false Syrens, those home-breeding foes, That from their eies their venim do disperse. .24 So foone kils not the Bafiliske with fight, The Vipers tooth is not fo venemous, The Adders tung not halfe fo dangerous, As they that beare the shadow of delight, 28 Who chaine blinde youths in tramels of their haire, Till wast bring woe, and forrow hast despaire.

With this he laide his head on his hand, and leant his elbow on the 32 ground, fighing out fadly,

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis!

On the other fide of the hedge fate one that heard his forrow, who

getting ouer, came towards him, and brake off his paffion. When he approched, he faluted *Roberto* in this fort:

Gentleman, quoth hee, (for fo you feeme) I haue by chaunce heard you discourse some part of your greese; which appeareth to be more 4 then you will discouer, or I can conceipt. But if you vouchsafe such simple comfort as my abilitie will yeeld, assure your felse, that I will endeuour to doe the best, that either may procure your profit, or bring you pleasure: the rather, for that I suppose you are a scholler; 8 and pittie it is men of learning should liue in lacke.

Roberto wondring to heare fuch good words, for that this iron age affoordes few that esteeme of vertue, returned him thankfull gratulations, and (vrged by necessitie) vttered his present greefe, befeeching 12 his aduife how he might be imployed. Why, eafily, quoth hee, and greatly to your benefit: for men of my profession get by schollers their whole liuing. What is your profession, fayd Roberto? Truely fir, faid he, I am a player. A Player, quoth Roberto, I tooke you 16 rather for a gentleman of great liuing; for if by outward habit men shuld be censured, I tell you, you would be taken for a substantiall man. So am I where I dwell (quoth the player) reputed able at my proper cost, to build a Windmill. What though the worlde once 20 went hard with mee, when I was faine to carrie my playing Fardle a footebacke; Tempora mutantur: I know you know the meaning of it better then I, but I thus conster it, it is otherwise now; for my very fhare in playing apparrell will not be folde for two hundred pounds. 24 Truely (faid Roberto) it is strange, that you should so prosper in that vaine practife, for that it feemes to me your voyce is nothing gracious. Nay then, faid the player, I mislike your judgement: why, I am as famous for Delphrigus, and the king of Fairies, as euer was any of my 28 time. The twelue labors of Hercules have I terribly thundred on the stage, and plaied three scenes of the deuill in the highway to heauen. Haue ye fo (faid Roberto?) then I pray you pardon me. Nay more (quoth the player) I can ferue to make a prettie speech, for I was a 32 countrie Author, passing at a morrall, for it was I that pende the Morral of mans wit, the Dialogue of Diues, and for feauen yeeres fpace was absolute interpreter of the puppets. But now my Almanacke is out of date: 36

The people make no estimation, Of Morrals teaching education.

Was not this prettie for a plaine rime extempore? if ye will, ye 4 shall have more. Nay it is enough, faid Roberto, but how meane you to vie mee? Why fir, in making playes, faid the other, for which you shall be well paied, if you will take the paines.

Roberto perceiuing no remedie, thought best, to respect of his 8 present necessity, to trie his wit, & went with him willingly: who lodged him at the townes end in a house of retaile, where what happened our Poet, you shall heereafter heare. There, by conversing with bad company, he grew A malo in peius, falling from one vice to 12 another; and fo, having found a vaine to finger crownes, he grew cranker then Lucanio, who by this time began to droope, being thus dealt withall by Lamilia. She, having bewitched him with her enticing wiles, caused him to consume in lesse then two yeares, that 16 infinite treasure gathered by his father, with so many a poore mans curfe. His lands fold, his iewels pawnd, his money wasted, he was caffeerd by Lamilia that had coofened him of all. Then walked he like one of duke Humfreys Squires, in a threedbare cloake, his hofe 20 drawne out with his heeles, his shooes vnseamed, lest his feete should fweate with heate: now (as witleffe as he was) hee remembred his fathers words, his kindnes to his brother, his carelefnesse of himselfe. In this forrow hee fate downe on pennileffe bench; where when 24 Opus and Vsus told him by the chimes in his stomacke, it was time

to fall vnto meate, he was faine with the Camelion to feed vpon the aire, & make patience his best repast.

While he was at his feaft, Lamilia came flaunting by, garnished 28 with the iewels whereof she beguiled him; which fight ferued to close his stomacke after his cold cheere. Roberto hearing of his brothers beggerie, albeit he had little remorfe of his miserable state, yet did he feeke him out, to vie him as a propertie, whereby Lucanio 32 was fomewhat prouided for. But being of fimple nature, hee ferued but for a blocke to whet Robertoes wit on; which the poore foole perceiuing, he forfooke all other hopes of life, and fell to be a notorious Pandar, in which detefted course hee continued till death. 36 But Roberto, nowe famozed for an Arch-plaimaking-poet, his purfe like the fea fomtime fweld, anon like the fame fea fell to a low ebbe; yet feldom he wanted, his labors were fo well esteemed. Marry, this rule he kept, what euer he fingerd aforehand, was the certaine meanes to ynbinde a bargaine; and being asked why he so sleightly dealt with 4 them that did him good? It becomes me, fath hee, to be contrarie to the worlde: for commonly when vulgar men receive earnest, they doe performe; when I am paid any thing afore-hand, I breake my promife. He had shift of lodgings, where in enery place his Hostesse 8 writ vp the wofull remembrance of him, his laundresse, and his boy; for they were euer his in houfhold, befide retainers in fundry other places. His companie were lightly the lewdest persons in the land, apt for pilferie, periurie, forgerie, or any villainie. Of these, hee knew 12 the cafts to cog at Cards, coofin at Dice; by thefe, he learned the legerdemaines of nips, foyftes, connicatchers, crosbyters, lifts, high Lawyers, and all the rabble of that vncleane generation of vipers: and pithily could be paint out their whole courses of craft: So cunning 16 he was in all crafts, as nothing rested in him almost but craftinesse. How often the Gentlewoman his wife laboured vainely to recall him, is lamentable to note: but as one given ouer to all lewdnes, he communicated her forrowfull lines among his loofe truls, that iefted at 20 her bootelesse laments. If he could any way get credite on scores, he would then brag his creditors carried ftones, comparing eueric round circle to a groning O, procured by a painfull burden. The shamefull ende of fundry his conforts, deferuedly punished for their amisse, 24 wrought no compunction in his heart: of which one, brother to a Brothell he kept, was trust vnder a tree as round [as] a Ball.

To fome of his fwearing companions thus it happened: A crue of them fitting in a Tauerne carowfing, it fortuned an honeft Gentleman, 28 and his friend, to enter their roome: fome of them being acquainted with him, in their domineering drunken vaine, would have no nay, but downe he must needes fitte with them; beeing placed, no remedie there was, but he must needes keepe even compasse with their vn-32 feemely carrowfing. Which he refusing, they fell from high wordes to found strokes, so that with much adoe the Gentleman saved his owne, and shifted from their company. Being gone, one of these tiplers forsooth lackt a gold Ring, the other sware they see the Gentleman 36

take it from his hande. Upon this the Gentleman was indited before a Iudge: these honest men are deposed: whose wisedome, weighing the time of the braule, gaue light to the Iury, what power wine-4 washing poyson had: they, according vnto conscience, found the Gentleman not guiltie, and God released by that verdit the innocent.

With his accusers thus it fared: One of them for murther was worthily executed: the other neuer fince prospered: the third, 8 sitting not long after upon a lustie horse, the beast suddenly died under him: God amend the man.

Roberto, euery day acquainted with these examples, was notwithstanding nothing bettered, but rather hardened in wickednesse. At

12 last was that place instified, God warneth men by dreams and visions
in the night, and by knowne examples in the day; but if he returne
not, hee comes vpon him with indgement that shall bee felt. For
now, when the number of deceites caused Roberto bee hatefull almost
16 to all men, his immeasurable drinking had made him the perfect
Image of the dropsie, and the loathsome scourge of Lust tyrannized
in his honest living in outrooms powerty, and having nothing to pay

in his bones: liuing in extreams pouerty, and hauing nothing to pay but chalke, which now his Hoft accepted not for currant, this mifersoloe able man lay comfortleffely languishing, hauing but one groat left (the iuft proportion of his fathers Legacie) which looking on, he cried:

O now it is too late, too late to buy witte with thee: and therefore will I see if I can sell to carelesse youth what I negligently forgot to buy.

Heere (Gentlemen) breake I off Robertos speech; whose life in most parts agreeing with mine, found one selfe punishment as I haue doone. Heereaster suppose me the said Roberto, and I will goe on with that hee promised: Greene will send you new his groats fworth

28 of wit, that neuer shewed a mites-worth in his life: and though no man now be by, to doe me good, yet ere I die, I will by my repentance indeuour to doe all men good.

[1?now]

Deceiving world, that with alluring toyes,

Hast made my life the subject of thy scorne:

And scornest now to lend thy fading ioyes,

To lengthen my life, whom friends have left forlorne.

How well are they that die ere they be borne,

And never see thy sleights, which sew men shun,

Till vnawares they helplesse are vndon.

Oft have I fing of love, and of his fire;
But now I finde that Poet was advized,
Which made full feasts increasers of desire,
And provues weake love was with the poore despized.
For when the life with foode is not suffixed,
What thoughts of love, what motion of delight,
What pleasance, can proceede from such a wight?

WVitnesse my want, the murderer of my wit;

My rauisht sense, of woonted surie rest,

VVants such conceit, as should in Poims sit.

Set downe the sorrow wherein I am left:

But therefore have high heavens their gifts berest:

Because so long they lent them me to vse,

And I so long their bountie did abuse.

O that a yeare were granted me to live,

And for that yeare my former wits reflorde:

VVhat rules of life, what counfell would I give?

How should my sinne with forrow be deplorde¹?

But I must die of every man abhorde.

[1 Orig. then deplore]

Time loofely spent will not againe be woonne,

My time is loofely spent, and I vndone.

O horrenda fames, how terrible are thy affaultes: but Vermis conficientiæ, more wounding are thy ftings. Ah Gentlemen, that liue to 24 reade my broken and confused lines, looke not I should (as I was woont) delight you with vaine fantasies, but gather my follies altogether, and, as you would deale with so many parricides, cast them into the fire: call them Telegones, for now they kill their father, and 28 euerie lewd line in them written, is a deep piercing wound to my heart; euery idle houre spent by any in reading them, brings a million of sorrowes to my soule. O that the teares of a miserable man (for neuer any man was yet more miserable) might wash their 32 memorie out with my death; and that those works with me together might be interd. But sith they cannot, let this my last worke witnes against them with me, how I detest them. Blacke is the remem-

brance of my blacke works, blacker then night, blacker then death, blacker then hell.

Learne wit by my repentance (Gentlemen) and let these fewe rules 4 following be regarded in your liues.

- I First, in all your actions set God before your eies; for the feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisedome: Let his word be a lanterne to your feete, and a light vnto your paths, then shall you stand as 8 firme rocks, and not be mocked.
 - 2 Beware of looking backe, for God will not be mocked; of him that hath received much, much shall be demanded.
- 3 If thou be fingle, and canst abstaine, turne thy eies from vanitie, 12 for there is a kinde of women bearing the faces of Angels, but the hearts of Deuils, able to intrap the elect, if it were possible.
 - 4 If thou be m[a]rried, for take not the wife of thy youth to follow strange slesh; for whoremongers and adulterers the Lord will iudge.
- 16 The doore of a Harlot leadeth downe to death, and in her lips there dwels destruction; her face is decked with odors, but shee bringeth a man to a morfell of bread and nakednesse: of which my selfe am instance.
- 5 If thou be left rich, remember those that want; and so deale, that by thy wilfulnes thy self want not: Let not Tauerners and Vuctuallers be thy Executors; for they will bring thee to a dishonorable graue.
- 6 Oppresse no man, for the crie of the wronged ascendeth to the eares of the Lord: neither delight to encrease by Vsurie, least thou loose thy habitation in the euerlasting Tabernacle.
- 7 Beware of building thy house to thy neighbours hurt; for the 28 stones will crie to the timber; We were laide together in bloud: and those that so erest houses, calling them by their names, shall lie in the graue like sheepe, and death shall graw upon their soules.
- 8 If thou be poore, be also patient, and striue not to grow rich 32 by indirect meanes; for goods so gotten shall vanish away like sinoke.
- 9 If thou be a father, maifter, or teacher, ioyne good examples with good counfaile; else little auaile precepts, where life is dif-36 ferent.

12

ro If thou be a fonne or feruant, despise not reproofe; for though correction be bitter at the first, it bringeth pleasure in the end.

Had I regarded the first of these rules, or beene obedient at the last; I had not now at my last ende, beene lest thus desolate. But 4 now, though to my selfe I giue Consilium post facta; yet to others they may serue for timely precepts. And therefore (while lise giues leaue) will send warning to my olde consorts, which have lived as loosely as myselfe; albeit weakenesse will scarce suffer me to write, 8 yet to my sellowe Schollers about this Cittie, will I direct these sew insuing lines.

To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdome to preuent his extremities.

F wofull experience may mooue you (Gentlemen) to beware, or vnheard of wretchednes intreate you to take 16 heed: I doubt not but you will looke backe with forrow on your time past, and endeuour with repentance to spend

that which is to come. Wonder not, (for with thee wil I first begin) thou famous gracer of Tragedians, that Greene, who hath faid with 20 thee, like the foole in his heart, There is no God, should now give glorie vnto his greatnesse: for, penitrating is his power, his hand lies heavie vpon me, he hath fpoken vnto me with a voice of thunder, and I have left, he is a God that can punish enimies. Why should 24 thy excellent wit, his gift, be fo blinded, that thou shouldst giue no glory to the giver? Is it pestilent Machiuilian pollicie that thou hast ftudied? O punish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in fmall time, the generation of mankinde. 28 For if Sic volo, sic iubeo, hold in those that are able to command: and if it be lawfull Fas & nefas to doe anything that is beneficiall; onely Tyrants should possesse the earth; and they, striuing to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a flaughter man; till the mightiest 32 outliuing all, one stroke were left for Death, that in one age mans life should ende. The brother of this Diabolicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had neuer the felicitie he aimed at: but as he began

in craft, liued in feare, and ended in despaire. Quum inscrutabilia sunt Dei iudicia? This murderer of many brethren, had his confcience feared like Caine: this betrayer of him that gaue his life for

4 him, inherited the portion of *Iudas*: this Apostata perished as ill as *Iulian*: and wilt thou, my friend, be his Disciple? Looke vnto me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt finde it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable

8 death; but wilfull friuing against knowne truth, exceedeth al the terrors of my foule. Defer not (with me) till this last point of extremitie; for little knowest thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.

With thee I ioyne young Iuuenall, that byting Satyrift, that lastlie

12 with mee together writ a Comedie. Sweete boy, might I aduise
thee, be aduised, and get not many enemies by bitter words: inueigh
against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better, no man so
wel: thou hast a libertie to reprodue all, and name none; for one

16 being fpoken to, al are offended; none being blamed, no man is iniured. Stop shallow water still running, it will rage; tread on a worme, and it will turne: then blame not schollers vexed with sharpe lines, if they reproue thy too much libertie of reproofe.

And thou no leffe deferuing then the other two, in fome things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driuen (as my felfe) to extreame fhifts; a little haue I to fay to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would fweare by fweet S. George, thou are tynworthie better hap, fith thou

24 dependeft on fo meane a ftay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned: for vnto none of you (like me) fought those burres to cleaue: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not

28 ftrange that I, to whom they all haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they all haue beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautisted with our

32 feathers, that with his Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute Iohannes fac totum, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare

36 wits to be imployed in more profitable courfes: & let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your

admired inuentions. I know the beft husband of you all will neuer proue an Vsurer, and the kindest of them all wil neuer prooue a kinde nurse: yet, whilst you may, seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subject to the pleasures of such rude 4 groomes.

In this I might infert two more, that both haue writ against these buckram Gentlemen: but let their owne works serue to witnesse against their owne wickednesse, if they perseuer to maintaine any 8 more such peasants. For other new commers, I leave them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who (I doubt not) will drive the best minded to despise them: for the rest, if skils not though they make a jeast at them.

But now returne I againe to you three, 1 knowing my miferie is to you no news: and let me heartily intreate you to bee warned by my harmes. Delight not (as I haue done) in irreligious oaths; for, from the blasphemers house, a curse shall not depart. Despise drunkennes, 16 which wasteth the wit, and maketh 2 men all equal vnto beasts, luft, as the deathsman of the soule, and defile not the Temple of the holy ghoft. Abhorre those Epicures, whose loose life hath made religion lothfome to your eares: and when they footh you with 20 tearmes of Maistership, remember Robert Greene, whome they have often fo flattered, perifhes now for want of comfort. Remember, gentlemen, your liues are like fo many lighted Tapers, that are with care deliuered to all of you to maintaine: these with wind-puft wrath 24 may be extinguisht, which drunkennes put out, which negligence let fall: for mans time of it felfe is not fo short, but it is more shortened by fin. The fire of my light is now at the last snuffe, and the want of wherwith to fuftaine it; there is no fubftance left for life to feede 28 on. Trust not then (I beseech yee) to such weake staies: for they are as changeable in minde, as in many attires. Well, my hand is tired, and I am forst to leave where I would begin: for a whole booke cannot containe their wrongs, which I am forft to knit vp in 32 fome few lines of words.

Defirous that you should live, though ³
himselfe be dying.
Robert Greene.

1 Orig. rhree.

² Orig. making.

3 Orig. though.

Now to all men I bid farewell in this fort, with this conceited Fable of the olde Comedian Acfope.



28

N Ant and a Grashopper walking together on a greene, the one carelessely skipping, the other carefully prying what winters prouision was scattered in the way: the Grashopper scorning (as wantons wil) this needelesse thrist

(as he tearmed it), reprooued him thus:

8 The greedie mifer thirsteth still for gaine;
His thrist is thest, his weale works others woe:
That soole is fond, which will in caues remaine,
When mongst faire sweetes he may at pleasure goe.

To this the Ant, perceiuing the Grashoppers meaning, quickly replied:

The thriftie husband spares what vnthrifts spends; His thrift no theft, for dangers to provide: Trust to thy selfe, small hope in want yeeld friende.

Trust to thy selfe, small hope in want yeeld friendes;

A caue is better then the defarts wide.

In fhort time these two parted, the one to his pleasure, the other to his labour. Anon Haruest grewe on, and rest from the Grashopper 20 his woonted moysture. Then weakely skips he to the medows brinks: where till fell winter he abode. But stormes continually powring, hee went for succour to the Ant his olde acquaintance, to whome he had scarce discoursed his estate, but the little worme made this 24 replie.

Pack hence (quoth he) thou idle lazie worme;

My house doth harbour no vnthristie mates:

Thou scorneds to toile, and now thou seels the storme,

And slarust for soode while I am sed with cates.

Vse no intreats, I will relentlesse rest,

For toyling labour hates an idle guess.

The Grashopper foodlesse, helpelesse, and strengthlesse, got into 32 the next brooke, and in the yeelding fand digde himselse a pit: by which likewise he ingraued this Epitaph.

Greenes groatsworth of wit.

33

When Springs greene prime arrayd me with delight,
And every power, with youthfull vigor fild,
Gave strength to worke what ever fancie wild:
I never feard the force of winters spight.

4

When first I saw the sunne the day begin,

And drie the mornings teares from hearts and grasse;

I little thought his chearefull light would passe,

Till vgly night with darknes enterd in:

And then day lost I mourned, spring pass I waild,

8

And then day lost I mournd, spring past I waild, But neither teares for this or that availd.

Then too too late I praifd the Emmets paine, That fought in fpring a harbour gainst the heate:

I 2

And in the harueft gathered winters meate, Perceiving famine, frosts, and stormic raine.

My wretched end may warne Greene springing youth To vse delights, as toyes that will deceive,

16

And fcorne the world before the world them leaue: For all worlds trust, is ruine without ruth.

Then lleft are they, that, like the toyling Ant, Prouide in time gainft winters wofull want.

20

With this the grashopper, yeelding to the weathers extremit[ie], died comfortlesse without remedie. Like him, my selfe: like me, shall al that trust to friends or times inconstancie. Now faint I of my last infirmitie, beseeching them that shal burie my bodie, to publish this 24 last farewell, written with my wretched hand.

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.

A letter written to his wife, found with this booke after his death.

28



He remembrance of many wrongs offered thee, and thy vnreprooued vertues, adde greater forrow to my miferable flate, then I can vtter, or thou conceiue. Neither is it leffened by confideration of thy abfence (though fhame 32

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

28

would let me hardly beholde thy face) but exceedingly aggrauated, for that I cannot (as I ought) to thy owne felfe reconcile my felfe, that thou mightest witnesse my inward woe at this instant, that haue 4 made thee a wofull wife for fo long a time. But equal heaven hath denied that comfort, giving at my last neede, like succour as I have fought all my life: being in this extremitie as voide of helpe, as thou haft beene of hope. Reason would, that after so long waste, I should 8 not fend thee a childe to bring thee greater charge: but confider, he is the fruit of thy wombe, in whose face regard not the fathers faults fo much as thy owne perfections. He is yet Greene, and may grow ftraight, if he be carefully tended: otherwife, apt enough (I feare 12 me) to follow his fathers folly. That I have offended thee highly, I knowe; that thou canft forget my iniuries, I hardly beleeue: yet perfwade I my felfe, if thou faw my wretched estate, thou couldest not but lament it: nay certainely I knowe thou wouldeft. Al my wrongs 16 muster themselues about me, every evill at once plagues me. For my contempt of God, I am contemned of men: for my fwearing and forfwearing, no man will beleeue me: for my gluttony, I fuffer hunger: for my drunkennesse, thirst: for my adulterie, vlcerous 20 fores. Thus God hath cast me downe, that I might be humbled: and punished me, for example of others sinne: and although he suffers me in this world to perish without succer, yet trust I in the world to come to finde mercie, by the merits of my

Sauiour, to whome I commend thee, and commit my foule.

Thy repentant husband for his difloyaltie, Robert Greene.

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.

FINIS.

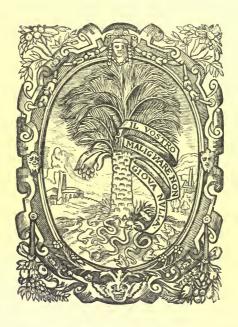
KIND-HARTS DREAME.

Conteining fiue Apparitions, vvith their Inuectiues against abuses raigning.

Delivered by sewerall Ghosts vnto him to be publisht, after Piers Penilesse Post had refused the carriage.

Inuita Inuidice.

by H. C.



Imprinted at London for William Wright.





To the Gentlemen Readers.

T hath beene a custome, Gentle men, (in my mind commendable) among former Authors (whose workes are no lesse beautified with eloquente phrase, than gar- 4

nished with excellent example) to begin an exordium to the Readers of their time: much more convenient I take it, should the writers in these daies (wherein that gravitie of enditing by the elder excercifed, is not observed, nor that modest decorum 8 kept, which they continued) fubmit their labours to the fauourable censures of their learned overseers. For seeing nothing can be faid, that hath not been before faid, the fingularitie of some mens conceits, (otherwayes excellent well deferuing) are no more 12 to be foothed, than the peremptoric pofies of two very sufficient Translators commended. To come in print is not to feeke praise, but to crave pardon: I am vrgd to the one; and bold to begge the other: he that offendes, being forft, is more excufable than the 16 wilfull faultie; though both be guilty, there is difference in the guilt. To observe custome, and avoid as I may, cavill, opposing your favors against my feare, He shew reason for my present writing, and after proceed to fue for pardon. About three 20 moneths fince died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in fundry Booke fellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to divers play-makers, is offenfively by

one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be auenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living Author: and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy, but it must light on 4 me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently proove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and

- 8 with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have vsde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author
- 12 beeing dead, that I did not, I am as fory as if the originall fault had beene my fault, because my selfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill, than he exclent in the qualitie he prosesses:

 Besides, divers of worship have reported his vprightnes of
- 16 dealing, which argues his honefty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooues his Art. For the first, whose learning I reverence, and at the perusing of Greenes Booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ: or had
- 20 it beene true, yet to publish it, was intollerable: him I would wish to vse me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share: it was il written, as sometime Greenes hand was none of the best; licensed it must be, ere it could bee printed, which could
- 24 neuer be if it might not be read. To be breife, I writ it ouer; and as neare as I could, followed the copy; onely in that letter I put fomething out, but in the whole booke not a worde in; for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some 28 vniustly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle

to the fecond part of Gerileon, though by the workemans error T. N. were fet to the end: that I confesse to be mine, and repent it not.

Thus Gentlemen, having noted the private causes that made 4 me nominate my selfe in print; being aswell to purge Master Nashe of that he did not, as to instifice what I did, and withall to confirme what M. Greene did: I befeech yee accept the publike cause, which is both the desire of your delight, and common 8 benefite: for though the toye bee shadowed under the Title of Kind-hearts Dreame, it discovers the salfe hearts of divers that wake to commit mischiese. Had not the former reasons been, it had come forth without a father: and then shuld I have had no 12 cause to seare offending, or reason to sue for savour. Now am I in doubt of the one, though I hope of the other; which if I obtaine, you shall bind me hereafter to bee silent, till I can present yee with some thing more acceptable.

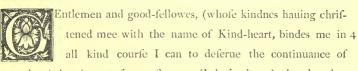
Henrie Chettle.

[Note. The head- and tail-pieces, and big initials, in these reprints, are not like those of the originals. The stops are partly modernised.—F.]





Kind-hartes Dedication of his dreame, to all the pleasant conceited vyhersoeuer.



your loue) let it not feeme strange (I beseech ye) that he that all daies of his life hath beene famous for drawing teeth, should now in drooping age hazard contemptible infamie by drawing him-8 felfe into print. For fuch is the folly of this age, fo witleffe, fo audacious, that there are scarce so manye pedlers brag themselues to be printers because they have a bundel of ballads in their packe, as there be idiots that thinke themselues Artists, because they can English 12 an obligation, or write a true staffe to the tune of fortune. This folly raging vniuerfally, hath infired me, to write the remembrance of fundry of my deceased frends, personages not alltogether obscure, for then were my subject base, nor yet of any honourable carriage, for my 16 ftile is rude and bad: and to fuch as I it belongs not to iest with Gods. Kind-hart would have his companions effeeme of Estates as ftarres, on whome meane men maye looke, but not ouer-looke. I haue heard of an eloquent Orator, that trimly furnished with warres 20 abiliments, had on his shield this Motto, Bona fortuna: yet at the first meeting of the enimy fled with out fight. For which being reprooued, he replied: If I have faued my felfe in this battell by flight,

I shal liue to chase the enimy in the next. So Gentlemen sares it with mee: If enuious misconsterers arme themselues against my simple meaning, and wrest euery iest to a wrong sense, I thinke it policy to 4 fly at the first sight, till I gather fresh forces to represse their folly. Neither can they, what euer they be, deale hardly with Kind-hart, for he onely deliuers his dreame, with euery Apparition, simply as it was vttered. Its fond for them to sight against ghosts: its fearefull for 8 me to hide an Apparition: by concealing it I might doe my selse harme, and them no good; by reuealing it, ease my hart, and doe no honest men hurt: for the rest (although I would not willing[]]y moue the meanest) they must beare as I doe, or mend it as they may. Well, 12 least ye deeme all my dreame but an Epistle, I will proceed to that without any further circumstance.



The Dreame.

Itting alone not long fince, not far from Finsburie, in a
Taphouse of Antiquity, attending the comming of such
companions as might wash care away with carowsing: 4
Sleepe, the attendant vpon a distempred bodies, bereft

the funnes light by couering mine eies with her fable mantle, and left me in nights fhade, though the daies eie fhinde; fo powerfull was my received potion, fo heavie my passion: whence (by my hostisse care) 8 being removed to a pleasant parlor, the windowes opening to the East, I was laid fostly on a downe bed, and covered with equal furniture; where, how long I slept quietly, I am not well assured, but in the time I intended to rest, I was thus by visible apparitions disturbd.

First, after a harsh and confused found, it seemed there entered 1 at once five personages, severally attired, and diversly qualified, three bearing instruments, their favours pleasant; two appearing to be Artists, their countenances reverend.

16

28

The first of the first three was an od old fellow, low of stature, his head was couered with a round cap, his body with a side skirted tawney coate, his legs and seete trust vppe in leather buskins, his gray haires and surrowed face witnessed his age, his treble violl in his hande, 20 assured me of his profession. On which (by his continuall fawing, hauing left but one string) after his best manner, hee gaue me a hunts-vp: whome, after a little musing, I assuredly remembred to be no other but old Anthony Now now.

The next, by his fute of ruffet, his buttond cap, his taber, his ftanding on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or refemblaunce of Tarlton, who liuing, for his pleafant conceits was of all men liked, and dying, for mirth left not his like.

The third (as the first) was an olde fellowe, his beard milkewhite, his head couered with a round lowe crownd rent filke hat, on which was a band knit in many knotes, wherein stucke two round stickes 4 after the Iuglers manner. His ierkin was of leather cut, his cloake of three coulers, his hose paind with yellow drawn out with blew, his instrument was a bagpipe: & him I knew to be William Cuckoe, better knowne than lou'd, and yet some thinke as well lou'd as he was 8 worthy.

The other two had in their countenances a reuerent grace: the one which was the elder, feeming more feuere, was in habite like a Doctor; in his right hand hee held a Compendium of all the famous 12 Phifitions and Surgions workes beelonging to Theorike, in his lefte hand a table of all inftruments for mans health, appertaining to practife.

At the fight of this Doctor, you maye thinke, Gentlemen, Kind16 hart was in a pitious cafe: for I verily believed he had beene fome
rare Artift, that, taking me for a dead man, had come to anatomize
me; but taking comfort that my thrumde hat, had hanging at it the
enfignes of my occupation, like a tall fellow (as to me it feemed) I
20 lookte him in the face, and beheld him to bee maifter Doctor Burcot
(though a ftranger, yet in England for phificke famous.)

With him was the fifth, a man of indifferent yeares, of face amible, of body well proportioned, his attire after the habite of a schollerlike 24 Gentleman, onely his haire was somewhat long, whome I supposed to be Robert Greene, maister of Artes: of whome (howe euer some suppose themselves injured) I have learned to speake, considering he is dead, nill nist necessarium.

He was of finguler pleasaunce the verye supporter, and, to no mans disgrace bee this intended, the only Comedian of a vulgar writer in this country.

Well, thus these sine appeared, and by them in post past a knight of 32 the post, whome in times past I have seen as highly promoted as the pillory: but I have heard since he was a divell, that plaide the Cariar of Pierce penilesse packet to Lucifer, and was now returning to contaminate the ayre, with his pestilent periories, and abhominable sale witnesse bearing.

How Pierce his fupplication pleafed his Patron, I know not, but fure I take it this Friend had a foule check for medling in the matter: for when all thefe fiue before named had made profer of feuerall bills inuective against abuses raigning, this divelish Messenger repulsed 4 them wrathfully, and bad them get some other to bee their packet bearer if they lift, for he had almost hazarded his credit in hell, by beeing a Broker betweene Pierce Penilesse and his Lord: and so, without hearing their reply, slew from them like a whirle wind. With 8 that, (after a small pause) in a round ring they compassed my bed, and thrusting into my hand all their papers, they at once charged mee to awake, and publish them to the world.

This charge feemed to mee most dreadfull of all the dreame, be- 12 cause in that the diffinguishing of their severall voices was heard, farre from the frequent manner of mens speach. In sine, Cuckoe with his pipes, and Antony with his Crowd, keeping equall equipage first left my sight; Tarlton with his Taber setchi[n]g two or three leaden 16 friskes, shortly followed, and the Doctor and maister Greene immediatly vanished.

With this (not a little amazed, as one from a trance reviued) I rouzd vp my felfe: when fodainly out of my hand fell the fiue 20 papers, which confirmed my dreame to bee no fantifie. Yet (for that I knew the times are daungerous) I thought good aduifedly

to read them, before 1 prefumed to make them publick.

So by chance lighting first on *Antony nownowe* I found on the outside, as follows on the other side.

 $(\downarrow\uparrow\downarrow)$



24





The friendly Admonition of Anthonie Now now, to Mopo and Pichering, Arch-ouerseers of the Ballad singers, in London, or else-where.

Nthony now now, a Gods bleffing, to his louing and liuing
Bretheren Mopo and Pickering, greeting: whereas by the
daily recourse of infinit numbers to the infernall regions, 8
whose plaintes to be heard are no lefte lamentable, then

their paines to be felt intollerable, I am given to vnderstand, that there be a company of idle youths, loathing honest labour and dispising lawfull trades, betake them to a vagrant and vicious life, in euery 12 corner of Cities & market Townes of the Realme finging and felling of ballads and pamphletes full of ribaudrie, and all fcurrilous vanity, to the prophanation of Gods name, and with-drawing people from chriftian exercises, especially at faires, markets, and such publike meetings, 16 I humbly defire ye that ye ioyne with another of your bretheren, free of one Citie and profession, that alwaies delighting in godly songes, is now in his age betaken to his beads, and liueth by the dolefull tolling of Deaths bell warning. Deere frendes, I befeech you joyntly to agree 20 to the suppressing of the aforenamed idle vagabonds. And that I right incite (as I hope) your forward effectes, I will particularize the difference betweene the abused times among you reputed, and the fimplicity of the daies wherein I liued. Withall, I wish ye to expect 24 no greater matter then Anthonyes capacity can comprehend. When I was liked, there was no thought of that idle vpstart generation of ballad-fingers, neither was there a printer fo lewd that would fet

finger to a lasciuious line. But I perceiue the times are changed, and men are changed in the times. For not long fince a number of children were bolftered by some vnwoorthy Citizens and other free 4 men in Townes Corporate to exercise a base libertine life in finging anye thing that came to hand from some of the Diuels instruments, intruders into printings misserie, by whome that excelent Art is not smally slandered, the gouernment of the estate not a little blemished, nor Religion in the least measure hindred. And to shut up al in the last, is it not lamentable that after so many callings, so many blessings, so many warnings, through the couetous desire of gaine of some two or three, such a slocke of Run-agates shoulde ouerspred the face of this land, as at this time it doth. They that intend to infect a riuer, posson the fountaine; the Basiliske woundeth a man by the eie, whose light first failing, the body of force descends to darknes.

12 this land, as at this time it doth. They that intend to infect a riuer, poison the fountaine; the Basiliske woundeth a man by the eie, whose light first failing, the body of force descends to darknes.

These Basilisks, these bad minded monsters, brought forth like 16 vipers by their mothers bane, with such lasciuious lewdnes haue first insected London, the eie of England, the head of other Cities, as what is so lewd that hath not there, contrary to order, beene printed, and in euery streete abusinely chanted. This error (ouer spreding the realme) 20 hath in no small measure increased in Essex, and the shires thereto adioyning, by the blushlesse faces of certaine Babies, sonnes to one Barnes, most frequenting Bishops Stafford. The olde fellow their father, soothing his sonnes folly, resting his crabbed limes on a crab-24 tree staffe, was wont (and I thinke yet he vses) to seuer himselfe from the Booth, or rather Brothell of his two sons Ballad shambels: where, the one in a sweaking treble, the other in an ale-blowen base, carrowle out such adultrous ribaudry, as chast eares abhorre to heare, and mo-28 destie hath no tongue to vtter.

While they are in the rustie of ribaudrie (as Lyras about to say) the

While they are in the ruffe of ribaudrie, (as I was about to fay) the olde ale-knight, their dad, breakes out into admiration, and fends ftragling customers to admire the roaring of his fonnes: where, that I 32 may showe some abuses, and yet for shame let slip the most odious, they heare no better matter, but the lasciuious vnder songs of Watkins ale, the Carmans whistle, Chopingkniues, and frier soxtaile, and that with such odious and detested boldnes, as if there be any one line 36 in those lewd songs than other more abhominable, that with a double

repetition is lowdly belowed, as for example of the frier and the nunne.

He whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes minor, And he whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes maior.

O braue boies, faith *Barnes maximus*. The father leapes, the lubers roare, the people runne, the Diuell laughs, God lowers, and good men weepe. Nay, no fooner haue the godly preachers deliuered wholesome doctrine, but these impess of iniquitie, and such as imitate 8 their order, draw whole heapes to hearken to their inquinated cries, as if they were heardes of the Gergishites swine, ready to receive whole legions of soule-drowning spirites.

Stephen, Mopo, and Pickering, I muse you make no complaint to 12 those worshipfull that have authority to restraine such straglers; for this is to be proved, of whome soeuer they buy them, that these two Barnes veter more licentious songs, then all that part of England beside.

Shamefull it is (had they any shame) that men brought vppe to an honest handicraft, of which the realme more need then iygging vanities, should betake them to so impudent a course of life. The Rogue that liueth idly is restrained, the fidler and plaier that is 20 maisters[e]ste is in the same predicament: both these by the law are burned in the eare: and shall men more odious scape vnpunished?

It were to be wisht, if they will not be warnd, that aswell the fingers, as their supporters, were burned in the tongue that they might 24 rather be euer vtterly mute, then the triumphers of so many mischiefes. Neither are these two alone in fault, though they stand worthely formost as Malorum Duces; but besides them, others more then a good many, some (as I have heard say) taken to be apprentices 28 by a worthlesse companion (if it proue true that is of him reported) being of a worshipfull trade, and yet no Stationer, who, after a little bringing them uppe to singing brokerie, takes into his shop some fresh men, and trusts his olde searuantes of a two months standing with a 32 dossen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prooue thristy, hee makes them prety chapmen, able to spred more pamphlets by the state forbidden, then all the Bookesellers in London; for only in this Citie is straight search, abroad smale suspicion, especially of such petty 36 ALLUSION-BOOKS.

pedlers. Neither is he for these flies only in fault, but the Gouerners of cutpurse hall, finding that their company wounderfully increast, however manye of their beste workemen monthly miscande at the three 4 foot crosse, they tooke counsaile how they might find some new exercise to imploy their number.

One of the ancientest that had beene a traueller, and at Brainetree faire feene the refort to the ftandinges of the forenamed brethren, the 8 fonnes of olde Barnes the Plummer, chofe out roaringe Dicke, Wat Wimbars, cum multis aliis of tune-able trebles, that gathered fundry affemblies in divers places, where, yer a leaud fonge was fully ended, fome mift their kniues, fome their purfes, foome one thinge, foome 12 another. And alasse, who woulde suspecte my innocente youthes, that all the while were pleafinge rude peoples eyes and eares, with no les delectable noise, then their ditties were delightsome: the one beeing too odious to bee read, the other too infectious to be heard. Well, 16 how euer they fung, it is like they shared: for it hath beene saide, they themselues bragge, they gayned their twenty shillinges in a day. Ah brother Mopo, many a hard meale haue you made, and as many a time hath Curtell, your foure-footed traueiler, beene pincht for want of 20 prouander, and yet at the weekes ende haue you hardly taken tenne fhillinges. But I perfuade my felfe you gaine by your honest labour, and they by legerdemaine. To tell you your owne iniuries, by them euery where offered, neede not: to wish you to speake to them, it 24 bootes not. Therefore this is my counfaile, and let it be your courfe: Make humble fuite to her Maiesties Officers, that they may bee hencefoorth prohibited: intreate the Preachers that they inuaye againste this vice, whiche, thoughe it seeme small to other abuses, yet 28 as a graine of mustard seede it encreases, and bringeth foorth more mischiefes, then few wordes can expresse, or much diligence make voide. First, if there be any songes suffered in such publike forte to be foong, befeech that they may either be fuch as your felues, that 32 after feauen yeares or more feruice, haue no other liuinge lefte you out of Pattent, but that poore base life, of it selfe too badde, yet made more beggerly, by increase of nomber: or at least if any besides you be therto admitted, than it may be none other but aged and impotent

perfons: who, liuinge vpon charity, may the rather draw those that delight in good fongs, to have mercy on their neede. For to fing publikely, is by a kinde of tolleration, permitted only to beggars, of which nomber, it is not necessary to make them that have seene no 4 number of yeares, nor are in the members of their bodies imperfect. Is it not abfurde to fee a long legd lubber pinned in a chayre, fedde with a dugge, drefte with a bibbe, and rockte in a cradle? As vile it is, that boyes of able ftrength, and agreeable capacity, should bee 8 fuffered to wrest from the miserable Aged, the last refuge in their life (beggery excepted) the poore helpe of Ballad-finging. Many a cruft hath old Anthony gotte by it, Mopo, befide other comfortes: but now I heare my blinde brother that exercifde the base, is forced to lay his 12 fiddle to pawne, and trust onely to the two and thirtieth Psalme, and Iob patience, for his poore belly-pinchinge pittaunce. Once againe I tourne mee in your names to the Maiestrates, and Preachers of London, and as to them, fo to others elfe-where in the Realme. Right honor- 16 able, reuerend, or worthipfull, Anthony humbly defires you, to looke into the lead cause, that these wicked effects may fall. The people delighte to heare fome new thinge: if these prophane ribauldries were not: fomewhat fauering of godlinesse, of policy, or at the vtmost of 20 morrall witte, should be received. It is common, that they which haue capacitye, when they heare either Diuinitye, Lawe, or other Artes, apply their memories to receive them; and as they have conceiued, they bringe foorth fruites: fo fares it by the contrary, when 24 they heare lascinious furquedry, leudnesse, impiety, they yeeld no other harueft, than they received feede: for who canne gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thiftles? It would bee thought the Carman that was woonte to whiftle to his beaftes a comfortable note, might 28 afwell continue his olde courfe, wherby his found ferued for a muficall harmony in Gods eare, as now profanely to follow a ligging vanity, which can bee no better than odious before God, fith it is abhominable in the eares of good men. But all is one, they are fuffred, which 32 makes them fecure; and there is no impietye but the baser flatter themselues in, because they are not more stricktly reprehended by their betters. If every idle word shall be aunsweared for, how shall they escape that suffer whole dayes to bee consumde in abhominable bro- 36

12

thelry. Well, at the handes of the fheapheard fhall the flocke be challenged: there is a mercy that kiffeth Iuflice; euery other tolleration is finnefull and fhamefull. Heere Anthony now now ceafes: knowing 4the fuperiours haue difcretion, vppon true information, to deale as befeemes them. I onely vrge my brother Mopo, S. P. and Pickeringe, to befeech that lafciulous fingers may bee vtterlye fuppreft, as they will fhew themfelues to bee the men they fhould be; wherein if they 8 faile, let them liue euer in perpetuall pouertye, and fare at all tymes as harde as poor Mopos Cut did with his maifters countreyman in Shorditch, till, by the force of his hinder heeles, he vtterly vndid two milch maydens, that had fet vp a fhoppe of Ale-drapery. Subfcribed

Anthony now now a Gods bleffing.

When I had read this rabble, wherein I found little reason, I laide it by, intendinge at more time to seeke out Mopo, and his mentioned companions. The nexte paper I chaunced on, was that of Maister 16 Doctor Burcot:

The fuperfcription thus.

To the impudent discreditors of Phisickes Art, either speedy amendement or punishment.

Niurious enemies to Arts, that haue fought to make Phifick, 4 among common people, efteemed common, and Chirurgery contemptible: to you is this my Breefe addreffed; for fince I lefte the earth, commaunded by him that

disposes of euery creature, I vnderstande soome greene-headed scoffers 8 at my greene receipt, haue intermedled in matters more then they conceiue, and by that folly effected much leffe then they promifed. It was helde of olde for a principle, and not long fince observed as a custome, that as the nightes Battes, fore-runners of darkenesse, neuer 12 flickered in the streetes till the Sunne was declinde, and then euery where blindly flapped in mennes faces: fo the Owles of Artes, blindeflinder-mife (as I may tearme them) confirming the old Oracle, neuer shewe themselues but in corners, giuing their rules for that they 16 vnderstand not, to the losse of life, or mans dismembringe. Euery fimple hath his vertue, euery difease his beginning: but the remedy rifeth from the knowledge of the cause: If any can (in naturall fence) giue ease, they must be Artistes, that are able to search the cause, 20 refift the difease, by prouiding remedies. How fares it then, blinde abusers of the blind, your blushles faces are so feasoned, that you can in print or publike writinges, open the skirtes of your shame, by promifing fight to the blinde, found ioyntes to the gowty, fleady members 24 to the Paraletike, ftrong limmes to the lame, quicke hearing to the deafe, fence to the franticke. To begin with I. D. one of your fight healers: was it not wel handled by him, when a gentleman of good account having onely a heate in one of his eies, hee, like a kinde 28 christian, perswaded the patient to receive a water preservative to the found eie, that it might draw the humor from the first, when in very truth by his cunning hee fo dealt, that not an eie was left in his head whereby hee might wel fee, fauing that by the ey that was first fore 32 he can with much adoo looke through a christall. Thus this cogging

fight-giuer dranke a hundred marke, and vtterly impaired the paiers fight.

O obscure knaue, worthy to bee fo well knowne, that thine eies 4 being thrust out of thy head in a publike assembly, thou mightest 1 no more attempt to make blinde thy betters. There was a Gentleman in the world, troubled not long fince with a paine in the foote: Phisitions found it to be the gout; against which malady promising no 8 precise remedy, but onely to giue ease for the time, did their dailye indeuour, by defensives preventing paine that would have prooued offensiue. He, impatient of delay, forsooke all hopes of art, and deliuered ouer hys life into the hands of fome of these trauelers that by 12 incision are able to ease all atches. If a sensible man (conceiuing their tiranny on him vsed) shuld note their cuttings, drawings, corrosiuings, boxings, butcherings, they wold conclude, Non erat inter Siculos tormentum maius. Yet forfooth, who but these are welcome to diseased 16 or endaungered people. The reason, they will vndertake to warrant what no wife man can; & if it happen by ftrong conceipt fome haue comfort, then to the worlds wonder in old wives monuments are they. remembered. Short tale to make: after many tortures, God gaue the 20 gentleman ease by death.

For the dead Palfie, there is a woman hath a desperate drinke, that either helpes in a yeare, or killes in an hour. Beside, shee hath a charme that, mumbled thrice ouer the eare, together with oyle of 24 Suamone (as she tearmes it) will make them that can heare but a little, heare in short time neuer a whit. But aboue all her Medcine for the quartine Ague, is admirable. viz. A pinte of exceeding strong march beere, wherein is insused one drope of Aqua mirabilis, this 28 taken at a draught before the fit is intollerable good: and for a president, let this serue.

A Gentlewoman about London whose husband is heire of a right woorshipfull house, was induced to take this drench, from this wise 32 woman: for every drop of that strong water she must have twelve pence. A sponefull at the least was prized at fortie shillings. Thus daily for almost a moneth she ministred: the Gentlewoman having still good hope, at last was put by her husband quite out of comfort for

any good at this womans handes, for he by chance getting the deceivers glaffe, would needes poure out a spunefull, what ever he paid; she cried out she could not spare it; all helpt not, he tooke it and tasted, and found it to be no other then sountaine water.

There was one Bond-man or free-man (it skiles not much whether) that by wondrous ready meanes would heale madmen: what expectation was of him by his great promises, all London knowes; howe lewdly hee delt, it can as well witnesse: of him I will say little, because 8 there is more knowne then I am able to set downe.

Befides these run-agates, there are some of good experience, that giuing themselues to inordinate excesse, when they are writ vnto by learned phisitions to minister for the patients health according to their 12 aduised prescription, negligently mistake. As for example, a Doctor directs to his Poticary a bill to minister to a man having an vicerous sore, certaine pills for the preparing of his body; withall, a receipt for the making a corrosiue, to apply to the fore; hee (either witles, which 16 is too bad, or wilfull, which is worse) prepares the corrosiue in pilles, and formes the Receipt for the pilles in manner of a playster.

The partie receiues the corrofiue inward, his mawe is fretted, death followes. If there be fuch an Apothecary that hath fo done, let him 20 repent his dealings, leaft the bloud of that man light on his head.

It is faid there was another skilfull, no lesse ouerseene, that havinge a poore manne of a legge to dismember, who had long time beene his patient, & at the instant, more extreamely painde then before, 24 which was cause of requiringe his Chirurgians immediate helpe. This woorkeman, the poore patientes deathes-maister, in that pointe not to bee tearmed his owne Artes maister, dismembred him, the signe beeinge in the foote. Whereof beeing tolde, immediately after 28 the deede, hee onely merrited this praise, by giving councel to the murthered man to have patience at his suddaine ende.

But these accidentes amonge Artistes happen as seldome as the proofe of a good cure amonge you that are vtterly ignoraunt in Arte: 32 for their faultes are committed by them rarely or neuer; your trespasses, like a quotidian disease. So of the one it may bee saide, Wine is a mocker, and strong drincke is raginge, and those that bee thereby deceived are not wise. Yet of the other may directly bee concluded 36

to their fingle commendation, that as no ferpent is without his hidden flinge, or anie thing in earth without fome blemish: fo no purity of their impure profession, can be equalled in imperfection, so impure is 4 all, so vile, so daungerous.

Therefore now returne I where I began, to you the excrementes of nature, and monsters of menne, whose murders are no lesse common then your craftes, whiche are not fo well knowne to the world, as felt 8 by them that leave it: with two of you will I ende. The one a braggart of great antiquity, whose lively image is yet to bee seene in King Luds Pallace, and his liuing Ghoft at this time ministringe to the poore Penfioners of that place. Sirra, nay it shall be, fir, in reuerence 12 of your old occupation, I muse not a little what wonderfull Mettaline preparatiue it is ye boaft on: by which, were men fo mad to beleeue you, you are able to make anye manne not onely boldely to walke in ill ayres, and converse daye and nighte with infected companye, but 16 also to receive the strongest poison (like king Mithridates) into his body? Tenne to one, it is fo strange, as no man but your selfe is able to name it. Yet give mee leave to gesse at it without offence to your falsehoode. I remember I haue heard great talke, you haue bene both 20 a cafter of mettall, and a forger; and it feemes you have gotten the receipte which the Tinne-melters wife ministred, to breake her hufbandes colde, when he fate fleeping in his chaire, videlicet, two ounces of pure Tinne put in an iron ladle, melted in the fire, and poured at 24 an inftant downe the throat. If it be thus, I dare take your woord for any poylon hurting that partie that fo receives it, for as a fimple fellowe (feeing foure or fine hangd for their offences, and hearing fome speake bitterly of them beeing deade) faide, Well, God make them 28 good men, they have a faire warning: fo I may fay, they that deale with your mettaline medicine haue a faire warrante against poison: Likewise may it be saide of your admirable eie water, through the vertue of whiche you have attained the woorshipfull name of Doctor 32 put out: hauinge put out soome of their eies that deale with it. But if I haue varied from your mettaline receipt before, I conclude it but a forgerie, and so blame you not greatly for followinge a parcell of your olde and (to fome a) hurtfull trade. 36 Another of your bretheren, as wel ouer feene in mineralls as your

felfe, lying in a good fellowes house not long since, being monilesse, (as ye are all but thred bare make-shiftes,) perswaded his hoast to take phisicke for feare of insection; his labour he was content to giue, and nothing for their kindnesse would hee require but euen siue marke, 4 which he must pay for the very simples. His simple hoast beleeuing him to bee honest, gaue him the money. If hee had leste heere, though this had beene to lewd, it had beene farre better than to go forward as he did; for some what hee bestowed on purging simples, 8 which unprepared he ministred, and with the same ministred the poore mans death.

The lewd wretch cried out that hee had taken a great quantity of the purgation, more than he appointed, which was in a window in his 12 chamber; much adoe was made, and he would infifie before any learned man his deed; but trufting better to his heeles, than to hazard a hanging, hee gaue them that night the flip, and is not yet taken.

To be short, how ever ye differ in severall shiftes, yet agree you all 16 in one manner of shifting: cunning is the cloake to hide your cogging: money the marke for which ye play the makeshiftes, nay the murtherers, not of the common enimie, but your owne country-men, than which what can be more barbarous? Common reason should 20 perswade, that much reading and long practise in every Art makes men expert. *Per Contrarium* I conclude, you that have neither read nor practised, must needs be egregiously ignorant.

Affure your felues, if you refraine not, inftice will ftand vppe, and 24 fo reftraine yee, as there shall be nothing more noted than your ignorant practises and impudent courses. In my life I was your aduersary: in death I am your enimie. Beseeching the reuerend Colledge of learned Doctors and worshipfull company of experients 28 Chirurgions to looke more straightly to your false deceites, and close haunts, that there may be sooner heard talke of such a rare obscure assurancer to worke what not wonders in Phisicke, or Chirurgirie, but he be rather lookt into or euer he begin, than suffred to begin, whereby 32 any poore patient should suffer losse in triall of their blind skill: so shall your cousenages be as open as your Actes be odious.

Subscribed

This is fomewhat like (thought I) if he had faid any thing against coufoning toothe drawers, that from place to place wander with banners full of horse teeth, to the imparing of Kindharts occupation; 4 but I perceiue maister Doctor was neuer a tooth drawer; if he had, I know he would haue toutcht their deceiuings. Since he hath let them passe, I greatly passe not: and yet in regard of the credit of my trade, I care not to haue a blow or two with them my selfe, before I looke 8 any further.

Sundry of them that fo wander, haue not to do with the means Kindhart vseth, but forfooth by charmes they can at their pleafure fray away the payne; which Kindhart counts little better than witch 12 craft, if it could doe good, and fo to fome of them haue I affirmed it: But a proper flip-ftring, fometime a petty schole-maister, now a pelting tooth charmer, hauing no reason to defend his obscure rules, quite put me to filence before a well learned audience, the one a cobler, the 16 other a carman, the last a collyer. These beeing poore men, had I for pittie often eased of their payne, yet was the remedy I vsde somewhat painefull; but not long fince they are come acquainted with the charmer I told ye of; he, in charitable confideration of their greefe, 20 promifed to ease them onely with writing, and after burning, a word or two. Trauelling to a Gentlemans not farre from London, I by the way chaunft to be cald to conferre with him at the same verye instant, where, reproouing his opinion, hee put me downe with fuch a 24 galliemafrey of latine ends, that I was glad to make an end: Yet got I a copy of his charme, which I will fet downe that I may make it common.

A Charme.

F[i]rst, he must know your name, then your age, which in a little paper he sets downe: on the top are these words In verbis, et in herbis, et in lapididus 1 funt virtutes; vnderneath he writes in capitall letters A AB ILLA, HVRS GIBELLA, which he sweres is pure Chalde and the names of three spirites that enter into the bloud and cause rewmes, & so consequently the tootheach. This paper must be likewise three times blest, and at last with a little frankincense burned,

^{1 &#}x27;lapididus' is in Orig., not lapidibus.

which being thrice vsed, is of power to expell the spirites, purifie the bloud, and ease the paine, or else he lyes, for he hath practifed it long, but shall approue it neuer.

Another fort, get hot wiers, and with them they burne out the 4 worme that fo torments the greeued: these fellowes are fit to visit curst wives, and might by their practise doe a number of honest men ease, if they would misse the tooth, and worme the tongue.

Others there are, that perfwade the pained, to hold their mouths 8 open ouer a basen of water by the fire side, and to cast into the fire a handfull of henbane seede, the which naturally hath in enery seede a little worme; the seedes breaking in the fire, vse a kind of cracking, and out of them, it is hard among so many, if no worme sly into the 12 water: which wormes the deceiners affirme to have fallen from the teeth of the diseased. This rare secret is much vsed, and not smally lyked. Sundry other could I set downe, practised by our banner-bearers, but all is soppery; for this I find to be the only remedy for 16 the tooth paine, either to have patience, or to pull them out.

Well, no more for mee, leaft I bee thought to fpeake too largly for my felfe. I had thought to haue had a fling at the rat-catchers, who with their banners difplayed, beare no fmall fway: what I haue to 20 faye to them they shall not yet heare, because I hope they will take warning by other mens harmes. Onely this I affirme, that as some banner-bearers haue in their occupations much craft, the rat-catchers is nothing else but craft.

But flay Kind-hart, if thou make fo long a Chorus betweene enery act, thy iefts will be as flale as thy wit is weake. Therefore leauing those vagabonds to repent their villanyes, Ile bid adieu to maister Doctor, and see who is our next speaker.



Robert Greene to

Pierce Pennilesse.

lerce, if thy Carrier had beene as kinde to me as I expected, I could have dispatched long fince my letters to thee: but it is here as in the world, Donum à dando derivatur: where there is nothing to giue, there is no-

thing to be got. But having now found meanes to fend to thee, I 8 will certifie thee a little of my disquiet after death, of which I thinke thou either hast not heard or wilt not conceive.

Hauing with humble penitence befought pardon for my infinite finnes, and paid the due to death; euen in my graue was I scarse 12 layde, when Enuie (no fit companion for Art) spit out her poyson, to disturbe my rest. Adversus mortuos bellum suscipere, inhumanum est. There is no glory gained by breaking a deade mans skull. Pascitur in vivis livor, post sata quiescit. Yet it appeares contrary in some, 16 that inveighing against my workes, my povertie, my life, my death, my burial, have omitted nothing that may seeme malitious. For my Bookes, of what kind soever, I refer their commendation or dispraise to those that have read them. Onely for my last labours affirming, 20 my intent was to reprove vice, and lay open such villanies, as had beene very necessary to be made knowne, wherof my Blacke Booke, if ever it see light, can sufficiently witnesse.

But for my pouertie, mee thinkes wisedome would have brideled 24 that inuective; for Cuiuis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest. The beginning of my dispraisers is knowne; of their end they are not sure. For my life, it was to none of them at any time hurtful: for my death, it was repentant: my buriall like a Christians.

Alas that men so hastily should run, To write their own dispraise as they have done.

12

For my reuenge, it fuffices, that euery halfe-eyd humanitian may account it, Inflar belluarum immaniffimarum fæuire in cadauer. For the iniurie offred thee, I know I need not bring oyle to thy fire. And albeit I would diffwade thee from more inuectiues against fuch thy 4 aduerfaries (for peace is nowe all my plea) yet I know thou wilt returne answere, that fince thou receiveds the first wrong, thou wilt not endure the last.

My quiet Ghoft (vnquietly difturbed) had once intended thus to 8 haue exclaimed.

Pierce, more witleffe, than pennileffe; more idle, than thine aduerfaries ill imployde; what foolith innocence hath made thee (infant like) refiftleffe to beare what euer iniurie Enuie can impose?

Once thou commended immediate conceit, and gauest no great praise to excellent works of twelue yeres labour: now, in the blooming of thy hopes, thou sufferest flaunder to nippe them ere they can bud: thereby approxing thy selfe to be of all other most flacke, beeing 16 in thine owne cause so remisse.

Colour can there be none found to fladowe thy fainting; but the longer thou deferft, the more greefe thou bringft to thy frends, and giueft the greater head to thy enemies.

What canft thou tell, if (as my felfe) thou shalt bee with death preuented: and then how can it be but thou diest disgrac'd, seeing thou hast made no reply to their twofold Edition of Inucciues?

It may bee thou thinkft they will deale well with thee in death, 24 and fo thy fhame in tollerating them will be fhort: forge not to thy felf one fuch conceit, but make me thy prefident, and remember this olde adage: Leonem mortuum mordent Catuli.

Awake (fecure boy) reuenge thy wrongs, remember mine: thy 28 aduerfaries began the abuse, they continue it: if thou suffer it, let thy life be short in silence and obscuritie, and thy death hastie, hated, and miserable.

All this had I intended to write, but now I wil not give way to 32 wrath, but returne it vnto the earth from whence I tooke it: for with happie foules it hath no harbour.

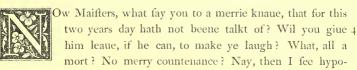
Robert Greene.

Had not my name beene Kind-hart, I would have fworne this had beene fent to my felfe; for in my life I was not more pennilesse than at that instant. But remembring the Author of the Supplication, I laid it aside till I had leysure to seeke him: and taking vp the next, I found written.



To all maligners of honest mirth,

Tarleton wisheth continuall melancholy.



crifie hath the vpper hand, and her fpirit raignes in this profitable generation. Sith it is thus, Ile be a time-pleafer. Fie vppon follow-8 ing plaies, the expence is wondrous; vpon players fpeeches, their wordes are full of wyles; vppon their geftures, that are altogether wanton. Is it not lamentable, that a man fhould fpende his two pence on them in an after-noone, heare couetoufnes amongft them 12 daily quipt at, being one of the commonest occupations in the countrey; and in liuely gesture see trecherie set out, with which euery man now adaies wieth to intrap his brother. Byr lady, this would be lookt into: if these be the fruites of playing, tis time the practisers 16 were expeld.

Expeld (quoth you); that hath been pretily performd, to the no fmal profit of the Bouling-allyes in Bedlam and other places, that were wont in the after-noones to be left empty, by the recourse of good 20 fellows vnto that vnprofitable recreation of Stage-playing.

And it were not much amiffe, would they ioine with the Dicing houses to make fute againe for their longer restraint, though the sick-nesse cease. Is not this well saide (my maisters) of an olde buttond 24 cappe, that hath most part of his life liu'd vppon that against which hee inueighs: Yes, and worthily.

But I have more to fay than this; Is it not greate shame, that the

houses of retaylers neare the Townes end, should be by their continuance impouerished: Alas good hearts, they pay great rentes; and pittie it is but they be prouided for. While Playes are vide, halfe the day is by most youthes that have libertie spent vppon them, or at least the greatest company drawne to the places where they frequent. If they were suppress, the slocke of young people would bee equally parted. But now the greatest trade is brought into one street. Is it not as faire a way to Myle-end by White-chappell, as by Shorditch to Hackney? the Sunne shineth as clearly in the one place, as in the other; the shades are of a like pleasure: onely this is the fault, that by ouermuch heat sometime they are in both places infectious.

As well in this as other things there is great abuse: for in euery house where the venerian virgins are resident, hospitalitie is quite exiled, such since, such taxes, such tribute, such customs, as (poore soules) after seuen yeares service in that vnhallowed order, they are faine to leave their sutes for offerings to the olde Lenos that are shrine-keepers, and themselves (when they begin to break) are saine to seeke harbour in an Hospitall: which chaunceth not (as sometime is thought) to one amongst twentie, but hardly one amongst a hundred have better ending. And therefore seeing they live so hardly, its pitie Players should hinder their takings a peny.

I marry (faies Baudeamus my quondam Hoft) well, faire olde Dicke, that worde was well plac'd: for thou knowst our rentes are so vureasonable, that except wee cut and shaue, and poule, and prig, we must return Non est inventus at the quarter day.

For is not this pittifull? I am a man now as other men be, and haue liu'd in fome fhire of England, till all the Country was wearie 28 of mee. I come vp to London, and fall to be fome Tapfter, Hoftler, or Chamberlaine in an Inne: Well, I get mee a wife, with her a little money: when we are married, seeke a house we must; no other occupation haue I but to be an Ale-draper; the Landlord wil haue fortie pound fine, and twenty marke a yeare; I and mine must not lie in the street: he knows by honest courses I can neuer paye the Rent. What should I say? somewhat must be done, rent must be paid, duties dischargd, or we vndone. To bee short, what must be shall be: indeede sometimes I haue my Landlordes countenance before a Iustice, to cast

a cloake ouer ill-rule, or els hee might seeke such another tenant to pay his rent so truly.

Quaintly concluded (*Peter Pandar*) fomewhat yee must bee, and a bawd ye will bee. I, by my troth fir, why not I as well as my neigh- 4 bors, fince theres no remedy. And you fir, find fault with plaies. Out vpon them, they spoile our trade, as you your selfe haue proued. Beside, they open our crosse-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our snares, our subtilities: for no sooner haue we 8 a tricke of deceipt, but they make it common, singing ligs, and making leasts of vs, that euerie boy can point out our houses as they passe by.

Whither now Tarlton? this is extempore, out of time, tune, and 12 temper. It may be well faid to me:

Stulte, quid hæc faris, &c.
Rusticus ipse, tuis malus es, tili pessimus ipse.

Thy felfe once a Player, and against Players: nay, turne out the ¹⁶ right fide of thy russet coate, and lette the world know thy meaning. Why thus I meane, for now I speake in sobernes.

Euery thing hath in it felfe his vertue and his vice: from one felfe flower the Bee and Spider fucke honny and poyfon. In plaies it fares ²⁰ as in bookes, vice cannot be reproued, except it be difcouered: neither is it in any play difcouered, but there followes in the fame an example of the punishment: now he that at a play will be delighted in the one, and not warned by the other, is like him that reads in a ²⁴ booke the description of finne, and will not looke ouer the leafe for the reward.

Mirth in feafonable time taken, is not forbidden by the aufterest Sapients.

But indeede there is a time of mirth, and a time of mourning. Which time having been by the Magistrats wisely observed, as well for the suppressing of Playes, as other pleasures: so likewise a time may come, when honest recreation shall have his former libertie.

And lette *Tarleton* intreate the yoong people of the Cittie, either to abstaine altogether from playes, or at their comming thither to vse themselues after a more quiet order.

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

In a place fo civil as this Cittie is efteemed, it is more than barbaroufly rude, to fee the fhamefull diforder and routes that fometime in fuch publike meetings are vfed.

The beginners are neither gentlemen, nor citizens, nor any of both their feruants, but fome lewd mates that long for innouation; & when they fee aduantage, that either Seruingmen or Apprentifes are most in number, they will be of either side, though indeed they are of

8 no fide, but men befide all honeftie, willing to make boote of cloakes, hats, purfes, or what euer they can lay holde on in a hurley burley. Thefe are the common caufers of difcord in publike places. If otherwife it happen (as it feldome doth) that any quarrell be betweene man

12 and man, it is far from manhood to make fo publike a place their field to fight in: no men will doe it, but cowardes that would faine be parted, or haue hope to haue manie partakers.

Nowe to you that maligne our moderate merriments, and thinke 16 there is no felicitie but in excefliue possession of wealth: with you I would ende in a song, yea an Extempore song on this Theame, Ne quid nimis necessarium: but I am now hoarse, and troubled with my Taber and Pipe: beside, what pleasure brings musicke to the miserable.

20 Therefore letting fonges paffe, I tell them in fadnes, how euer Playes are not altogether to be commended: yet fome of them do more hurt in a day, than all the Players (by exercizing theyr profession) in an age. Faults there are in the professors as other men, this the greatest,

24 that divers of them beeing publike in euerie ones eye, and talkt of in euery vulgar mans mouth, fee not how they are feene into, especially for their contempt, which makes them among most men most contemptible.

Of them I will fay no more: of the profession, so much hath Pierce Pennilesse (as I heare fay) spoken, that for mee there is not any thing to speake. So wishing the chearefull, pleasaunce endlesse; and the wilfull sullen, sorrow till they surfet; with a turne on the toe I 32 take my leaue.

Richard Tarleton.

When I had done with this, one thing I mislikte, that Tarleton stoode no longer on that point of Landlords: For lamentable it is (in

Kind-harts opinion) to note their vnreasonable exaction. I my selfe knew a Landlord, that beginning to inlarge a little Tenement, was according to statute prohibited: hee made humble suite that the worke might go forward; for, good man, he meant not to make 4 thereby any benefite, but even in charitie he would turne it into an Almes-house. This godly motion was liked, and he allowed to goe forward with his building. The worke ended, in all the Country there could not poore bee found worthy, or at least able, to enter into 8 the same.

To be fhort, it was turned into a Tauerne, and with rent and fine in few monthes turnd the Tenant out of doores. Yet it hath beene faide, the poore man did what hee might, Cum vino & venere, to 12 continue his ftate: but the Landlord had made fuch a Dent in his ftocke, that with all the wit in his head it would not bee ftopt. I befhrew the Card-makers, that clapt not a gowne about the Knaue of Hartes, & put him on a hat for a bonnet ouer his night-cappe, then 16 had not after Age taken care for the Image of this excellent Almefhouse builder, but in euerie Ale-house should have beene referued his monument, till Macke, Maw, Russe, Noddy, and Trumpe, had beene no more vsde, than his charitie is felt.

Pitie it is fuch Wolues are not shakte out of sheeps cloathing. Elder times detested such extremitie: the Gospels liberty (howsoeuer some Libertines abuse it) gives no such license: by their avarice Religion is slandered, lewdnes is bolstered, the suburbs of the Citie are 24 in many places no other but darke dennes for adulterers, theeues, murderers, and every mischiefe worker: daily experience before the Magistrates confirmes this for truth.

I would the hart of the Cittie were whole, for both within and ²⁸ without, extreame crueltie caufeth much beggerie. *Victa iacet pietas*, and with pietie pittie. Selfe loue hath exiled charitie: and as among beaftes the Lyon hunteth the Wolfe, the Wolfe deuoureth the Goate, and the Goate feedeth on mountaine hearbs: fo among men, the 3² great oppresse the meaner, they againe the meanest: for whom hard fare, colde lodging, thinne cloathes, and fore labour is onely allotted.

To fee how foone the world is changd: In my time I remember two men, the one a Diuine, the other a Cittizen: it was their vfe, at 36

pence.

the time they should quarterly receive their duties (for the first was well beneficed, the later a great Landlord) when they came to anie poore creature, whome sicknesse had hindered, or mischaunce im-4 paired, or many children kept lowe: they would not onely forgive what they should receive, but give bountifully for the releese of their present necessitie.

The olde Prouerbe is verefied, Seldome comes the better: and they 8 are possest: the poore of that comfort dispossest.

Some Landlords hauing turnd an old Brue-house, Bake-house, or Dye-house, into an Alley of tenements, will either themselues, or some at their appointment, keepe tipling in the fore-house (as they call 12 it) and their poore tenantes must bee inioinde to fetch bread, drinke, wood, cole, and such other necessaries, in no other place: and there till the weekes ende they may haue any thing of trust, prouided they lay to pawne their holiday apparell: nay, my Land-lady will not onely doe them that good turne, but if they want money, she will on munday lend them likewise vppon a pawne eleuen pence, and in meere pittie askes at the weekes end not a penny more than twelue

O charitable loue, happy tenants of fo kinde a Landlady: I warrant ye this Usurie is within the Statute, it is not aboue fine hundred for the loane of a hundred by the yeare.

Neyther will they doe this good to their tenantes alone, but they 24 will deale with their husbandes, that for a little roome with a smoakie chimney (or perchaunce none, because smoake is noysome) they shall pay at the least but fortie shillings yearly.

Fie vpon fines, thats the vndooing of poore people: weele take 28 none (fay these good creatures) marry for the key wee must have consideration, that is, some Angell in hand: for verely the last tenant made vs change the locke: neither thinke we deale hardly, for it stands in a good place, quite out of company, where handicrast men 32 may have legsure to get their living, if they knew on what to set themselves a worke.

Now for all this kindnesse, the Land-lord scarce asketh of the tenant thankes (though hee deserve it well), for (as I saide) his Wise 36 is all the dealer: so plaies the Parson (the person I should say, I

would bee loath to be miftaken) that I tolde yee before builded the Almef-house. The care of rentes is committed to his Wife, he is no man of this world, but as one metamorphized from a Saint to a Deuill.

How now Kindhart? shall we never have done with these Landlordes? It seemes well thou hast as little land as witte: for while thou livest they wil not mend, and therefore its as good to

make an ende, as wafte winde. Well, all this was of good will to helpe *Tarleton* out with his tale. Now let me fee what note *Cuckoe* fings, for tis his lucke to be laft.

12

8





William Cuckoe to all close

Iuglers wisheth the discouery of their crafts, and punishment for their knaueries.

Oome for a craftic knaue, cries William Cuchoe. Knaue, nay, it will neare hande beare an action: Bones a mee, my trickes are stale, and all my old companions turnd into Civill sutes. I perceive the worlde is all honestie,

8 if it be no other than it lookes. Let me fee, if I can fee: beleeue mee theres nothing but iugling in euery corner; for euery man hath learnd the mysterie of casting mysts; & though they vie not our olde tearms of hey-passe, re-passe, and come aloft: yet they can by-passe, compasse, and bring vnder one another as cunningly and commonly, as euer poore Cuchoe coulde command his lacke in a Boxe.

Yet my maisters, though you robde me of my trade, to give recompence, after death I have borrowed a tongue a little to touch their 16 tricks.

And now fir, to you that was wont like a Subfifter in a gown of rugge rent on the left fhoulder, to fit finging the Counter-tenor by the Cage in Southwarke: me thinks ye fhould not looke fo coyly on 20 olde Cuckoe. What man, it is not your figne of the Ape and the Urinall can carry away our olde acquaintance?

I trust yee remember your iugling at Newington with a Christall stone, your knaueries in the wood by Wansleed, the wondrous treasure 24 you would discouer in the Ile of Wight, al your villanies about that peece of service, as persect[1]y known to some of my friends yet living as their Pater noster, who curse the time you ever came in their Creed.

28 But I perceive you fare as the Fox, the more band, the better hap.

I wonder what became of your familiar, I meane no Deuill, man; but a man Deuil: and yet I need not wonder, for fince my descending to vnder earth, I heard say he was hangd for his knauerie, as you in good time may be, Amen. Amend I should say, but I thinke yee 4 meane it not: the matter is not great, for (thanks be to God) how ever you mend in manners, the world is wel amended with your man and you.

I pray ye was that hee which was your inftrument in *Notingam-8 fhire*, to make your name fo famous for finding things loft? It may be, you forgot that one fetch among many: and leaft it should bee out of your heade, Ile helpe to beate it into your braines.

Your Maship vpon a horse whose hire is not paid for, with your 12 Page at your stirrop, like a Castilian Caualier, lighted pennilesse at a pretie Inne, where that day sate certain Iustices in Commission. Your high hart, carelesse of your present neede, would needes for your selfe share out one of the fairest chambers. Your Page must 16 be purueyer for your diet, who in the kitchin sound nothing for your liking. Beese was grosse, veale slashy, mutton sulfome, rabbets, hens, & capons, common. Wild soule for Will soole, or he will saft.

Well, at your will ye shall be furnisht. But now a Ingling tricke to pay the shot.

My Impe your man, while mistriffe, men, and maids were bushed about prouision for the Iustices that fate, slips into a private parlour, 24 wherein stood good store of plate, and conveying a massy sault vnder his Capouch, little lesse woorth than twentie marke, got secretely to the back-side, and cast it into a silthie pond: which done, he acquaints your knaueship with the deed.

By then your diet was dreft, the fault was mift, the good Wife cryde out, the maydes were ready to runne madde.

Your man, (making the matter ftrange) inquired the cause: which when they tolde. O (quoth hee) that my maister would deale in the 32 matter, I am fure he can do as much as any in the world.

Well, to you they come pitifully complaining; when very wrathfully (your choler rifing) you demaund reason why they should thinke

yee bee able to deale in fuch cases. Your kind nature (bent alwayes to lenitie) yeelded at the last to their importuning: onely wisht them to stay till the nexte day, for that you would not deale while the 4 Iustices were in the house.

They must do as your discretion appoints: next day, calling the good-man and wife to your bed-fide, ye tell them the salte was stolne by one of their familiars, whom he had forced by Art to bring it 8 backe againe to the house, and in such a pond to cast it, because he would not have the partie knowne, for feare of trouble.

As you direct them, they fearch and find: then comes your name in rare admiration; the Hoft giues you foure Angels for a reward, the 12 Hoftesse two French crowns: the maydes are double diligent to doe you service, that they may learne their fortunes; the whole towne talks of the cunning man, that indeed had onely connycatcht his Hoft.

16 If that flip-ftring bee ftill in your feruice, I aduife you make much of him, for by that tricke he prou'd himfelfe a toward youth, neceffary for fuch a maifter. This iugling paffes Cuchoes play. Well, I aduife you play leaft in fight in London, for I have fette fome to 20 watch for your comming, that will iuftifie all this and more of your fhifting life.

Returne to your olde craft and play the Pinner: although it be a poore life, it is an honest life: your fallacies will one day faile ye.

There is another Iugler, that beeing well skild in the Iewes Trumpe, takes vpon him to bee a dealer in Musicke: especial good at mending Instruments: he iugled away more instrumentes of late, than his bodie (being taken) will euer be able to make good.

Tut, thats but a plaine tricke: How fay ye by fome Iuglers that can ferue writs without any original, and make poore men dwelling farre off, compound with them for they knowe not what? I tell you there bee fuch, that by that trick can make a vacation time quicker

32 to them than a Terme: who troubling threefcore or fourefcore men without caufe, get of fome a crowne, of others a noble, of diuers a pound, befide the ordinarie coftes of the writ, to put off their appearance, when no fuch thing was toward.

Fie vpon these Iuglers, they make the lawes of the Realme be ill

fpoken of, and are cause that plaine people thinke all Lawyers like them: as appeares by a poore old man by chance comming into one of the worshipful Innes of the Court, where fundry Ancients and Students both honorable and worshipfull fate at supper: the poore 4 man admiring their comely order and reuerent demeanor, demaunded of a flander by, what they were. Gentlemen (faid hee) of the Innes of Court. Lord bleffe hem (quoth plaine Coridon) beene they of Queens Court? No, faid the other, but of the Innes of Court, 8 What doon they, quoth the Countrey man; wotten yee? The other answered, that they were all Lawyers, and Students of the Lawe. Now, well a neere cries plaine Simplicitie: wee han but one Lawyer with vs, and hee spoyles all the Parish: but heere been now to marre 12 the whole shire. His simplenes was by the hearers well taken, and the Lawiers name inquird, who prou'd no other but one of thefe pettifogging Iuglers, that, having fcraped vp a few common places, and by long Sollicitership got in to be an odd Atturney, was not long 16 fince difgraded of his place by pitching ouer the Barre, yet promoted to looke out of a wodden window, cut after the Doue hole fashion, with a paper on his futtle pate, containing the iugling before shewed. So fortune it to his fellowes, and let their mifery come cito pede. 20 Law is in it felfe good, the true Professors to be highly esteemd. But as in Divinity it fometime fares that Schismatikes, Heretikes, and fuch like, make Scripture a cloake for their detefted errors, and by their practifes feeke to make the reverend Divines contemptible; fo 24 a fort of Connycatchers (as I may call them) that haue gathered vp the gleanings of the Law, onely expert to begin controuersies, and vtterly ignorant of their end, perswade the simple that if they will follow their rules, thus and thus, it shall chance to their speedy quiet- 28 ing, and that Atturneys, Counfellers and Serieants, are too coffly to bee dealt with fimply, but by their mediation, who are able to fpeak when Counfell failes, and give more ease in an houre, than the best Benchers in a yeare; when, God wot, they doo no more good than a 32 Drone in a Hiue. These Iuglers are too cunning for Cuckoe, and in the end will proue too crafty for themselues. Other Juglers there bee, that having favour from Authority to feeke fome thing to themfelues beneficiall, and to the Common-wealth not prejudiciall, under 36

colour of orderly dealing, haue hookt into their hands the whole liuing to a number poore men belonging. These, when they were complaind on, immediately tooke an honest course, and promist large 4 reliefe yeerely to them they wrong: But euery promife is either broken, or kept, & fo it fares with them: I proteft if their Iugling were fet downe, it would make a prety volume: but I wil let them passe, because there is hope they will remember themselues. To set 8 downe the Iugling in Trades, the crafty tricks of buyers and fellers. the fwearing of the one, the lying of the other, were but to tell the worlde that which they well knowe, and therefore I will likewife ouerflip that. There is an occupation of no long standing about 12 London called Broking or brogging, whether ye will; in which there is pretty Iugling, especially to blind Law, and bolster Usury: if any man be forft to bring them a pawne, they will take no interest, not past twelue pence a pound for the month; marry, they must have a 16 groat for a monthly bill: which is a bill of fale from month to month; so that no aduantage can be taken for the Ufurie. I heare fay its well multiplied fince I died; but I befhrewe them, for in my life many a time haue I borrowed a shilling on my Pipes, and paid a 20 groat for the bill, when I have fetcht out my pawne in a day.

This Iugling exceeds *Cuchoes* gettings, and fundry times turnd poore *William* to his fhifts. Indeede I deny not, but in their kind fome of them deale well, and wil preferue a mans goods fafe, if he 24 keep any reasonable time: these are not so blameable, as they that make immediate fale. If euer I haue oportunity to write into the world againe, I will learne who abuse it most, and who vie it best, and set ye downe their dwelling places.

Now I will draw to an end, concluding with a Mafter Iugler, that he may be well knowne if he be got into any obscure corner of the Countrey. This Shifter forsooth carried no leffe countenance than a Gentlemans abilitie, with his two men in blue coates, that served for thares, not wages. Hee being properly seated in a Shire of this Realme, and by the report of his men bruted for a cunning man,

grew into credit by this practife.

His house beeing in a Village through which was no thorough 36 Fare, his men, and sometime his Mastershippe in their company, at

midnight woulde goe into their neighbours feuerall grounds, being farre diftant from their dwelling houses, and oftentimes driue from thence Horses, Mares, Oxen, Kine, Calues, or Sheepe, what euer came next to hande, a mile perchaunce or more out of the place 4 wherein they were left.

Home would they return, and leaue the cattel ftraying: In the morning, fometime the milke-maids miffe their Kine, another day the Plough-hinds their Oxen, their Horses another time, somewhat of 8 fome woorth once a weeke lightly. Whither can these poore people go but to the wise mans worship? Perchaunce in a morning two or three come to complaine and seeke remedie, who, welcommed by one of his men, are seuerally demaunded of their losses. If one come for 12 sheepe, another for other cattell, they are all at first tolde, that his Maistership is a sleepe, and, till hee himselse call, they dare not trouble him.

But very kindly he takes them into the hall, and when his worship 16 flirs, promifes them they shall speake with him at liberty. Now fir behind a curtaine in the hall flands a shelfe garnisht with bookes, to which my mate goes under to take one downe. And as he takes it down, pulleth certaine strings which are fastened to seuerall small 20 bels in his Maisters chamber; and as the bels strike, hee knowes what cattell his neighbors come to feeke, one bell being for Oxen, another for kine, another for fwine, &c. A while after he stamps, and makes a noyfe aboue; the feruingman intreats the Suters to go vp, and 24 hee hearing them comming, himselfe kindly opens them the dore, and ere euer they speake, falutes them, protesting for their losse great forrowe, as if hee knew their griefes by reuelation, comforts them with hope of recouery, and fuch like wordes. They cry out, Iefu 28 bleffe your Mastership, what a gift haue you to tel our mindes, and neuer heares vs fpeake. I, neighbors, faith he, ye may thanke God: I trust I am come among ye to doe ye all good. Then knowing which way they were driuen, hee bids them goe either East-ward, or South- 32 warde to feeke neere fuch an Oake or rowe of Elmes, or water, or fuch like marke neere the place where the Cattell were left; and hee affures them that by his skill the theeues had no power to carry them farther than that place. They runne and feek their cattle, which 36 when they finde, O admirable wife man, the price of a Cow we will not flicke with him for; happy is the fhire where fuch a one dwels. Thus doe the pore coufoned people proclaime, and fo our fhifter is

- 4 fought too far and neere. I thinke this be jugling in the highest degree: if it be not, *Cuckoe* is out of his compasse. Well, the world is full of holes, and more shiftes were neuer practise. But this is *Cuckoes* counsell, that yee leave in time, lest being connicted like my
- 8 Hoaft of the Anchor, ye pine your felues in prifon to faue your eares from the Pillory: an end too good for Iugling shifters, and cosening periurers.

William Cuckoe.

Ha firra, I am glad we are at an end: Kindhart was neuer in his life fo weary of reading. Beshrew them for me, they have wakened me from a good sleepe, and weried me almost out of my wits. Here hath beene a coile indeede, with lewd fong singers, drench givers,

16 detracters, players, oppreffors, rentraifers, bawdes, brothel-houses, shifters, and Iuglers. But fith they have all done, turne ouer the lease and heare how merrily Kindhart will conclude.



Englandes Mourning Garment:

Worne here by plaine Shepheardes;

in memorie of their sacred Mistresse,

ELIZABETH, Queene of Vertue while shee liued, and Theame of Sorrow, being dead.

To which is added the true manner of her Emperiall Funerall.

After which followeth the Shepheards Spring-Song, for entertainement of King I AMES our most potent Soueraigne.

Dedicated to all that loued the deceased Queene, and honor the liuing King.

Non Verbis sed Virtute.



¶Printed at London by V.S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder saint Peters Church in Cornhil.





To all true Louers of the right grati-

ous Queene Elizabeth, in her life; being

vndoubtedly those faithful Subiects that now honor and affect our most potent Lord, King *Iames*, after her death.

4

Y Epiffle to you, is like the little Towne that the Cynicke would have perfwaded the Citizens was ready to runne out at the great gates, being 8 fcarce fo long as the Title. In a word, the negligence of many better able, hath made mee bolde to write a fmall Epitomie, touching the aboundant Vertues of Elizabeth our late facred Mistris. Intreating of her Princely birth, chaste 12 life, royall gouernement, and happie death; being a Lady borne, living, raigning, dying, all for Englandes good. The manner is handled betweene Shepheardes, the forme of speach like the persons, rude: Affection exceedeth Eloquence, and I 16 have not shewne much Arte; but express the dutie of a louing heart: Shead some teares in reading our Shepheards forrow; and in that true passion, let your love to our royall Lord be

fhewne: who hateth hypocrites, as iust men Hell. Farewell all of you that give the dead Queene a sad Farewell, and the living King a glad Welcome; the rest are Time-pleasers, and 4 I write not to them.

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.





Englands Mourning Garment.

Wrought by plaine Shepheardes, for the death of that most excellent Empresse Elizabeth, 4 Queene of Vertue, while she liued; and Theame of Sorrow, being dead.

THENOT. COLLIN.

Thenot.	8
Ollin, thou look'ft as lagging as the day	
When the Sun fetting toward his westerne bed,	
Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,	
And frolicke life with murkie clowds o're-fpred,	I 2
Shall leaue all earthly beautie mongst the dead;	
Such is the habite of thy new aray:	
Why art thou not preparde to welcome Maie,	
In whose cleere Moone thy yonglings shall be fed,	16
With nights fweetes dewes, and open flowers of day?	
Collin.	
I answere thee with woe and welaway,	
I am in fable clad, fith fhe cannot be had	20
That me and mine did glad;	
there's all I'le fay.	
Thenot.	
Well fpoken Swaine, let me thy forrowe ken,	24
Rich foule, though wrong'd by idle Antike men,	
And driuen by falfhood to a clowdy den,	
Tell me thy griefe.	

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

Collin.

O it is past reliefe; and which is worst of worst, Bayards and beasts accurst, with grosest flattery nurst:

4 Haue fung her facred name, and prais'd her to their fhame,
Who was our laft and first.

Thenot.

Deere Collin, doe not checke the humblest fong,

8 The will is euer maister of the worke,

Those that can fing, have done all Shepheards wrong, Like lozels in their cotages to lurke:

The aire's the aire, though it be thicke and murke:

12 If they to whom true Paftoralls belong,

In needefull layes, vie neither pipe nor tong,

Shall none the vertuous raife?

Collin.

16 Yes, those that merit Bayes, Though teares restraine their layes, Some weeping houres or dayes

will finde a time

20 To honor Honor ftil: not with a rural quil, But with the foule of fkil,

to bleffe their rime.

Aye me! why should I dote

on rimes, on fongs, or note,

Confusion can best quote,

24

. facred Elizaes losse,

Whose praise doth grace al verse,

that shal the same reherse,

No gold neede decke her herse;

to her al gold is droffe.

With that, Collin in discontent, brake his pipe, and in that passion, 32 as if his heart had beene like his Pipe, parted each piece from the other, hee fel without sense on the earth, not then insensible of his forrow; for it yielded, wept and groaned at once with his fal, his weepings and his sighs. Poore Th. showted for help; at whose cal

I 2

came fome Nymphs ful of forrow for their Soueraigne; and no whit amazed to fee him lie as dead, their hearts were fo dead, with thinking of that which had aftonied his. But yet, as gathering of companies draw more & more to wonder, fo prooued it among the fhepheards, 4 that left none but their curres to attend their flockes, themfelues flocking about *Thenot & Collin*, who now recouered from his trance, and al asking the reafon of this griefe, with teares abounding in his eyes, that likewife drew more abundantly from theirs, he diftractedly 8 answered,

Illum nec enim reprehendere fas est, Qui sleat hanc, cuius fregerunt stamina parcæ, Solus honor sequitur mortales ille misellos.

And therewithall making a figne for the Shepheardes and Nymphes to fit downe, hee tolde them, they had loft that facred Nymph, that careful Shepheardesse Eliza; but if it pleased them to lend attention, he would repeate something of her, worth memorie, that should liue ¹⁶ in despite of death: whereupon a still silence seized them al, sauing

Collin thus beganne.

Seeing Honor onely foloweth mortals, and the works of the ²⁰ vertuous die not with their deaths, and yet those workes neuerthelesse with the honors and rites due to the departed, might be much blemished, if there were no gratitude in their successors: let vs poore Rurals (though no other wayes able to erect Statues for our late ²⁴ dread Soueraigne, worthy al memory,) among our selues repeate part of her excellent Graces, and our benefite obtained by her Gouernment: for, to reckon all, were *Opus infinitum*, a labour without end.

onely now and then, by fighing they exprest their hearts forrow: and

She was the vindoubted iffue of two royall princes, Henry of Lan ²⁸ cafter and Elizabeth of Yorke. In whose viion the quiet of vs poore Swaines began: for till that bleffed mariage, England was a shambles of slaughtred men: so violent was the blood of ambition, so potent the factions, and so implacable their heads; whose eyes were neuer ³² cleard till they were washt in blood, euen in the deare blood of their Obiects hearts. This King, Grandfather to our late Queene, was the

first Brittish King, that many a hundred yeares before wore the Emperiall Diademe of England, France and Ireland: in him began the name of Tewther, descended from the ancient Brittish Kings, to florish; 4 the iffue male of royal Plantagenet ending in his beginning: his wife, Grandmother to our late Elizabeth, being the last Plantagenet, whose Temples were here circled with a sphere of golde. Which King and Queene liued and loved, and now lie intoombed in that 8 most samous Chappell, built at his Kingly charge in the Abbey of Westminster: King Henry, dying in a good age, lest England rich, beautifull, and full of peace; and so bless with his issue, after royally matcht to Scotland & France, besides his vindoubted heire King Henry 12 of samous memory the eight; that no Kingdome in the earth more florished.

His fonne, the Father of our Elizabeth, was to his Enemies dreadfull, to his friends gracious, vnder whose Ensigne the Emperour himselfe 16 feru'd: so potent a Prince He was: besides, so liberal and bounteous, that he seemed like the Sunne in his Meridian, to showre downe gold round about the Horizon: But hee dide too, and left vs three Princely hopes; all which haue seuerally succeeded other, royally 20 maintaining the right of England, and resisted all forraine wrong.

For King Edward our late Soueraignes Brother, though he died yong in yeares, left inftance hee was no Infant in vertues; his learning, towardnes and zeale, was thought fitter for the focietie of Angels 24 than men, with whome no doubt his fpirit liues eternally.

Such affurance haue we of the happinesse of that royall gracious and worthy Ladie Mary his eldest sister: who in her death express the care of her Kingdomes, so much lamenting one Townes losse, that shee told her attendant Ladies, if they would rippe her heart when she was dead, they should finde Callice written in it. O Thenot, with all you other Nymphs and Swaines, learne by this worthie Queene, the care of Soueraignes, how heart-sicke they are for their subjects losse; and thinke what felicitie we poore wormes liue in, that haue such royall Patrons, who carke for our peace, that we may quietly eate the bread of our owne labor, tend our slockes in safety, asking of vs nothing but feare and duety, which humanity allowes,

36 and heaven commands.

With this, *Thenot* interrupted *Collin*, telling him, there were a number of true shepheards misliked that Princes life, and ioyed greatly at her death: withall, beginning to shew some reasons, but *Collin* quickely interrupted him in these words:

Peace, Thenot, peace, Princes are facred things; It fits not Swaines to thinke amiffe of Kings.

For, faith he, the faults of Rulers (if any be faultie) are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and feeing none is 8 fuperiour to a King but God, to him alone referre their actions. And where thou termest them true shepheards that so envied that Ladies gouernement, thou art deceived, they are still as they then were, prowd phanatike spirited counterfaites, expert in nothing but 12 ignorance, fuch as hate all rule: for who refifteth correction more than fooles, though they deferue it most? Beleeue me, Thenot, and all you well affected Swaines, there is no greater marke for a true shepheard to be knowne by, than Humilitie, which, God he knowes, those mad men 16 most want; too much experience haue we of their threed-bare pride, who bite the dead, as liuing curres may lions: not contented with their fcandals of that Royall Lady, our late Soueraignes Sifters, but they have troubled the cleare fprings of our Mistresse Elizabeths 20 bleffed gouernement: nay, my felfe have feene & heard with glowing eares, some of them, euen in the fields of Calydon, when his Excellence that is now our emperial! Shepheard, was onely Lord of their foldes, speake of his Maiestie more audaciously and malapertly, than any of vs would 24 doe of the meanest officer. For as I saide euen now, if Rulers chance to flip, it is most vnfusferable, that every impudent rayler should with the breath of his mouth stirre the chassie multitude, whose eares itch for nouelties, whose mindes are as their numbers, diverse: not able to 28 iudge themselues, much lesse their soueraignes. But they ought, if they be true Pastors, to follow the great Pan, the Father of al good fhepheards, Christ, who teacheth euery of his Swaines to tell his brother privately of his fault, and againe, and againe,—by that glorious 32 number, three, including numbers numberlefle,-before it be told the Church. If then they must, being true shepheards, deale so with

their brethren, how much more ought their followers do to their Soueraigns, being Kings and Queenes? And not in the place where facred and morall manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the 4 rude to be more vnmannerly, instructing enery Punie to compare with the most reuerend Prelate, and by that example to haue euery Cobler account himfelfe a King.

Oh, faide Thenot, Collin, there are some would il thinke of you, 8 should they heare you thus talke, for they reproue all out of zeale, and must spare none.

Peace to thy thoughts, Thenot, answered Collin, I know thou knoweft there is a zeale that is not with knowledge acquainted; but 12 let them and their madde zeale passe; let vs forget their railings against Princes: And beginne with her beginning, after her Royall Sifters ending, who departing from this earthly kingdome the feauenteenth of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord 1558. immediately there-16 upon, Elizabeth, the hand maide to the Lord of Heauen, and Empresse of all Maides, Mothers, youth and men then liuing in this English Earth, was proclaimed Queene with generall applause; being much pittied, for that bufie flander and respectlesse enuy had not long before 20 brought her into the disfauour of her royall Sifter Mary, whom we last remembred: In the continuance of whose displeasure, stil stil made greater by fome great Enemies, how fhe fcap't, needs no repeating, being fo wel knowne. Preferued flee was from the violence of death; 24 her blood was precious in the fight of GOD, as is the blood of al his Saints; it was too deare to be powred out like water on the greedy earth; she liued, and wee haue liued vnder her, fortie and odde yeres, fo wonderfully bleft, that all Nations have wondred at their owne 28 afflictions and our prosperitie; and she dyed as she lived with vs, still careful of our peace; finishing even then the greatest wonder of all, our deferts confidered, by appointing the Kingdome to fo iust and lawfull a Ruler to fucceede her: whom all true English knew for their 32 vndoubted Lord, immediately after her death. But left we end ere we begin, I wil returne to her: who being feated in the Throne of Maieftie, adorned with al the vertues diuine and moral, appeared to vs like a goodly Pallace where the Graces kept their feuerall man-36 fions.

First, faith aboundantly shone in her, then yong, and lost not her brightnesse in her age, for she beleeued in her Redeemer, her trust was in the King of Kings, who preferued her, as the Apple of his eye, from all treacherous attempts, as many being made against her life, as 4 against any Princesse that euer liued: yet she was stil confident in her Saujour, whose name she glorified in all her actions, confessing her victories, preferuings, dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent examples, this one feruing for the rest, that after the dissipa- 8 tion of the Spanish Armatho accounted inuincible, she came in person to Paules croffe, and there, among the meanest of her people, confessed, Non nobis Domine, non nobis; sed nomini tuo Gloria. And as the was euer conftant in cherishing that faith wherein shee was from 12 her infancie nourisht, so was shee faithful of her word, with her people, and with forraine nations. And albeit I know fome (too humoroufly affected to the Roman gouernement) make a question in this place, whether her highnesse first brake not the truce with the King of 16 Spaine: to that I could answere, (were it pertinent to mee in this place, or for a poore shepheard to talke of state,) with vnreproouable truths, that her highnes fuffred many wrongs before the left off the league. 20

O, faith *Thenot*, in fome of those wrongs resolue vs, and thinke it no vnsitting thing, for thou that hast heard the songs of that warlike Poet *Philesides*, good *Melæbee*, and smooth tongued *Melæbet*, tell vs what thou hast observed in their sawes, seene in thy owne experience, ²⁴ and heard of vndoubted truths touching those accidents: for that they adde, I doubt not, to the glory of our *Eliza*.

To this entreatie Collin condifeended, and thus spake. It is not vnknowen the Spaniard, a mighty nation, abounding with treasure, 28 being warres sinewes, torne from the bowels of Mines, fetcht from the sands of Indian Riuers, by the miserable captiued natiues, have purposed to be Lordes of Europe. France they have attempted and failed in, Nauarre they have greatly distrest, Lumbardy the garden of the 32 world, they are possessed of: Naples and Sicilie, Sardinia, Corsica, are forced to obey their lawes: and that they reckoned England should be theirs, with such small ease, even in a maner with threatning, their Songs, taught little infants from Andoloxia to Galizia, are witnessed. 36

quifition vpon enery finall colour: if they scaped, which seldome forted out fo wel, aliue, could of their goods haue no reftitution. Their King 4 gaue pensions to our Queenes Rebellious fugitiue subiectes, and not onely to fuch, that in regard of their Religion fled the land, but vnto fuch as had attempted to refift her in active rebellion: and yet not flaving there, out of his treafury proposed rewards for fundry to attempt 8 the murder of her facred person: of which persidious gilt she neuer was tainted: let any Spaniard, or Spanish affected English, proue where the euer hired, abetted, or procured any fuch against their kings Maiestie, and I wil yeeld to be esteemed as false as falshood it selse: 12 nay, they cannot deny, but that euen with the Rebels of her Realme of Ireland, flird vp to barbarous and inhumane outrages by the Spanish policie, shee hath no way dealt but by faire and laudable warre.

But before I enter into her Maiesties lenitie in that Irish warre, 16 against fundry knowne Rebels, and punishing some of her subjects, that vpon a zeale to her, or perchance, to get themselues a glorie, aduentured their owne liues by trecherie to cut off the liues of fome great Leaders of the Rebels, I wil a little digreffe, left I should be 20 thought, after her death, to maintaine the fire of hate, which I euer in heart defired might honourably be quencht, betweene thefe potent Kingdomes of England and Spaine.

I wish all that reade this, to bury old wrongs, & to pray that it 24 would please G o D of his inestimable mercie, to roote out all malice from Christian Nations: and, as our Royall Soueraigne now raigning, hath conferued league and peace with al Princes, fo, for the weale of Christendome, it may more and more increase, that the open enemies 28 of Christ may the better be repelled from those wealthy Kingdomes in the Eaft, where they have many hundred yeares most barbarously tyrannized: for no man doubts, but the blood fhed within thefe thirtie yeares, as well of English, as Scottish, Spanish, Dutch, and Portugall, 32 in the quarrell of Religion, might, if G o p had so beene pleased, bin

able to have driven the heathen Monarch from his neerest holde in Hungaria, to the fal of Danubia in the Euxine fea, especially with the affiftaunce of the French that have cruelly falne, either vpon others

36 fwords.

But I truft God hath fuffered this offence, to adde more glory to our mighty King, that hee should be the most famous of all his predecessors, as indeed he is the most mightie, and hath beene raised to this Realme as a Sauiour, to deliuer *England*, and make it more 4 abundant in blessings, when many lookt it should have had all her glory swallowed vp of spoile.

The highnesse of his emperial place, greatnesse of his blood, mightinesse of his alliance, but most, his constancy in the true profession of 8 Religion, euen amid my forrowes, Thenot, sil me with ioyes: when I consider how a number that gaped for our destruction, haue their mouths shut close, yet emptie where they thought to eate the sweetes of our paineful sweate: but God be praised, as I saide before, her 12 Highnesse that ruled vs many yeeres in peace, lest vs, in her death, more secure, by committing vs to our lawful Prince, matcht to a royal fruitful Lady, that hath borne him such hopeful issue, that the dayes we lately seared, I trust are as farre off, as this instant is, from the 16 end of al earthly times: who shal not onely, with their royall father, maintaine these his kingdomes in happy peace, but subject more vnder him, and spreade the banners of Christ in the face of misbelecuers.

In this hope I here breake off, and returne to our late Soueraignes care of keeping Faith, euen toward her Rebel fubiects, which I wil manifest in some two or three examples of the Irish.

When the Oneale, in the time of that memorable Gentleman Sir 24 Henry Sidney his Deputie-ship of Ireland, was mightily strengthned in his Country, and so potent, that the Deputie had many dangerous and vnadvantageable skirmishes against him; A servant of her Maiesties, one Smith, thinking to doe a worthy peece of service, by 28 poysoning the Oneale, prepared a little bottle, parted in the middest; one side containing good wine, the other with tempered poyson of the same colour, and that he carries to the Oneale, vnder colour of gratification for that his armie lay farre from the Sea, or Marchantable 32 Townes, and hee thought Wine was vnto him very daintie: which the Oneale accepted kindely, for that the saide Smith was borne in the Oneales Countrey: and such the Irish doe especially, and before

others, trust to bring messages, even from their greatest ennemies, vnder whome they serve.

But the deceit being quickly spide, Smyth was by the Oneill sent 4 bound to the Deputie, to whose plot hee would faine haue imputed the same practise: but contrarily, the Deputie publikely punished the said Smyth, and her Maiestie refus'd him for her servant; saying, she would keepe none neare her that would deale trecherously, no, though 8 it were against traitors.

The like example was showne on an other that would have attempted the poisoning of Rory Og, a bloody and dangerous Rebell.

To which may be added, that her Highnesse, among other trespasses, 12 objected by her Atturney against a connicted Deputie, was, that he went about by poyson to have tooke away the life of Fest Mac Hue, a Rebell more immane & barbarous than any of the other two: the Lord chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas (yet living) opening at the same time, how iust a spirit her Maiestie was possessed with, that shee hated treason, even to traitors; much more, then, to annointed Kings, whose honors and reputations she so maintained, that shee not long since punished by fine and imprisonment, a wealthy railer, for 20 vnreverent words spoken against the person of king Philip, her open-

and professed enemie: So saithfull, so iust, so gracious was she.

And to make it more plaine, that Spaine intended England the first wrong, so long time before it was muttered; but after that memorable battell of Lepanto, wherein Don Iohn of Austria obtained the triumphant Christian victorie against the Turkes; to rewarde him, England was the kingdome set downe, being then in her Maiesties possession: but hee had it, when they could give him it that promised the same, which was at latter Lammas. And I trust his Neece shall have as good successe, with her pretended title. For if God strengthened her Maiestie so, that against her, being a woman, they could not prevaile, we trust his Almightinesse will be as carefull of our King, being alreadie Lord of three such people as have seldome bene equalled in battell, except they have vnnaturally contended among themselves: the sight of which day, deare shepheards, let vs pray never againe to see. Besides, to expresse her farther intent: to preserve faith and

36 league, notwithstanding infinite of open wrongs, and certaine

knowledge that a Nauie for inuafion of this Realme had bene preparing more than fifteene yeare; yet did she beare, vntill against all lawe of Nations, the Ambassador liedger of *Spaine*, honoured with many fauours, did notwithstanding plot and confeder with natiue 4 traitors of this land; and the matter being apparantly proued, hee was by her milde sufferance admitted to depart the Realme, without any violence: to his perpetuall reproach, and her neuer dying glorie. Well, I will here conclude touching this vertue of faith both towarde 8 God and man: she was as firme in the one as mortalitic coulde bee; and in the other, approued glorious among all the Princes of her time.

For Hope, the fecond divine vertue, the rather therin abounded, 12 than was any way wanting; for her Hope was no way wandring: fhe beleeued, and it came to passe; her enemies arise, but before their arifing, thee was certaine to fee them fall; thee having, by example of things paft, nothing doubted of things to come. And she was not 16 deceived till the houre of her death. For ever her expectation was fulfilled; fhe kept peace within, chased the spoyler without; and euen as it is fung of Epaminondas, that valiant Theban Captaine, in his laft victorious battell, wherein yet death of him got victorie, he thus 20 gloried: Herein am I comforted, that I dye a conquerour. For euen when death laid his last fiege to her yet vnvanquished life, Tyrone, the long diffurber of her State, befought mercie at her feete. O Nymphs and Shepheards, doubt not the was full of divine Hope, whose heart 24 obtained euer the thing it faithfully defired: and that her defires were all of faith, I could adde infinite examples to these alreadie alledged, but that it is needeleffe to cast water in the Sea, or to make question of that all men knowe, and will confesse, except some whose heartes 28 are straungers from Truth, and the professed Receptacles of falsehood.

Her Charitie, the thirde and principall divine Grace to the eye of mortalls: (for that Faith and Hope bend principally their feruice to 32 Heauen, and Charities effectes are manifested on earth) hath bene extended ouer all her Realmes, and stretched to the comfort of her oppressed neighbours. The multitudes of poore daily relieued from her purse, the numbers of sicke persons yearely visited, and by her 36

owne hand their corrupt fores toucht, the washing of poore womens feete, and releeuing their wants, was a figne that she was humble, as well as charitable: for Humilitie is Charities sister; they are two twins

4 borne at one time; & as they are borne together in any foule whateuer, fo doe they liue and die together: the humble fpirit being euer charitable, and the charitable euer humble: for it is as impossible to haue a proud man charitable, as to reconcile fier and water; or to

8 make accord betweene any contraries. As flue was in these particulars, exceeding all Ladies of her time, given to this helpfull vertue, so had she general impositions through all her kingdome, for her well able subjects to follow her example: and so much did her example

12 preuaile, that befides the ordinary and weekely almes diffributed through the Realme, there have beene more particular Almefhouses builded for the reliefe of the aged, than in any fixe Princes Raignes before. And as all parts of England have in this im-

16 itation bene very forward: fo hath the Citie of London exceeded all; wherein divers private men haue builded fundry houses for the poore, and allowed them pentions: but the Corporations haue bene most bountifull, as most able: and among all, the Right worship-

20 full the Merchant Taylors have exceeded the reft; all having done well, that have done any thing, but they best of any other, as I will one day, in a song of liberal Shepheards, thankfully expresse: though for my selfe I know him not in the least gift to whom I am in that sort

24 bounden; but I ken not, *Thenot*, how I may, for there is none.liuing but may lacke. As the Citie, fo many knights, Gentlemen, honourable and deuout perfons, haue followed her example: aboue the reft, an honorable, carefull, reuerend and learned watchman, as full of

28 mildnesse and pietie, as he is of yeares and greefes for his good and royall Mistres losse; within few miles of this Citie, hath builded a worthy Receptacle to the like charitable end.

As for the poore and decrepit with age, her Royall Maiestie had 32 this charitable care; fo for foldiers, and suters, she was very prouident. The last, being oppress in any part of her Realmes by men of much wealth and little conscience, she allowed them counsell and proceedings in Forma pauperis, & maintenance weekely in the 36 Termes, for some part of their succour. For souldiers, and men

of feruice, her decrees of prouision are extant: besides, it is most cleare, no Prince in the world, to land- or Sea-men, was more bountifull or willing, than her Highnesse: out of her Cosfers it went; but there is an olde Prouerbe, Thenot, carriage is deare: and I haue 4 heard, but I will fland to nothing; base Ministers, and vnder officers, curtall the liberalities of great and potent mafters. Some haue in her time beene taken with the manner, and, befides bodily punishment and. fines, difplaced: as I well remember, and cannot omit amid my 8 greefe to tell, though fomewhat from this fubiect it diffent, being of a fellow too meane: how her highneffe, in one of her progreffes, walking in the garden of a house where she was received, being somewhat neere the high waie, heard on a fodaine, a market woman cry: and 12 from an Arbour beheld one of her owne feruants, a Taker vp of prouifion, vie the woman vnciuilly: whereupon the cause being examined, and the poore woman found by the fame fellowe to be wrongd, as well afore as then, her highnesse caused him presently to be 16 discharged of her service and punished: yet the fault being but slight, the Taker was countenanced to make fute to be reftord: and fome halfe yeare after, fell downe before her Maiestie, desiring mercie and reftoring: her highnesse, pittying his distresse, commaunded him to 20 be prouided for in some place where he could not wrong her poore fubiects, but in any case not to make him a Taker. Many such false ones the hath punished with death. I could in this, as all the rest, recken multitudes of examples, but I will knit all vp with her Excel- 24 lence in this Act of Charitie extended to her neighbours: whom the hath by her bountie deliuered from the tyrannie of oppression, & aided the right of others against rebellious subjects: others, assisted to recouer their kingdoms, not sparing millions to sustaine the quarrell of 28 the righteous. The reward of which mercy & charitie fhe now finds, receiuing infinite glories for her abounding Charitie, being done for his cause that leaueth no deed of mercie vnrecompenced.

As the was richly flored with diuine graces, fo, in morall vertues, 32 no Princesse euer liuing in the earth can be remembred to exceede her. Her wisedome was, without question, in her life by any vnequalled, the was sententious, yet gratious in speech; So expert in Languages that she answered most Embassadors in their native tongues: her 36

capacitie was therewith fo apprehenfiue, and inuention fo quicke, that if any of them had gone beyonde their bounds, with maieftie vndaunted fhe would haue limited them within the verge of their 4 dueties, as fhe did royally, wifely, and learnedly, the last struting Poland messenger, that thought with stalking lookes and swelling words to daunt her vndaunted Excellence. But as he came proud, he returned not without repentance: hauing no other wrong here, but 8 the sinne of his own saufinesse.

Many fuch examples I could fet downe, but I will fatisfie you with one more. When the Spaniards having their Armatho ready, temporifde with her highnes Commissioners in the low Countries, thinking to finde her highnesse vnprouided; at last, when they accounted all sure, they sent her their Kings choyce, either of peace or warre, wittily included in source Latine verses: portending, that if she would cease

to defend the low Countries, reftore the goods taken by reprifall from 16 the Spaniards, build vp the Religious houses diuerted in her Fathers time, and let the Romane Religion be received through her Land; why then she might have peace: if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commaunding Embassie, with royall magnanimitie,

20 gratious wisedome, and fluent wit, she answered instantly in one knowne prouerbiall line, which she sodenly made into a Verse.

Ad Græcas hæc fiant mandata Kalendas.

O Thenot, did not affurance of our kingly Poets loue to the Mufes, ²⁴ fomewhat comfort me, I fhould vtterly difpaire euer to heare Paftoricall fong againe, fild with any conceit; feeing her Excellence, whose braine being the *Hellicon* of all our best and quaint inuentions, is dried vp by the ineuitable heate of death.

Her iustice was such, as neuer any could truly complaine of her; neither did shee pardon faults unpardonable, as murder, rape, Sodomy, that sin almost not to bee namde: neither was there in her time (with her knowledge) extremitie of iustice showne to other male-

32 factors: if any fuch did fall, it was either by falfhood or malice of the euidence, or fome other fecret wherewith poore Shepheards are vnacquainted: onely this we are taught: that God fometime punisheth the finnes of parents on their children, to many generations.

36 But for her felfe, she was alwayes so enclined toe quitie, that if she

left Iustice in any part, it was in shewing pittie: as in one generall punishment for murder it appeared: whereas before-time there was extraordinary torture, as hanging wilfull murderers aliue in chaines; fliee, having compassion, like a true Shepheardesse, of their foules, 4 though they were of her erring and vtterly infected flocke, faid their death fatisfied for death: and life for life, was all could be demaunded: and affirming more, that much torture diffracted a dying man: in particular, the faued many; among fome vnworthy of her mercie, that 8 proud fellow, who vniustly named himselfe Doctor Parry, and an other, as I remember, called Patrick an Irith man: the first having offended in Burglary, against a Lawier able and willing to take away his life, thereto vrged by many misdemeanours: and for that Parry 12 doubted his attempt to kill, & act of fellony was without compaffe of pardon, confidering the place where it was done, and against whom, thought a leafe of life fafeft, which of her benigne mercie he obtained for 21. yeares; but ere three of them were past, he did vnnaturally 16 attempt her death that had given him life; for which traiterous ingratitude he worthily was cut off: the Irish man likewise being pardoned for a manflaughter, proued as vnthankfull, and ended as he liued, shamefully. Befides, she was so inclinable to mercie, that her 20 iust and seuere Iudges tolde her, how some desperate malesactors, building on friends, and hopes of pardon, carde not for offending, but euen scoffed at authoritie; wherof when she heard, shee tooke speciall care, confidering it was as great iniustice to pittie some, as spare 24 others, taking order to figne no pardon, except the Judges hand were at it first, which truly knew the cause why the partie was condemned: by which meanes, murderers and prefumptuous offenders were cut off from all hope. 28

One notable example of her iuftice among many I will here remember: Certaine condemned for Piracie, hauing made fome ends with them they wronged, lay for their liues at her mercie; and the Iudge of her Admiraltie hauing fignified fauourably of the qualitie of 32 their offence, she was moued to pittie them, and had commanded their pardon to be drawne. In the meane time two of them, trained vp in the fashion of our common Cutters, that I may tell thee, Thenot, swarme rather like diuels than men about the countrey, that sweare as 36

if they had license to blaspheme, and stabbe men as if they had authoritie; nay, sometime themselues for very trifles: two such, I say. were in the company of these condemned Pyrates, hoursly hoping for 4 their liues: and brauing either other of their manhood, faying, one durst more than the other: the eldest, being Maister of their late ship wherein they had failed to that place of forrow, flyces his owne flesh with a knife, asking the other if he durst doo as much: the yonker 8 was very readie, and two or three times followed the olde foole, in that desperate wounding of himselfe. This brutish acte being committed in the prison belonging to her Maiesties owne house, came quickly to her royall eare, and some fewe dayes after, their pardon to be figned; 12 who graciously gaue life to all the rest; but commaunded them by expresse name to execution, saying, they were vnworthy mercie, that of themselues had none: adding, it was very likely, that such as in a prison, and in their state, would be so cruell to shead their owne 16 bloud, would have small compassion of others whom they overcame at Sea; and fo leaving them to the lawe, they were worthily executed.

Of her mercie nothing can be faide more, but that it equalled, or 20 rather as I faid before, exceeded her iustice. Among infinite numbers whom the pardoned, that one especially being a cleare witnesse, who shot the Gunne off against Greenwich, even into her Maiesties Barge, hurt the next man to her, at broade daylight; almost impossible to be 24 excused by negligence or ignorance; for that any man, having his peece charged, would rather vpon retyring home, haue discharged it among the Reedes, than toward the bredth of the Riuer, whose filuer brest continually bore vp a number of vessels, wherein men passed on 28 fundrie affaires. How euer wilfull or vnwilfull the acte was, done it was; and by a Iurie he was found guiltie, and adjudged to die: toward execution hee was ledde with fuch clamour and injuries of the multitude, as fildome any the like hath bene feene or heard; fo hainous 32 and odious his offence appeared vnto them, that, being vpon the ladder readie to be cast off, the common people had no pittie of him: when euen iust in that moment of dispaire and death, her Maiestie sent a gracious pardon, which deliuered him, to all mens wonder. I want 36 but the Arcadian Shepheards inchaunting phrase of speaking, that was

many times witnesse to her iust mercies, and mercifull iustice: yet rude as I am, I have presumed to handle this excellent Theame, in regard the Funerall hastens on, of that sometime most Serene Lady, and yet I see none, or at least past one or two, that have sung any 4 thing since her departure worth the hearing; and of them, they that are best able, scarce remember her Maiestie. I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning Collin indeed; (for alas, I confesse my selfe too too rude,) complaining that a liberal Meccenas long since dying, was 8 immediately forgotten, even by those that living most laboured to advance his same; and these as I thinke close part of his songs:

Being dead, no Poet feekes him to reuiue, Though many Poets flattred him aliue.

12

32

Somewhat like him, or at least to that purpose, of a person more excellent, though in ruder verse, I speake.

Death now hath ceaz'd her in his ycie armes, That fometime was the Sun of our delight: 16 And pittileffe of any after-harmes, Hath veyld her glory in the cloude of night. Nor doth one Poet feeke her name to raife, That living, hourely ftriu'd to fing her praife. 20 He that fo well could fing the fatall strife Betweene the royall Rofes White and Red, That praif'd fo oft Eliza in her life, His Muse seemes now to dye, as shee is dead: 24 Thou fweetest fong-man of all English swaines, Awake for fhame, honour enfues thy paines. But thou alone deferu'dit not to be blamde: 28 He that fung fortie yeares her life and birth, And is by English Albions so much famde,

For fweete mixt layes of maieftie with mirth,

Doth of her loffe take now but little keepe;

Doth of her losse take now but little keepe; Or else I gesse he cannot sing, but weepe.

Neither doth Coryn full of worth and wit, That finisht dead Musæus gracious song,

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

98	Englands Mourning Garment.
	With grace as great, and words, and verse as fit;
	Chide meager death for dooing vertue wrong:
	He doth not feeke with fongs to deck her herfe,
4	Nor make her name liue in his liuely verfe.
	Nor does our English Horace, whose steele pen
	Can drawe Characters which will neuer die,
	Tell her bright glories vnto liftning men;
8	Of her he feemes to haue no memorie.
	His Muse an other path defires to tread,
	True Satyres fcourge the liuing, leaue the dead.
	Nor doth the filuer tonged Melicert,
2	Drop from his honied muse one sable teare
	To mourne her death that graced his defert,
	And to his laies opend her Royall eare.
	Shepheard, remember our Elizabeth,
6	And fing her Rape, done by that Tarquin, Death.
	No leffe doe thou (fweete finger Coridon);
	The Theame exceedeth Edwards Isabell,
	Forget her not in Poly-Albion;
0	Make fome amends, I know thou loudft her well.
	Thinke twas a fault to haue thy Verfes feene
	Praifing the King, ere they had mournd the Queen.
	And thou delicious fportiue Musidore,
24	Although thou haue refignd thy wreath of Bay,
	With Cypresse bind thy temples, and deplore
	Elizas winter in a mournfull Lay:
28	I know thou canft, and none can better fing
20	Herse songs for her, and Pæans to our King.
	Quicke Antihorace, though I place thee heere,
	Together with yong Mælibee thy frend: And Heroes 1 last Museus all three deere [1 Orig. Hewres.]
32	See p. 112. 'To
	3 7
	Proue not ingrate to her that many a time
	Hath stoopt her Maiestie, to grace your rime.

And thou that scarce hast fligd thy infant muse

(I vse thine owne word), and commend thee best,

36

In thy proclayming *Iames*: the rest misvie The name of Poetry, with lines vnbleft; Holding the Muses to be masculine. I quote no fuch abfurditie in thine. 4 Thee doe I thanke for will; thy worke let passe: But wish some of the former had first writ, That, from their Poems, like reflecting glaffe Steeld with the puritie of Art and wit, 8 Eliza might haue liude in euery eye, Alwajes beheld till Time and Poems dye. But ceafe you Goblins, and you vnder Elues, That with rude rimes and meeters reasonlesse, I 2 Fit to be fung for fuch as your bafe felues, Prefume to name the Muses Patronesse: Keepe your low Spheres; fhe hath an Angell spirit: The learnedft Swaine can hardly fing her merit. 16 Onely her brother King, the Muses trust (Blood of her Grandfires blood, plac'd in her Throne) Can raife her glory from the bed of dust: To praife her worth belongs to Kings alone. 20 In him fhall we behold her Maiestie, In him her vertue liues and cannot die.

At this, Thenot and the rest desirde him to proceede in his discourse of her vertues; remembring where he lest, at Iustice; and though the matter 24 pleased them so well that they could indure the hearing many daies, yet seeing the Sunne began to dye the West Sea with vermilion tincture, the pallace of the morning being hidden in sable clouds, & that the care of their slockes must be respected, requested him to be 28 as breefe, as the time limited him.

To which Collin answered: Thenot, I perceive thou art as all or the most part of the world is, carefull onely of thine own: and how ever frends fall, yet profit must be respected. Well, thou dost well; 32 and in this I dubbly praise thee: to carke for sheepe and lambs that cannot tend themselves, & not to mourne as without hope our great Shepheardesse, who, after long life and glory on earth, hath obtained a longer and more glorious life in heauen. But to proceede. As the was conftant in faith, ftedfaft in hope, cheerefull in giuing, prudent in fpeaking, iust in punishing, but most mercifull in pardoning, so, for 4 the third morrall vertue, Temperance, there was in no age before, a woman so exalted to earthly honour euer read off; that so long, so gratiously, in outward & domestick affaires gouerned her kingdom,

familie, & person, with like moderation.

8 First, for her kingdome: what can be deuised more neere the meane, than she hath in all things followed? For in religion as in other things, there hath beene an extreame erring from the truth, which like all vertues, (being indeede the head of all) keepeth place 12 in the midst; so hath she established the true Catholicke and Apostolicall Religion in this Land, neither mingled with multitudes of Idle superstitions; nor yet wanting true honour and reuerence for the Ministerie, in laudable and long received ceremonies.

But here I shall be carpped at, in that I call the Religion profess in her time, true Catholike and Apostolicall: considering, the Sea of Rome, and such English onely as be her sworne Sonnes, thinke that seate all—one to hold the Apostolicall faith: excluding her Maiestie,

20 and all other Christian Princes with their subjects, that have not falne before that Chaire, as people woorthie to be cutte off from Christes congregation: giving them names of Protestants, Lutherans, and I know not what. And on another side, a selected company, that would

24 needs be counted Saints & holy ones, when there is nothing but corruption in their harts; they for footh condemned her facred gouernement for Antichriftian, when, to the amazement of fuperfittious Romanes, & felfe-prayfing Sectuaries, God approved hir faith by his

28 loue towards her. And left I should be taskd of ignorance, and termed a Nullisidian, in defending neither of these sides, and onely of the faith that the Colliar profest, which was euer one with the most, I say, I was borne and brought up in the Religion profest by that most

32 Christian Princesse Elizabeth, who beleeued not that the spirite of God was bound or tyde to any one place, no more to Rome than Antioch; that the Candlesticke of any Church might be remooude, for neglecting their first loue, and teaching traditions of men, in steede of

36 facred veritie: and no man can denie but the Church of Rome hath fo

taught, and ftandeth not in her first estate, but if it were in the Primitiue Church perfectly and fully established: then hath it received many traditions since, which our *Elizabeth*, nor any of her faithfull subjects, would obay, being no way by Gods word thereunto war-4 ranted: besides, there is apparent proofes that the Church of *Rome* hath many hundred yeares persecuted with great crueltie: which is no badge of the true Apostolicall Church.

[1 orig. no bo]

For the other fort: it is well knowne, they are for the most part, 8 ignorant and mechanick people, leade by fome fewe hot spirited fellowes, that would faine haue all alike. These, tying themselues to a more ftrait course outwardly than other men, and though they be vtterly object to the Romanistes, yet haue they more hee Saints and 12 fhe Saints among them than are in the Romish Kalender; where none, or at least but very fewe, are called Saints, but holy Virgins, Martyrs, and Confessors; but all the bretheren and fisters of the other fide, are, at the first receiving into their Communion, Sainted, if it be 16 but Kit Cobler, and Kate his wife; and both hee and the prefume they have as fufficient fpirites to teach and expound the Scriptures, as either Peter, or Iohn, or Paule, for fo bluntly they terme the bleffed Apostles: but their vanitie and pride our Elizabeth hated, and there- 20 fore bridled their waies, and was not mooued with their hypocriticall fastes; because they fasted to strife and debate, as it is written by the Prophet Esay. 58. and to finite with the fift of wickednes.

Her highnes therefore taught all her people the vndoubted truth: ²⁴ that faith in Chrift alone, the way, the doore, and the life: not turning either to the right hand, or to the left: and in this, being the best meane, her Temperance cheefly appeared: this rule she taught her kingdome, her familie, her selfe: at least, caused them to be taught by ²⁸ excellent Pastors, to whom humbly she gaue publike eare

As in this, fo for apparell, manners and diet, fhe made Lawes, and gaue example in hir owne person: to curb the vanitie of pride in garments, by expresse Statutes appointed all men and women to be 3² apparelled in their degree and calling. To represse the excesse of drinking and hated sinue of drunkennesse, she hath commaunded no drinke in her Land to be brued aboue an easie price: and to auoid gurmandize, she hath yearely commanded the Lent and Fasting-daies 3⁶

to be kept, as in times before, not for fuperfition fake, but common policie, to haue Gods creatures received indifferently; and also to increase Marriners for the strength of the Ile, whose numbers, while 4 fish is contemnd, by neglect of fishing mightily decay: fishers being indeed, pretty traind Marriners, by reason that they have experience in most of the Hauens, Creekes, Shoales, Flats, and other profits and daungers neere the places they vide. But what should I say; if they 8 that will onely make the Scripture their cloke, and yet respect not this part, Obey the Magistrate for conscience: their sinne sall vpon themselves. I trust the Prince is excusable, that would his subjects would

doe well; and fo I am certaine was her Excellence.

12 True, faid Thenot, but for all her Lawes, these courses were little fet by: I have seene vpstarts jet it gayer than Lords, numbers drinke till they have seemed dead, & multitudes eate sless even good Fryday. What remedie, said Collon: they that will breake the Kings 16 Law, make little account of Gods: such subjects are like false Executors, that performe not the legacies of the dead: her highnes was not the worse for that good Lawes were violated: they that dealt so with her, dealt worse with God: offending him double by breaking his Lawes and hers. But in her owne household and person she observed all these rules: and though many abroad by corruption were winkt at; yet sometime there were some taken and paid home.

But her excelling Selfe, though her Table were the abundantlieft furnisht of any Princes in the world with all varietie: yet fed she oftenest of one dish, and that not of the daintiest. For quassing, as it was vnsitting her Sex, so she extreamely abhord it, hating superfluitie as hell: and so farre was she from all nicenes, that I have heard it credibly reported, and know it by many instances to be true, that she neuer could abide to gaze in a mirror or looking glasse: no, not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adornd, but simply trusted to her attendant Ladies for the comelinesse of her attyre: and that this is true, Thenot, I am the rather perswaded, for that when I was yong, almost thirtie yeeres agoe, courting it now and than, I have seen the Ladies make great shift to hide away their looking glasses if her Maiesse had past by their lookings.

36 O humble Lady, how meeke a spirit hadst thou! how farre from

affecting beautie, or vaine pride: when thou defirst not to see that face which all thy subjects longed dayly to behold, and fundry Princes came from farre to wonder at.

As in all these things she kept truely the Meane, so likewise in her 4 gifts: as I first noted touching her Charitie, which was still so tempered, notwithstanding her great charge in aiding her distressed neighbours, that she was euer truely liberall, and no way prodigall: as I trust his Royall Maiestie shall by the treasure sinde.

As the was adornd with all these vertues; so was she indued with Fortitude and princely courage, so plentifully, that her displeasure shooke even her stoutest adversaries; and those vinnatural traytors, that came armd sundry times with bloodie resolution to lay violent handes 12 on her facred Maiestie, her verie lookes would daunt, and their instruments prepared for her death, dropt from their trembling hands with terror of their consciences, and amazement to behold her countenance; nay, when she knew they came of purpose to kill her, she hath 16 singled divers of them alone, and let some passe from her with milde caveats a farre off: whose lenitie, rather increasing than diminishing their malice, they have followed destruction, which too timely over tooke them.

I could in this place name many particular men, as *Parry*, and others: but I will content yee with one private example overpaffing the generall: fortitude the showd in her youth, in her captivitie, in her glory, at all times: for defence of her faith, and all oppressed true 24 professors thereof: ending with this example of her high courage and assured considence in God. When *Appletree*, whom I remembred before, had hurt her waterman, being next to her in the Barge; the French Ambassador being amazd, and all crying Treason, Treason: 28 yet she with an vindaunted spirit, came to the open place of the Barge, and bad them neuer feare, for if the shot were made at her, they durst not shoote againe: such maiessie had her presence, and such boldnesse her heart, that she despised all seare; and was, as all Princes are, 32 or should be, so full of divine sulnesse, that guiltie mortalitie durst not beholde her but with dazeled eyes.

But I wonder, faith *Thenot*, flee in fo many yeares built no goodly Ædifice wherein her memorie might liue.

So did she, answered Collin, the goodliest building in the earth, such as, like fleeting Iles, commanded the seas, whose outward walles are dreadfull Engins of brasse, sending fearefull thunder among 4 enemies. And the inhabitants of those wooden Iles, are worthy Seamen, such as dread no daunger, but for her would have run even into destructions mouth. I tell thee, Thenot, I have seene in a fight some like nimble spirites hanging in the aire by little cordes, some lading 8 ordinance with deathful powder; some charging Muskets, and discharging ruine on their enemies; some at the foreship, others busie at helme, skipping here and there like Roes in lightnesse, and Lyons in courage; that it would have powred spirit into a sicke man to see their resolutions. For such tenants made she many buildings, exceeding any Emperors Nauy in the earth, whose service I doubt not will be acceptable to her most worthy Successor, our dread Soversigne Lord and King.

16 Other Pallaces shee had great store of, which shee maintained and yearely repaired; at least, would have done, if those that hadde care of her surveying, would have bene as carefull for hers as for their owne.

20 What should I say of her? the cloudie mantle of the night couers the beautie of the heauen: and this euening lookes like those source dayes that preceded the morning of her death. The beastes the night that shee ended her sate in earth, kept an vnwonted bellowing, so 24 that I assure thee, Thenot, being assured of her sicknes, I was troubled (being awakened with their cries) with imagination of her death, that I pittied not my bleating slocke, who with their innocent notes kept time with my true teares, till the houre of her death was past, when 28 immediately a heauie sleepe shut vp the windowes of mine eyes: at

28 immediately a heauie fleepe flut vp the windowes of mine eyes: at which time, (as I haue fince heard,) deathes eternall fleepe vtterly benummed all her fences, whose soule (I doubt not) hath alreadie entred endlesse rest, whether God will draw her glorified body in his

32 great day. Sweete Virgin, shee was borne on the Eue of that blessed Virgins Natiuitie, holy Mary, Christs mother: shee dyed on the Eue of the Anunciation of the same most holy Virgin; a blessed note of her endlesse blessednesse, and her societie in heauen with those wife 36 Virgins, that kept Oyle euer in their Lampes, to awaite the Bride-

groome. Shee came vnto the Crowne after her royall fifters death, like a fresh Spring euen in the beginning of Winter, and brought vs comfort, as the cleare Sunne doth to fforme-dreffed Marriners; fhee left the Crowne likewise in the winter of her Age, and the beginning 4 of our Spring: as if the Ruler of heauen had ordained her coronation in our fharpest Winter to bring vs happinesse, & vucrowned her in our happieft Spring, to leaue vs in more felicitie by her Succeeder. O happie beginning, and more happy ende: which notwithftanding, as 8 naturall fonnes and fubicets, let her not goe vnwept for to her graue. This euening let vs be like the Euening, that drops dewy teares on the earth: and while our hyndes that up the theepe in their foldes, fing a Funerall fong for the loffe of divine Elizabeth; invocating 12 abfent Schollers to bewaile her, whome in fundrie Schooles shee cherisht, and personally in either of their Vniuersities visited: let vs bid fouldiers lament her, toward whom, befides many apparant fignes of her exceeding loue, this is one most worth memorie; shee 16 came amongft them mounted at Tilburie, beeing gathered into a royall Armie against the Spanish Inuasion; promising to share with them in all fortunes, if the enemie durft but thewe his face aland. Let Citizens likewise shead teares for her losse, especially those of London, 20 to whom the was euer a kinde Soueraigne, and bountifull neighbour.

I neede not bid the Courtiers weepe, for they can neuer forget the countenance of their gracious Mistresse, till they have ingraven in their 24 hearts the favour of their most royall Maister. For vs * poore Shepheards, though we are not able to fute our selves in blackes fine inough to adorne so Royall an Enterment, yet, Thenot, quicken thy invention; Dryope and Chloris shall beare parte; and let vs conclude 28 our forrowe for Eliza in a Funerall Hymne, that shall have power to drawe from the swelling Cloudes waters to affist our woe. The Springes, taught by the teares that breake from our eyes, alreadie overflowe their boundes: The Birdes sitte mute to heare our musicke, 32 and our harmelesse flocke barken to our mones.

To this they all, as gladly as their griefe would fuffer them, confented Collin for his broken pipe tooke Cuddyes, who could neither fing nor play, he was fo full of paffion and fighes. [* orig. as 36]

4

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The Funerall Song betweene Collin and Thenot;

Dryope and Chloris, vpon the death of the facred Virgin Elizabeth.

Collin.

Y E facred Muses dwelling,
Where Art is ever swelling;
Your learned Fount forsake,
Helpe Funerall Songs to make:
Hang them about her Herse
That ever loved Verse.
Clio writ downe her Storie,

That was the Mufes Glorie.

Driope.

And ye oft-footed Howers.

Make readie Cypresse Bowers:

Instead of Roses sweete

(For pleasant Spring-time meete)

Strew all the pathes with Yeugh,
Night-shade and litter Reugh.

Bid Flora hide her Treasure: Say tis no time of pleasure. Thenot.

And you aivineft Graces,

Veyle all your facred faces

With your bright shining haire,

Shew every signe of care:

The Hart that was your Phane,

The cruell Fates have slaine:

From earth no power can raise her, Onely our Hymnes may praise her. Chloris.

Muses and Howres and Graces,

Let all the hallowed places

Which the cleere Moone did view,

Looke with a sable hiew:

	Englands Mourning Garment.	107	
	Let not the Sunne be seene,		
	But weeping for the Queene		
	That Grace and Muse did cherish.		
	O, that fuch worth should perish!		4
	Collin.		
	So turne our verfe, and on this lofty Pine,		
	Each one ingraue for her fome Funerall line:		
<i>r</i>	Thus I beginne.		8
	Collins Epitaph.		
]	Eliza, Maiden Mirror of this Age,		
	Earths true Astræa while she liu'de and raign'de,		
	Is throwne by Death from her triumphant Stage,		12
	But by that fall hath endlesse glorie gain'de:		
	And foolish death would faine if he could weepe,		
	For killing Her he had no power to keepe.		
	Thenots Epitaph.		16
	Eliza rich and Royall, faire and iuft:		
	Giues heauen her Soule, and leaues her Flesh to dust.		
	Dryopes Epitaph.		
	There is no beautie but it vades,		20
	No glory but is veyld with shades:		
	So is Eliza, Queene of Maids,		
	floopt to her Fate.		
	Yet Death in this hath little thriu'de,		24
	For thus her vertues have atchiu'de,		
	She shall, by verse, liue still reviu'de		
	in spight of Hate.		
	Chloris Epitaph.		28
	Eliza that astonished her foes,		
	Stoott her rebellious Subjects at her feete:		
* Her Roy-	Whose minde was *Still the same in joy and woes,		
motto was,	Whose frowne was fearefull, and her fauours sweete:		32
dem.	Swaid all this land, but most her selfe she swaide,		
	Liu'de a chaste Queene, and di'de a Royall Maide		

These Epitaphs ended, the Nymphs and Shepheards led by Collin and Thenot, who afore plaide heavy tunes on their oaten pipes, gotte to their severall cottages, and spent their time till midnight, mourning 4 for Eliza: But Sleepe, the equaller of Kings and captiues, banished their forrowes. What humor they are in after rest, you shall in the morning heare: for commonly, as the day is, so are our affections disposed.





The order and proceeding at the Fu-

nerall of the Right High and Mightic

Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland: from the Pallace of Westminster called White-hall

To the Cathedrall Church of Westminster: the

28. of April. 1603.

Irst, the Knight Marshals man, to make way.
Next, the 240. poore women by foure and foure.
Then, servants of Gentlemen, Es-

quiers, and Knights.

Two Porters.

Next, foure Trumpetors.

After them

Rose, Pursuant at Armes.

Two Sergeants at Armes.

The Standerd of the Dragon.

Two Querries leading a horse, Then the messengers of the Chamber, source and source,

Children of the Almondry.
Children of the Woodyard,
Children of the Skullery.
Children and turners of the pastry.
The Skalding house.
The Larder.

After them

Groomes.
Wheate porters,

Coopers,
Wine-porters,
Conducts in the Bakehouse,
Bel-ringer,
Maker of Spice-bags,
Cart takers, chosen by the bord,
Long Cartes,

8 Cart takers,
Of the Almery,
Of the Stable,
Of the Woodyard,

Pastrie.
Skalding house.
Poultrie.

16 Caterie,
Boyling house,
Larder,
Kitchin,

20 Laundrie.
Ewry.
Confectionary.
Wafery.
24 Chaundry.

Pitcherhouse.
Buttrie.
Seller.

Pantrie.

28

Bakehouse. Countinghouse.		Garneter, Bakehouse.
Counting noute.		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Then Noblemens and Embaffad	ors .	Counting house.
feruants.	4	Spicery.
		Chamber,
Groomes of the Chamber.		Robes,
Foure Trumpetors.	8	Wardrop.
Blewmantle.		Erles and Countesses seruants.
Biewmantie.		Foure Trumpetors.
A Sergeant at Armes.	I 2	Toute Trampetors.
		Portcullis.
The Standerd of the Greyhound.		
True Onimie le die e la f	- (A Sergeant at Armes.
Two Quirries leading a horse.	16	The Chanden I of Al. I.
Yeomen of the Seruitors in the		The Standerd of the Lion.
hall, foure and foure.		Two Quirries leading a horse
Cart takers.	20	trapped with vel-
Porters.		uet.
Almondrie.		
Herbengers.		Sergeant of the vestry.
8	(Children of the Chappell in furple
Woodyard.	24	Gent. of the Chappel, in Cope.
Skullery.		
Pastrie.		Clarkes.
Poultrie and skalding house.		Deputie Clarke of the Market.
Purueyors of the Poultrie.	28	Clarkes extraordinarie.
Purueyors of the Acatrie.		Coferer.
Stable.		
Boyling house.		Diet,
Larder.	32	M. Cooke for the houshold.
Kitchin.		Pastrie.
Ewrie.		Larder.
Confectionarie.		Skullerie.
Waferie.	26	Woodyard.
Purueyor of the wax.	36	Poultrie,
Tallow Chandler.		Bakehouse.
Chaundrie.		Acatrie.
Pitcher house.		Stable.
Brewers	40	S
Buttrie.		Sergeants.
Purueyors,		Gent, Herbinger.
Seller.		Wood-yard.
Pantrie.	44	Skullery.
1 antite,		Pastrie

Caterie.

Larder.

Ewry.

Seller

Pantrie.

Bakehouse.

Mafter Cooke of the Kitchin. Clarkes of the Querrie, Second and third clarke of the Chaundrie.

Second & third clarke of the Kitchin, 12 Superuifors of the Dreffer. Surueyer of the dresser, for the chamber.

Musitions Apoticaries and Chirurgions. Sewers of the hall. Marshall of the hall. Sewers of the chamber

Groome Porter,

Gentlmen where and waiters. Clarke, Marshall, and Auenor. Chiefe clarke of the wardrop, Chiefe clarke of the Kitchin. Two clarkes controllers. Clarke of the Greenecloth. Maister of the houshold. Cofferer.

Rouge Dragon.

A Sergeant at Armes.

The Banner of Chester.

Clarks of the Counsel, soure & soure. 36 The French Embassador. Clarkes of the privile Seale. Clarkes of the Signet. Clarkes of the Parliament. Doctors of Phificke. The Queenes Chaplaines, Secretaries for the Latine and French tongue.

Rouge Croffe.

Two Sergeants of Armes.

The Banner of Cornewall.

Aldermen of London.

Solliciter, Atturney, and Sergeant.

Maister of Reuels, & M. of the Tents.

Knights Bachelors.

Lord chiefe Baron, and Lord chiefe Iustice of the Common pleas,

Maister of the Iewell house.

Knights Embaffadors, & Gentlemen Agents.

Sewers for the Queene. Sewers for the Body.

16 Esquires of the Body.

Lancaster and Windsor.

The Banner of Wales.

20 The Banner of Ireland.

Maister of the Requests. Agents for Venice, and the Estates.

Lord Major of London.

24 Sir Iohn Popham. Sir Iohn Fortescue. Sir Rober Cicell principall Secretary. Controller & Treasurer of houshold. Barons,

28 Bishoppes. Erles eldeft fonnes. Vifcounts. Dukes fecond fonnes.

32 Erles.

Marquefes.

Bishop Almoner. Preacher.

Lord Keeper,

Archbishop of Canterburie.

Foure Sergeants of Armes.

The great embrotherd Baner of England

Somerfet and Richmond. Yorke, Helme and Creaft. Chester, Target,

Norrey King at Armes, Sword. Clarenceaux King at Armes, Coate.

After them the Gentlemen vshers with white Rods,

The liuely picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in her Parliament Robes, lying on the corps balmed and leaded, couered with veluet, borne in a chariot, drawne by foure horses trapt in blacke veluet.

About it fixe Banner Rolls on each fide: Gentlemen pentioners with their Axes downeward.

With them the Footemen. A Canapy borne ouer the chariot by foure Noblemen.

The Erle of Worcester maister of the horse, leading the Palfrie of Honour, 20 a ranke, their holberds downeward.

Two Esquiers and a groome, to attend and leade him away.

Gentlemen vsher, Garter K. of Armes.

4 Lady Marchionesse of Northamton, affifted by the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admirall.

Chiefe mourner, her traine suppor-

ted by maister Vicechamberlaine: Two Erles affiftants to her. Fourteene Countesses assistants.

Gentlewomen of the Priuy chamber,

Countesses. Ι2 Viscountesses Erles daughters. Baronesses

Maids of Honour, of the Priuy 16 chamber.

Captaine of the Guard, with all the Guard following, fiue and fiue in

To the Reader.

Loue as little as any man to come in print: but feeing affection hath made me commit this fault, I pray you pardon it; and amend in reading the Printers errors; where, being ill acquainted with Poetrie, he hath paffed Herores 1 for Heroes; what euer else seemes harsh, imagine I can write English, and make not the fault mine,

> Farewell. Hen: Chetle.



¹ This must be for 'Hewres last Museus,' sig. D 3 of the original, p. 98 of this reprint.

The Shepheards Spring Song, in gratuation of the royall, happy, and flourishing Entranc	
to the Maiestie of $England$, by the most potent	٠,
and prudent Soueraigne, Iames king of Eng-	4
land, France and Ireland.	
Collin. Henot and Chloris, red lipt Driope,	
Collin. THenot and Chloris, red lipt Driope, Shepheards, Nymphs, Swaines, al that delight in field	,
Liuing by harmelesse thrist your fat heards yeelde,	8
Why flacke yee now your loued company?	
Vp fluggards, learne, the larke doth, mounted, fing	
His cheerefull Carrolls, to falute our King.	
The Mauis, blacke-bird, and the little Wren,	12
The Nightingale vpon the hawthorne brire,	
And all the wingd Musitions in a Quire,	
Do with their notes rebuke dull lazie men.	
Vp fheperds, vp; your floth breeds al your fhames	16
You fleep like beafts, while birds falute K. Iames.	
The gray eyde morning with a bluffring cheeke,	
Like Englands royall Rose mixt red and white,	
Summons all eies to pleafure and delight.	20
Behold the euenings deaws doe vpward reeke,	
Drawn by the Sun, which now doth gild the skie,	
With his light-giuing and world-cheering eie.	
O thats well done; I fee your caufe of ftay	24
Was to adorne your temples with fresh flowers,	~4
And gather beautie to bedecke your bowers,	
That they may feeme the Cabinets of Maie:	
Honor this time, fweetest of all sweete Springs,	28
That fo much good, fo many pleasures brings.	20
For now alone the liuery of the earth	
Giues not life, comfort, to your bleating Lambes,	
Nor fills the strowting vdders of their dams,	32
It yeeldes another cause of gleesome mirth,	3-
This ground weares all her best embrodery,	
To entertaine her Soueraignes majestie	

ALLUSION-BOOKS.

And well the may, for neuer English ground Bore such a Soueraigne as this royall Lord: Looke vpon all Antiquities Record;

4 In no Inrollment fuch a King is found.

Beginne with *Brute*, (if that of *Brute* be true,)

As I'le not doubt, but giue old Bards their due.

He was a Prince vnfetled, fought a Shore

8 To reft his long-tofft Troyan fcattred Race:
And (as tis fed) found here a refting place:
Grant this: but yeeld, he did falfe gods adore.

The Nations were not calld to Christ that time,

12 Blacke Pagan clouds darkned this goodly Clime. So, when differition brought the Romans in, No Cæfar till the godly Conflantine, (Descended truely from the Brittish line)

16 Purgde this Iles aire from Idoll-hated finne;
Yet he in care of *Rome* left Deputies.
Our *Iames* maintaines (himfelfe,) his dignities.

The Saxon, & the Dane, fcourgd with fharp fteele,

20 (So did the Norman Duke) this beauteous Land,
Inuading Lords raigne with an yron hand:
A gentler ruling in this Change we feele,

Our Lion comes as meekely as a Doue,

Not conq'ring vs by hurt, but harty loue.

Euen as a calme to tempest tossed men,

As bread to the faint soule with famine vext;

As a coole Spring to those with heate perplext,

28 As the Sunnes light into a fearefull denne,
So comes our King: euen in a time of neede,
To faue, to fhine, to comforte and to feede.

O Shepheards, fing his welcome with fweete notes, 32 Nymphs, firew his way with Rofes Red and White,

Prouide all pastimes that may sense delight,
Offer the fleeces of your flockes white cotes:
He that now spares, doth in that sauing, spill;
Where Worth is little, Vertue likes good will.

Now from the Orchades to the Cornish Iles,	
From thence to Cambria, and the Hyberian fhore,	
The found of Ciuill warre is heard no more;	
Each Countenance is garnished with smiles,	4
All in one hymne with fweet contentment fing,	
The praise and power of <i>Iames</i> their onely King.	
Our onely King, one Ile, one Soueraigne;	
O long-defired, and perfected good!	8
By him the heate of wrath, and boyling blood,	
Is mildely quencht; and Enuie counted vaine:	
One King, one people, bleffed vnitie,	
That ties fuch mightie Nations to agree.	I 2
Shepheardes, Ile not be tedious in my Song;	
For that I fee you bent to active fport;	
Though I perfwade me all time is too short	
To welcome him, whome we have wisht for long.	16
Well done, dance on; looke how our little lambs,	
Skippe as you fpring, about their fleecie dams.	
Thus were yee wont to trip about the Greene,	
And dance in ringlets, like to Fairie Elues,	20
Striuing in cunning to exceede your felues,	
In honour of your late falne fummer Queene:	
But now exceede; this Maie excelles all Springs,	
Which King & Queene, and Prince & Princesse brings.	24
Showt joyfully, ye Nymphs, and rurall Swaines,	
Your maister Pan will now protect your foldes,	
Your Cottages will be as fafe as Holdes,	
Feare neither Wolues nor fubtill Foxes traines,	28
A Royall King will of your weale take keepe,	
Hee'le be your Shepheard, you shalbe his sheepe.	
He comes in pompe; fo fhould a King appeare;	
Gods Deputie should fet the world at gaze;	32
Yet his milde lookes driue vs from all amaze;	
Clap hands for ioy, our Soueraigne draweth neere;	
Sing Iô, Iô, shepheards, dance and fing,	
Expresse all ioy, in welcoming our King.	36

The aire, the feafon, and the Earth accord
In Pleafure, Order, both for fight and fenfe:
All things looke fresh to greet his Excellence,
4 And Collin humbly thus falutes his Lord:
Drad and beloude, liue Englands happy King,
While seafons last, fresh as the liuely spring.

FINIS.





A MOURNEFULL DITTIE

entituled

Elizabeths Losse

together with

A Welcome for King James

(A.D. 1603)

[Reprinted from the unique original in the Heber Collection of Ballads and Broadsides in the possession of S. Christie-Miller, Esq., of Britwell House, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, to whose kindness the Society is indebted for a transcript of the Ballad, and the collation of the proof with the original.]

A mournefull Dittie, entituled *Elizabeths* losse, together with a welcome for King *Iames*.

To a pleasant new tune.

4 Farewell, farewell, farewell, braue Englands ioy:Gone is thy friend that kept thee from annoy.

8 Lament, lament, lament
you English Peeres,
Lament your losse
possest so many yeeres.

12 Gone is thy Queene, the paragon of time,
On whom grim death hath spred his fatall line.
Lament, lament, &c.

Gone is that gem which
God and man did loue,
She hath vs left
to dwell in heauen aboue.
Lament, lament, &c.

You gallant Ladies
of her Princely traine,

24 Lament your losse
your loue, your hope, and gaine.
Lament, lament, &c.

Weepe wring your hands, 28 all clad in mourning weeds, Shew foorth your loue, in tongue in hart and deeds. Lament, lament, &c.

Full foure and fortie yeeres foure moneths seauen dayes, She did maintaine this realme in peace alwayes.

Lament, lament, &c.

In spite of Spaines proud Pope, and all the rout, Who Lyon like ran ranging round about. Lament, lament, &c.

With traiterous plots to stay her Royall grace, Her realme, her lawes and Gospell to deface, Lament, lament, &c.

Yet time and tide God still was her defence,
Till for himselfe from vs
hee tooke her hence
Lament, lament, &c.

We neede not to rehearse what care what griefe,

21 1/100/10	Jun Dune.	,
She still endured, and all for our reliefe. Lament, lament, &c.	Mourne Trumpets shrill, mourne Cornets mute & round Lament, lament, &c.	
We neede not to rehearse what benefits,	You Poets all braue Shakspeare, Johnson, Greene,	4
You all inioyd, what pleasures and what gifts. Lament, lament, &c.	Bestow your time to write for Englands Queene. Lament, lament, &c	8
You Virgins all bewayle your Virgin Queene,	Returne your songs and Sonnets and your sayes:	
That Phœnix rare, on earth but sildome seene. Lament, lament, &c.	To set foorth sweete Elizabeths praise. Lament, lament, &c.	Ι2
With Angels wings she pearst the starrie skie, When death, grim death, hath shut her mortall eye. Lament, lament, &c.	In fine all you that loyall harts possesse, With Roses sweete, bedeck hir Princely hearse. Lament, lament, &c.	16
You Nimphs that sing and bathe, in Fountaines cleere: Come lend your helpe to sing in mournefull cheere. Lament, lament, &c.	Bedeck that hearse sprong from that famous King, King <i>Henrie</i> the eight, whose fame on earth doth ring. Lament, lament, &c.	20
All you that doe professe Sweet musicks Art, Lay all aside, your Vyoll	Now is the time that we must all forget, Thy sacred name	24
Lute and Harpe, Lament, lament, &c.	oh sweet <i>Elizabeth</i> . Lament, lament, &c.	28
Mourne Organs, Flutes,	Praying for King Iames,	

Mourne Sagbuts with sad soud: as earst we prayed for thee,

In all submissive love and loyaltie.

Lament, lament, &c.

4 Beseeching God to blesse his Maiestie with earthly peace and heauens felicitie.

8 Lament, lament, &c.

And make his raigne more prosperous here on earth Then was the raigne of late *Elizabeth*.

Lament, lament, &c.

Wherefore all you
that subjects true beare names:
Still pray with me, and say
God saue King *Iames*.
Lament, lament, lament,
you English Peeres,
Lament your losse enjoyd
So many yeeres.

FINIS.

I. C.'s 12th Epigram, from

"EPIGRAMES.

Serued out in 52. feuerall

Difhes for every man to

tast without surfeting.

Modicum non nocet.

By I. C. Gent.



LONDON

Printed by G. Elde, for W. C. and are to be folde at his Shop neere vnto Ludgate."

[Bodleian Press-mark, Malone 373.]



[Sign. B.]

Epigrames.

12

7 Ho er'e will go vnto the presse may see The hated Fathers of vilde balladrie:

4 One fings in his base note the Riuer Thames Shal found the famous memory of noble king Iames; Another fayes that he will, to his death, Sing the renowned worthinesse of sweet Elizabeth;

8 So runnes their verse in such disordered straine, And with them dare great maiefty prophane, Some dare do this; fome other humbly craues For helpe of fpirits in their fleeping graues,

12 As he that calde to Shakespeare, Iohnson, Greene, To write of their dead noble Queene; But he that made the Ballads of oh hone,1 Did wondrous well to whet the buyer on:

16 Thefe fellowes are the flaunderers of the time, Make ryming hatefull through their baftard rime.

> But were I made a judge in poetry, They all should burne for their vilde herefie.

¹ Mr W. Chappell believes that the Erse and Gaelic exclamation O hone! was first introduced in English Ballads after the execution of the Earl of Essex. One of the charges against him was that of disloyalty in his administration of Ireland. A contemporary ballad says,
Would God he ne'er had Ireland known
(R

Nor fet one foot on Flanders ground. (Rox. Bal. I. p. 573, ll. 1, 2.) This ballad opens with an appeal to the Irish to join in bewailing his untimely death:

All you that cry O hone! O hone!

Come now and fing O hone! with me.

O hone, Och hone, or Ochone, i. e. alsa! is still sung to music by the Irish and the Scotch. One of Wilson's most effective songs was the dirge on the Glencoe massacre, called Ochone Ochri Oh! Another ballad with the burden O Hone was printed by Mr W. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, vol. i. p. 370. Its date is 1670—1680.

Franklin, my loyal friend, O hone, O hone!

In whom my joys do end, O hone, O hone!

Franklin, my heart's delight, Since last he took his flight,

Since last he took his flight,
Bids now the world good-night,
O hone, O hone!

The title of the original ballad is, says Mr Chappell, "A mournful Caral: Or an Elegy lamenting the tragical ends of two unfortunate faithful Lovers, Franklin and Cordelius: he being slain, she slew herself with her dagger. To a new tune called Franklin is fled away." Black-letter. Printed for M. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger. Six stanzas in the first, and 8 in the second part. Copies of this ballad are in the Pepys Collection, ii. 76; the Roxburghe, ii. 348; the Bagford, 643, m. 10, p. 69; and the Douce, fol. 222. As E. Elde printed Palladis Palatium in 1604, Ben Jonson's Sejanus in 1605, and many other books up to 1622, the date of I. C.'s Epigram may be any time within that period: but on internal evidence we should place it very early. period: but on internal evidence we should place it very early.

Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter,

from

"FOVRE LETTERS,

and certaine Sonnets:

Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused:

But incidently of diverse excellent persons, and some matters of note,

To all courteous mindes, that will voutchfafe the reading.



LONDON Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe (pages. 15—50.)

The Third Letter.

To every Reader, favourablie, or indifferently affected.

Lbeit for these tuelue, or thirteene yeares, no man hath beene more loth, or more fcrupulous, then myfelfe, to vnderlie the censure of enery curious conceite, or rigorous judgement, that pretendeth a deepe infight in the perfections of wits and ftiles, infomuch that euen Actions of Silence and Patience haue bene com-8 menced against me: and although I stil dwel in the same opinion, that nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured both for matter and maner: and that importeth not fome notable vie, to one, or other effec[t]uall purpose: Yet partlie the 12 vehemente importunity of some affectionate friends, and partly mine owne tender regard of my fathers, and my brothers good reputation, haue fo forcibly ouer-ruled me, that I haue finally condescended to their passionate motion: and in an extraordinarie case, have respect-16 juely yeelded my confent to an extraordinary course. Which I would vnpartially commend to the reasonable allowance of euery indiferent peruser that carrieth Courtesie in his Tongue, or honesty in his Hart. For mine own iniury, the more I confider, the leffe I estimate the 20 same: as one born to suffer, & made to contemne injuries. He that in his youth flattered not himfelfe with the exceeding commendations of fome greatest schollers in the worlde: cannot at these yeares, either be discouraged with misreporte, or daunted with misfortune. A pre-24 meditate, & resolute minde lightly shaketh off the heaviest crosses of malice, and eafely passeth ouer a thousande grieuances with a smile. Some haue learned of Reason, some of Philosophy, some of History, fome of Diuinitie, fome of Experience, fome of all, to endure patiently, 28 whatfoeuer befalleth, & euen to make the cruellest paine pleasant, as fome make the fwetest pleasure painefull. I had rather name Titius,

or Sempronius, then my felfe: But the vrgent entreaty of friends, and your eager expectation have fuddainely obtained that, which no personall empeachment, or real enforcement could in many yeres extort. Howbeit I shall hardly content them, to fatisfy you: that 4 am neither to offend any, but in case of notoriety: nor to defend my felfe, but in case of necessity, or honesty. If anie have charged mee, or do charge mee with infufficiency, I confesse: perfection is no common gifte: if with ignorance, I graunt: many feeme, fewe are, 8 learned: if with fimplicity, I yeeld: wondrous wittes are rare birdes: if with ill-lucke, I deny not: good lucke is not euerie mans lotte: yet who euer hearde me complaine of ill-lucke, or once fay, Fortune my Foe? But in the plainnesse of my nature, and simplicitie 12 of my Arte, I can easely defie the proudest, that dareth cal my credite in question: or accuse me of any dishonest, or scandelous parte, either in deede, or in word. Many thinges are made offenfiue in the handling, that are tollerable inough in their owne nature: or fie on an 16 odious circumstaunce, where the substance it selfe might be more gratious. Letters may bee privately written, that would not bee publikely diuulged: I was then yong in years, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and as the manner is, fomewhat ouerweeninge in con- 20 ceit: and for varietie of fludy, and fome deeper intelligence in the affayres of the worlde, otherwhiles reading inuectiues, and Satyres, artificially amplifyed in the most exaggerate and hyperbolicall kinde, I coulde hardlye refraine from difcoueringe fome little part of my read- 24 ing: I had curioufly laboured fome exact, and exquifite poyntes of studie and practife, and greatly misliked the preposterous and vntoward courfes of divers good wits, ill directed; there wanted not fome sharpe vndeferued difcourtefies to exasperate my mind: shall I touch the 28 vlcer? it is no fuch myfterye, but it may be reuealed: I was fuppofed not vnmeet for the Oratorship of the vniuersity, which in that springe of mine age, for my Exercise, and credite, I earnestly affected: but mine owne modest petition, my friendes diligent labour, our high 32 Chauncelors most-honourable and extraordinarye commendation, were all peltingly defeated, by a flye practife of the olde Fox: whose acts, and monumentes thal neuer dye: fome like accidents of diflike, for breuity I ouerslip: young bloud is hot: youth hasty: ingenuity open: 36

abuse impatiente: choler stomachous: temptations busie: the Inuectiue vaine, a sturring, and tickeling vaine: the Satyricall humour. a puffinge, and fwellinge humor: Conceit penneth, leifure perufeth. 4 and Curtefy commendeth many needleffe difcourfes: Idleneffe, the greatest Author and variablest Reader in the world: fome familiar friendes pricked me forward: and I, neither fearing daunger, nor fuspecting ill measure, (poore credulitie sone beguiled) was not 8 ynwilling to content them, to delight a few other and to auenge, or fatisfie my felfe, after the manner of shrewes, that cannot otherwife ease their curst hearts, but by their owne tongues, & their neighbours eares. Signor Immerito (for that name will be remembred) 12 was then, and is ftill, my affectionate friend, one that could very wel abide Gascoignes Steele glasse, and that stoode equallie indifferent to either part of the state Demo[n]stratiue: many communications and writings may fecretlie passe betweene such, euen for an exercise of 16 speech and stile, that are not otherwise convenient to be disclosed: it was the finister hap of those infortunate Letters, to fall into the left handes of malicious enemies, or vndifcreete friends: who aduentured to imprint in earnest, that was scribled in iest, (for the moody fit was 20 foone ouer:) and requited their private pleafure with my publike difpleafure: oh my inestimable, and infinite displeasure. When there was no remedie, but melancholy patience: and the sharpest parte of those vnlucky Letters had bene ouer read at the Councell Table: I 24 was aduifed by certaine honourable, and divers worshipfull persons, to interpreate my intention in more expresse terms: and thereupon discoursed euerie particularitie, by way of Articles or Positions, in a large Apology of my duetiful, and entier affection to that flourishing 28 Vniuerfitie, my deere Mother: which Apology, with not fo few as forty fuch Academicall Exercises, and fundry other politique Difcourses, I have hitherto suppressed, as vnworthie the view of the busie world, or the entertainement of precious Time: but perad-32 uenture these extraordinarie prouocations may worke extraordinarilie in me; and though not in passion, yet in conceit, sturre me vp, to publish many Traictes, and Discourses, that in certaine considerations I meant euer to conceale, and to Dedicate vnto none, but vnto 36 obscure Darkenesse, or Famous Vulcane. It were pittie, but won-

derous wits (giue enemies their due) shoulde become more woonderous by comparison, conference maketh excellent things appeare more admirablie: & I am fo far from being a Saturnist by nature, or a Stoick by discipline, that I can easily frame a certaine pleasurable 4 delight vnto my felfe, by ministring some matter vnto them, that now are faine to make fome thing of nothing: and wittily to plaie with their own fluadowes. It goeth fomewhat hard in my harsh Legend, when the father of Muficke must be mocked, not Tubulcain, as he 8 mistearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genesis voutsafeth honourable mention: and the Hexameter verse flouted: whereof neither Homer in Greeke, nor Virgill in Latine, (how valorous Autors?) nor Alexander in conquest, nor Augustus in maiesty (how puissaunt Princes?) 12 were ashamed: but accompted it the onely gallant trompet of braue, and Heroicall Acts; and I wis, the English is nothing too-good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages, that honour the Hexameter, as the foueraigne of verfes, and the high 16 Controwler of Rimes. If I neuer deferue anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be Epitaphed, The Inuentour of the English Hexameter: whome learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill, and excellent Sir Phillip Sidney difdained not to follow in his Arcadia, & 20 elfewhere, then be chronicled, The greene maifter of the Blacke Arte: or the founder of vgly oathes: or the father of misbegotten Infortunatus: or the Scriuener of Crosbiters: or as one of his owne fectaries termed him, the Patriarch of shifters. Happy man I, if these 24 two be my hainousest crimes, and deadliest sinnes, To bee the Inuentour of the English Hexameter, and to bee orderlie clapt in the Fleete for the forefaide Letters: where he that fawe me, fawe mee at Constan-Indeede Sir Iames Croft (whome I neuer touched with 28 the least tittle of detractions) was cunningly incenfed, and reincenfed against mee: but at last pacified by the voluntarie mediation of my honourable fauourers, M. Secretary Wilfon, and Sir Walter Mildmay: vnrequefted by any line of my hand, or any woord of my mouth. 32 Neither did I otherwife follicite, or intreate Sir Iames, till I had affured notice of his better fatisfaction: when I writte vnto him, as became mee, in respective, and duetifull forte: not for feare of any daunger, but for loue of honourable fauour. Which Letters, albeit 36

not fo ceremoniouslie pleasing, as effectually contenting, the wife knight not onely received courteously, but accepted fauourablie, and commended honourablye: and for my felfe, earneftly affirmed, I was 4 first wronged by other, and then mistaken by him: but now found another man, then I was supposed. As for my olde Controwler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed was the man, that otherwhiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles ouerthwarted me crofly, alwaies plaied 8 fast, and loose with me) he was old enough, to aunsweare for himfelfe, and should not bee defended by him. Onely he wished me to proceede louingly with the Vniuerfity, howfoeuer I dealt with that Doctor. And that was all the Fleeting, that euer I felt: fauing that 12 an other company of speciall good fellowes, (whereof he was none of the meanest, that brauely threatned to conjure-vpp one, which should maffacre Martins witt, or should bee lambackd himself with ten yeares prouifion) would needs forfooth verye courtly perfwade the 16 Earle of Oxforde, that fome thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirrour of Tufcanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordeship I protest, I neuer meante to dishonour with the least preiudicial word of my Tongue, or pen: but euer kept a mindefull 20 reckoning of many bounden duties toward The-fame: fince in the prime of his gallantest youth, hee bestowed Angels vpon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise vontsafed me many gratious fauours at the affectionate commendation of my Cofen, M. 24 Thomas Smith, the fonne of Sir Thomas, fhortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Iouiall mind with fuch Saturnine paltery, stil continued, like his magnificent felfe: and that Fleeting also proued, like the other: a filly 28 bullbeare, a forry puffe of winde, a thing of nothing. But a ftrong imagination pierceth deepely: and the Paper Fleete will not bee fo aunswered. Iefu, what would such notable fellowes write, or rather would they not write, if they could probably fay, or fantastically 32 furmize by me, as I can euidently proue by them? But I feeke not the condemnation of the deade, or the difgrace of the liuing: but the good amendement of the one, by the naughty example of the other. And for mine own farther instification in the premisses, or otherwise: 36 I had rather my larger writings and other actions should plead for

mee, than this, or any flighte Letter: wherein I am not to infourme pregnant conceits, that may imagine more by a little: or to addresse any peece of mine own history, though wifer men in case of vnworthy reproch, have not made nice to vndertake their owne 4 defence, and euen to labour their owne commendation. The plaufible Examples of Tully, Cato, Marius, Scipio, diuers fuch vertuous Romanes, and fundry excellent Greekes, are famoufly knowen: but not greatly fit for enery mannes imitation. Were other of my dispo-8 fition, finall time should be lost in auenging, or debating verball iniuries, especially to my selfe: who can verie well suffer poore spite, to shoote at mee, and to hitte himselfe: and sometime smile at the filly flie, that will needs martyr it felfe in my candle. But me thinkes, 12 the wildest head, and desperatest mind should consider: they that fpeake il must not looke to heare well: the worlde is not giuen to pocket vp infamies: who cannot returne-home a Quippe, or requite one libell with an other? nothing more common in bookes, or more 16 readye in mouthes, than the Inuectiue vaine, and the whole Arte of railing: fome fchollers have choyce of nimble pennes, & fmooth tongues at commandement: & there was a time, when paraduenture I coulde speake with them, that talked we me. Though the case be 20 altered; and I now, none of the hastiest to striue for those bucklers; yet a general, a special, a glowing, a piercing indignitie may rekindle fome little sparkes of courage, and affection wil be affection, though not in proper reuenge, yet the common duetie, I am not to dispute 24 the nature of Force, or the force of nature, who knoweth not, how violentlie force prouoketh force: or how mightilie nature worketh in compatible natures? But how far publike objections, or famous imputations require publike aunswers: or how insufficient the formal- 28 left Iudiciall remedie in any one Court, may feeme, in cafe of a printed diffamation, that with the winges of Mallice in fome, of Enuie in more, and of Leuity in most, flieth through the Realme, and ouer the Sea: bee it indifferentlie decided by euerie discreete 32 iudgement, or reasonable consideration. Especially when the guiltie part is deceased: and the iniury not the lesse, but the more notorious. The best is, the persons abused, are not altogether vnknowen, they haue not fo euell a neighbour, that euer reade, or hearde those oppro- 36 ALLUSION-BOOKS.

brious villanies (it is too-mild a name, for my brother Richardes most abhominable Legend, who frameth himselfe to liue as chastely, as the leawde writer affected to liue beaftly) but hath presentlie broken out 4 into fome fuch earnest, or more passionate speeches: ô pestilent knauery, who euer heard fuch arrant forgeries, and ranke lies? A mad world, where fuch shameful stuffe is bought, and sould: and where fuch roifterly Varlets may be fuffered to play vpon whome 8 they lust, and how they lust: Is this Greene with the running Head, and the fcribling Hand, that neuer linnes putting-forth new, newer, & newest bookes of the maker? If his other bookes bee as holesome geere, as this, no maruaile, though the gay-man conceiue trimlie of 12 himselfe, and statelye scorne all beside. Green, vile Greene, would thou wearest halfe so honest, as the worst of the soure, whom thou vpbraideft: or halfe fo learned, as the vnlearnedft of the three. Thanke other for thy borrowed & filched plumes of fome little 16 Italianated brauery: & what remaineth, but flat Impudencie, and groffe Detraction: the proper ornaments of thy fweete vtterance? I alleadge not mine owne inuentions, (who cannot forget the two Athenian Temples of Impudencie, and Calumnie, when I remember 20 him:) I could nominate the Gentlemen, and fubstantiall Yeoman, Gentlemens fellowes, that vttered much more by his life, and can hardlie forbeare him fince his death; and who of acquaintance with him, or them, whome hee depraueth, could either partiallie excuse the one, 24 or reasonablie accuse the other? Their liues effectually speake for themselues: and he that lived not, to see nine and twentie yeares, died not, till the Vniuerfitie of Cambridge had bestowed vpon him a grace to bee a Doctor of his facultie, and till hee was reputed in 28 Northfolke, where he practifed phificke, a proper toward man, and as skilfull a Phifition for his age, as euer came there: how well beloued of the chiefest Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen in that Shire, themfelues testifie. That is gone to Heauen, cannot bee recouered on 32 Earth: it is our comfort, that he liued in good credite, and died in good minde. I must euer remember some of his notable sayings (for in deede fo they were): and can neuer forget that fweete voice of the dying Cignet; ô frater, Christus est optimus Medicus, & meus

36 folus Medicus. Vale Galene, valete humanæ Artes: nihil diuinum in

terris, præter animum aspirantem ad cælos. That best and his onelie Phisition knoweth, what spiritual phisicke I commended vnto him, when I beheld in his meager and ghaftly countenance, that I cannot rehearse without some fit of compassion. Wee must in order follow 4 him, that shoulde in nature haue gone before him, and I know not by what destinie, hee followed him first, that foled him last. How he departed, his ghoftly mother Isam, can trulieft, and will fauourablieft report: how he liued, London remembreth. Oh, what a 8 liuelie picture of Vanity? but oh what a deadlie Image of miferie? And oh what a terrible Caueat for fuch & fuch? I am not to extenuate or prejudice his wit, which could not any way be great, though fom way not the leaft of our vulgar writers & mani-waies very 12 vngracious: but who euer estemed him either wife, or learned, or honeft, or anyway credible? how many Gentlemen, and other fay of him? Let the paltry fellow go: Lord, what a lewde Companion was hee? What an egregious makeshift, Where should Conny- 16 catchers haue gotten fuch a Secretarie: How shal cosenage do for a new Register: or Phantasticallitye for a new Autor? They wronge him much with their Epitaphes, and other folemne deuifes, that entitle him not at the least, The second Toy of London; the Stale of 20 Poules, the Ape of Euphues, the Vice of the Stage, the mocker of the fimple world: the flowter of his friendes, the Foe of himfelfe: and fo foorth. What durft not hee vtter with his tongue: or dinulge with his Penne: or countenance with his face? Or whome cared 24 hee for, but a carelesse crewe of his own associates? Peruse his famous bookes: and in steede of, Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit vtile dulci (that forfooth was his professed Poesse) Loe a wilde head, ful of mad braine and a thousand crochets: a Scholler, a Discourser, 28 a Courtier, a ruffian, a Gamester, a Louer, a Souldier, a Tranailer, Merchaunt, a Broker, an Artificer, a Botcher, a Petti-fogger, a Plaver, a Coofener, a Rayler, a beggar, an Omnigatherum, a Gay-nothing: a Stoarehouse of bald and baggage stuffe, vnwoorth the aunswering, or 32 reading: a Triuiall, and triobular Autor for knaues, & fooles: an Image of Idlenes: an Epitome of fantasticalitie: a Mirrour of Vanitie: Vanitas Vanitatum, & omnia vanitas. Alasse, that anie shoulde fay, as I have heard divers affirme: His witte was nothing, 36

but a minte of knauerie: himfelfe a deuiser of iugling feates: a forger of couetous practifes: an Inuentour of monstruous oathes: a derider of all religions: a contemner of God, and man: a desperate Lucian-4 ift: an abhominable Arctinift: an Arch-Athieft: and he arch-deferued to be well hanged feauen yeares agoe. Twenty, and twentie fuch familiar speeches I ouer passe: and bury the whole Legendary of his Life, & Death, in the Sepulchre of eternall Silence. I will not 8 condemne, or cenfure his workes, which I neuer did fo much as fuperficially ouer-runne, but as fome fewe of them occurfiuly prefented themselues in Stationers shops, and some other houses of my acquaintaunce. But I pray God, they have not done more harme by 12 corruption of manners, then good by quickening of witte: and I would, some Buyers had either more Reason to discerne, or lesse Appetite to defire fuch Nouels. The world is full inough of fooleries: though the humor be not feafted with fuch luxurious, and 16 riotous Pamphlets. Howe vnlike Tullies fweete Offices: or Isocrates pithy inftructions: or Plutarches holesome Morrals: or the dilicate Dialogues of Xenophon, and Plato: or the fage Tragedies of Sophocles, and Euripides: or the fine Comedies of the dainetiest Atticke wittes, 20 or other excellent monumentes of antiquity, neuer sufficientlie perused? Yet the one as stale, as oldest fashions: and what more freshly current for a while, then the other? Euen Guicciardines filuer Historie, and Arioftos golden Cantoes, grow out of request: & the Countesse of 24 Pembrookes Arcadia is not greene inough for queafie ftomackes, but they must have Greenes Arcadia: and I beleeue, most eagerlie longed for Greenes Faerie Queene. O straunge fancies: ô monstrous newfanglednesse. The wittier fort tasteth, & slieth: as the Dog from 28 Nilus: other wantons find Experience the mistris of fooles: and need no other pennance but their owne repentaunce. The verie Time confuteth Vanitie: and the verie place requireth fobrietie. No publike fecurity without private moderation: and the more bondes of 32 gouernment, the more indefeafible affurance. Due Circumspection may do much good, and an aboundant Cautele can do little hurt. Youth is youth: & age corruptible: better an hundred Ouides were banished, then the state of Augustus endangered, or a soueraigne Empire 36 infected. Especially in a tumultuous age, and in a world of warre:

wherin not Bacchus, but Mars: not Venus, but Mercury; not Ryot, but Valour; not Phanfy, but Pollicy, must strike the stroke. Gallant Gentlemen, be-thinke your felues of the olde Romane Discipline, and the newe Spanish industry: and I am not to trouble you with any 4 other accufation of them, that condemne themselues, and neede no other fhame, or punishment, but their own woorkes. Onely I request fome bufy pennes to flay their wifedomes: and either to publish a instifyable trueth, or to conceale their bad disposition. Woe to that 8 fludy, that mifpendeth pretious Time, and confumeth it felf, in needleffe, and bootleffe quarrels. Comparifons, they fay, are odious: but Inuectiues more odious: & what fo abhominable, as forged & fuborned calumnies? One, or two miferable examples may ftand for 12 an hundred: I will not aggrauate or difcourse particulars: A pitiful cafe, that fuch lufty beginninges flould have fuch forry ends: and who can tell, what dowty yoonker may next gnash with his teeth? Terrible Creatures, and the curst Cowe, have sometime short hornes. 16 The wildest Colte is soone tamed: and be like neither Death, nor Shame, nor Mifery are affraid of them, that vaunt themselues, Like vnto Death, and Will Sommer, in sparing none. God helpe, and Charity pittie them, that have neither hability to help, nor witt to pitie 20 themselues: but will needs try a conclusion betweene their heads, and the next wall. I have heard of Gyants in conceit, and Pigmeis in performance: yong Phaetons, younge Icary, young Chorœbi, and I shall fay young Babingtons, and how many millions of greene 24 youthes, haue in ouermounting, most ruefully dismounted, and left behinde them full-lamentable Histories? For the very mention of fome direfull Tragedies, were horrible, and what fo wretched, as headlong enterprifes: or fo hideous, as the desperate attempt of Impossi- 28 bilities? Philostratus in his Icones, pleasurably reporteth, according to to the tradition of Greeke Poets, how on a time, A refolute bande of dowty Pigmies, triumphantly marched to inuade Hercules afleepe. Woe to fuch braue aduentures. Æsops Toade, A proud aspiring 32 Creature, shamefullie ouermatched her swelling, and bursten selfe. Great, and fmall things may in some proportion be compared together; and beholde as miferable a spectacle, in their kinde. Flourishing M. Greene is most-wofully faded, and whilest I am bemoaning his ouer- 36

pittious decay; & discoursing the vsuall successe of such ranke wittes, Loe, all on the fuddaine, his fworne brother, M. Pierce Penni-leffe, (still more paltery, but what remedy? we are already ouer shoes and 4 must now goe through) Loe his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with difcredite, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouerwhelmed with his owne misery; in a raving, and franticke moode, most desperately exhibiteth 8 his fupplication to the Diuell. A ftrange title, an od wit, and a mad hoorefon, I warrant him: doubtles it wil proue fome dainty deuise, queintly contriued by way of humble Supplication To the high and mighty Prince of Darkenesse: not Dunsically botched-vp, but right-12 formally conucied, according to the stile, and tenour of Tarletons prefident, his famous play of the feauen Deadly finnes: which mostdea[d]ly, but most liuely playe, I might haue seene in London: and was verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford, by Tarleton himselfe, of 16 whome I merrily demaunding, which of the feauen, was his owne deadlie finne, he bluntly aunswered after this manner; By God, the finne of other Gentlemen, Lechery. Oh but that, M. Tarleton, is not your part vpon the ftage, you are too-blame, that diffemble with the 20 world & haue one part for your frends pleasure, an other for your owne. I am fomewhat of Doctor Pernes religion, quoth he: and abruptlie tooke his leaue. Surely it must needes bee current in matter, and autentical in forme, that had first such a learned president: 24 and is now pleafantlie interlaced with divers new-founde phrases of the Tauerne: and patheticallie intermixt with fundry dolefull pageantes of his own ruinous & beggerlie experience. For the poore Tennement of his Purse, (quoth himselfe, gramercy good Tarleton) 28 hath bene the Diuels Dauncing schoole, anie time this halfe yeare, and I pray God, (quoth another) the poore Tennement of his Heart, hath not also beene the Diuels Fencing Schoole, twife as long. Particulars, and Circumstances are tedious, especially in forrowfull, and 32 forlorne causes, the summe of summes is. He tost his imagination a thousand waies, and I beleeue, searched euery corner of his Grammerschoole witte, (for his margine is as deepelie learned, as Fauste precor gelida) to fee if he coulde finde anie meanes to relieue his estate, but 36 all his thoughtes, and marginal notes, conforted to his conclusion.

That the worlde was vncharitable, and he ordained to be miferable. It were cruelty, to ad affliction to affliction: what flintly Heart would not figh or rather melt, to heare the bewailefull moane of that fobbing, and groaning Mufe, the daughter of most-pregnant but most-wretched *Niobe?*

Why ift damnation, to despaire, and die, When Life is my true happines disease?

And a little after:

8

Divines, and dying men may talke of Hell: But in my Heart, her feuerall tormentes dwell.

And fo foorth most-hideouslie.

For the Text is much more dolefull, then the Gloffe: and who 12 woulde not be moued with more pittifull compunction, to heare the lamentable Farewell.

England adieu, the foile that brought me foorth:

Adieu vnkinde, where Skill is nothing worth:

16

Then to read that profound Quotation,

Heu mihi, quam paucos hæc mea dicla mouent?

Which was thought Patheticall out of crie.

Forgiue him God, although he curfe his Birth, Since Miferie hath dawnted all his Mirth.

20

Now good fweete Muse, I beseech thee by thy delicate witte, and by all the queintest Inuentions of thy deuiseful braine, cast not thy drearie selfe headlong into the horrible Gulph of Desperation: but 24 being a Creature of so singular, and wonderfull hope, as thy inspired courage diuinelie suggesteth, and still reare-vp mountaines of highest Hope: and either gallantlie advance thy vertuous self, maugre Fortune: (what impossible to aspiring industry?) or mightile enchant 28 some magnificent Meccenas, (for thou canst doe it) to honour himselfe in honouring thee; and to blisse the eies of the gazing worlde, with beholding those Miracles, which some round liberality, and thy super-

difguifed againe.

thankfull minde, would hugelie enable thee to worke. Let it neuer be faid, that the Minion of the Muses, should forsake himself, or abandon them, whose very shadowes he adoreth. A braue Hart, in 4 extreamest distresse, neuer languisheth: no such affrighting Death, or gnashing Hell, as the deuouring Abysse of dispaire. Yet better a man without money, then money without a man: Pennilesse is not his purse but his minde: not his reuenue, but his resolution: A man is a 8 man though he haue but a hose vpon his head: for euerie curse, there is a blessing; for euerie malady, a remedie; for euerie winter, a sommer: for euerie night a day, a dog hath a day.

Nocta pluit tota: redeunt spectacula manè. Right magnanimitie neuer droupeth, fweet Mufike requickeneth the heaviest spirites of dumpish Melancholy: fine Poetry abhorreth the loathfome, and vgly fhape of forlorne penfiuenes: what gentle minde detefteth not curfed, and damnable desperation? All abiect doleful-16 nes, is woefully base, and baselie woefull. The die, the ball, the fponge, the fiue, the wheele of Fortune, Fortune hirselfe, a trifle, a iest, a toy in Philosophy, & dinine resolution. Be a Musitian, & Poet vnto thy felf, that art both, and a Ringleader of both, vnto 20 other; be a Man, be a Gentleman, be a Philosopher, be a Diuine, be thy resolute selfe; not the Slaue of Fortune, that for every fleabiting crieth out-alas, & for a few hungry meales, like a Greeke Parafite, misuseth the Tragedy of Hecuba: but the friend of Vertue, that is 24 richest in pouerty, freest in bondage, brauest in ieopardie, cheerefullest in calamitie, be rather wife, and vnfortunate, with the filuer Swanne, then fortunate & vnwise, with the golden Asse: remember thine owne marginal Embleme, Fortuna fauet fatuis. Oh, folace thy miraculous 28 felfe, and cheere the Muses in cheering thy daintie soule, sweetelie drunken with their delitious Helicon, and the restorative Nectar of the Gods. What can I fay more? That cordial liquor, and that heauenly restorative, bee thy soueraigne comfort: and scorne the 32 basenes of euerie crased, or fainting thought, that may argue a degenerate minde. And fo much briefly touching thy deere felfe: whome I hope neuer to finde fo pathetically distressed, or fo Tragically

Now a word, or two concerning him, who in charitie kiffeth thy hand, and in pitie wisheth thee better lucke. May it please gentle Pierce, in the diuine fury of his rauished spirite, to be graciouslie good vnto his poore friendes, who would be fomewhat loath, to be filly 4 sheepe for the wolfe, or other sheepe-biter: I dare vndertake, the abused Autor of the Astrologicall discourse, (euerie page thereof, vnder correction of infpired and fupernaturall conceits, discouereth more Arte, and Iudgement, then the whole Supplication of the Parturient 8 Mountaine) notwithstanding the notorious Diabolicall discourse of the faide Pierce, a man better acquainted with the Diuels of Hell, then with the Starres of Heauen: shall vnfainedly pray for him: and onely pray him to report the knowen truth, of his approoued learning, & 12 liuing, without fauor. Otherwise, it were not greatlie amisse, a little to confider, that he, which in the ruffe of his freshest joility, was faine to cry, M. Churchyard, a mercy in printe, may be orderlie driven to crie more peccauies, then one. I would thinke the Counter, M. 16 Churchyard, his hoftisse Penia, and such other sensible Lessons, might fufficientlie haue taught him, that Pennilesse is not Lawlesse: and that a Poets or Painters Licence, is a poore fecurity, to priniledge debt, or diffamacion. I woulde with the burned child not to forget 20 the hot Element: and would aduife ouer-weening youthes, to remember themselues, and the good auncient oracle of sage Apollo. There is a certaine thing, called Modestie, if they could light vpon it: and by my younge Masters leaue, some pritty smacke of discretion would 24 The Athenians were noted for lauish amplifieng, the Cretenfians for craftie lying, the Theffalians for fubtle cogging: the Carthaginians for deceitfull perfidie: Hanniball, Fabius, Agathocles, Iphicrates, Vlisses, and a thousand such, for counterfeit pollicie, but 28 all their forgeries were feafoned with the falt of probabilitie, & onelie vfed at occasions of aduantage: and although the Grecians generallie were ouer-lightheaded, and vaine-spoken, yet their leuitie sauored of elegant wittinesse, and the flying birde carried meate in the mouth. 32 Euen Lucians true Tales are fpiced with conceite: and neither his, nor Apuleius Affe, is altogether an Affe. It is a piece of cunning in the most fabulous Legends, to interlace fome credible narrations, & verie probable occurrences, to countenance and authorize the excessive 36

licentiousnesse of the rest. Vnreasonable sictions palpably bewray their odious grofnesse: and hee that will be a famous deuiser in folio, must be content with the reward of a notable Lier, not to be 4 credited, when he auoweth a trueth. The pleafant man talketh of a Batchelors hoode, turned ouer his eares, for abufing of Aristotle: an imagineth goodlie matters of cafting the Heauens water: of anatomizing the skies intrailes: of the vniuerfal adulterie of Planets, of the 8 bawd of those celestial bodies: how Saturne, & Jupiter proued honester men, then al the world took them for: o braue Tarlton thou wert hee, when all is done, had not Aretine bene Aretine, when he was, vndoubtedlie thou hadst beene Aretine, gramercy capricious, 12 and transcendent witte, the onelie high Pole Artique, and deepe Minerall of an incomparable stile. Yet Tarltons Iests not sufficient: but Roscius must have his Stale, to make him more admirable: al were nothing, vnlesse Eldertons ale-crammed nose, had beene con-16 fumed to nothing, in beare-baiting him, with whole bundels of ballats: that forfooth is not fo good a gentleman, (for every heire of a Nash is a good gentleman at the least as the heard of Thomas Nash, the maister butler of Pembrooke Hal whose graue countenance, like 20 Cato able to make him runne out of his wittes for feare, if he looke sternely vpon him, and I wot not what, and what trumperie else, as childish, & garish stuffe, as euer came in print, yet what packe of vanity is not in print, I will not cry, Absurde, Absurde: as hee madly 24 exclaimeth, Monstrous, Monstrous: But who in that Vniuersity can deny, but M. Haruey read the publike Philosophie Lecture with special good liking, and many will fay with fingular commendation, when this mightie lashing Gentleman (now well read in the late exploites 28 of Vntrusse, and for Tarletons amplifications A per se A) was not so much as idoneus auditor civilis scientiæ. What hee is improved fince, excepting his good olde Flores Poetarum, and Tarletons furmounting Rhetorique, with a little Euphuisme, and Greenesse inough, which

32 were all prettily stale, before he put hand to penne. I report me to the fauourablest opinion of those that know his Prefaces, Rimes, and the very Timpanye of his Tarltonizing wit, his Supplication to the Diuell, oh that is the Diuell & al. I am so farre from doting vppon 36 mine owne, or my Brothers Writinges, in any matter of moment,

that I vse to cenfure them with a more curious and rigorous iudgement, then I examine any thing elfe, wherein my eare is fo loath to flatter me, & my conceit fo affraid to cofen me, that my mind euer remaineth vnfatisfied, & nothing hitherto could fulfill my defire, 4 infatiably couetous to do better. But as those perfunctorie Difcourfes are (which were more haffilie, then speedilie published without my priuity) let the best of them goe for wast paper, & serue the basest shops, if the worst of them importe not more publike, or 8 private vie, then his gayest flower, that may thanke Greene, & Tarlton for his Garland. Were my brother, not my brother, but some familiar acquaintance, I might in Trueth, & fhould in Reafon, make other comparisons, with applause inough: (for what indifferencie 12 feeth not the differences, or what fo filly, as he could make Pierce, with voice, or pen? notwithstanding those Miracles of the white rauen in the cloudes): But the Vniuerfitie, the Cittie, the whole Realme, all good Learning, & ciuil Gouernement, be their Iudge, & 16 my mouth especially in this Martinish and Counter-martinish age: wherein the Spirit of Contradiction reigneth, and euerie one fuperaboundeth in his owne humor, even to the annihilating of any other, without rime, or reason. Some would bee Mutes, if they might bee 20 fuffered to be, as were meetest for them, and onelie to dwell in the excellente monuments of diuine wittes whose fweet company they cannot enioy inough, but what is to be done, when vowels are courfed. & Mutes haunted, and that heauenlie conference hellithlie 24 diffurbed, God, or good Order, circumcife the Tongues, and Pennes, that flaunder without cause, and raile without effect, euen in the fuperlatiue degree of rauing. Aretine, and the Diuels Oratour might very-well bee fpared in Christian, or Piliticke Common 28 wealthes: which cannot want contagion inough, though they bee not poyfened with the venemous potions of Inckhorne witches. Fine plefant witt was euer commendable: and iudiciall accufation lawfull: but fie on groffe fcurility, and impudent calumny: that wil rather 32 goe to Hell in ieft, then to heauen in earnest, and seeke not to reforme any vice, to backebite, and depraue euery person, that feedeth not their humorous fancy. A vile mind: and what a pestelenter villany? but fome odd wittes forfooth, will needes bee accompted 36

terrible Bull Beggars, and the onely Killcowes of their age; for how should they otherwise keepe the simple world in awe: or scare multitudes of plaine folke, like idiot crowes, and innocent dooues.

- 4 All the Inuectiue, and Satyricall Spirites, are their Familiars: fcoffing, and girding is their daily bread: other professe other faculties: they professe the Arte of railing: Noble, Reuerend, or whatsoeuer, al pesants, and clownes: gowty Diuels, and buckram Giants: Midasses,
- 8 and golden Affes: Cormorants, and Drones; Dunces, and hypocriticall hoat fpurres; Earth wormes, and Pinchefart Penny-fathers: that feede not their hungry purfes, and eager ftomackes: they have termes, quoth a maruellous doer, fteeped in *Aqua Fortis*, and Gunnepouder,
- 12 that shal rattle through the skies, and make Earthquakes in such pesauntes eares, as shall dare to sende them awaie with a flea in their eare: (howe might a man purchase the sight of those puissant and hideous termes?) they can lash poore slaues, and spurgall Asses
- 16 mightily; they can tell parlous Tales of Beares and Foxes, as fhrewdly as mother Hubbard, for her life: they will dominiere in Tauernes, and Stationers shops, to die for 't: they will be as egregiously famous, as euer was Herastratus, or Pausanias, or Kett, or Scoggin: Agrippa,
- 20 and Rabelays but Ciphers to them: they have it onely in them. Would Christ, they had more discretion in them, and lesse rancour against other, that never wished them the least euill, but still beseech GOD to encrease the best, and to pardon the worst in them. The
- 24 Quippe knoweth his rewarde, and the Supplication to the Diuell, expressly dedicated to the Prince of Darkenesse, I comitte to the centure of Wisedome, and Iustice, with fauour: onelye requesting that mightie Bombarder of termes, to spare quiet men that meane him no
- 28 harme, and to keepe the huge maine shot of his ratling Babies for Buckrame Giants. Alasse, what should I touch their parents, or twit them by their other friendes: Let it be one of their iolities to offer, & one of our simplicities to suffer that iniury: which neither
- 32 impaireth the reputation of the Father: nor abaseth the credite of the Sonnes: nor argueth any thing, but the impudente despightfulnesse of the Libeller. Fewe Sonnes have selinger cause to love, or reverence, or defend their Fathers, then my selse: but his dealing is such, where
- 36 he tradeth: and his liuing fuch where he conuerfeth, that he may

28

earely thame himfelfe, which goeth-about to fhame him, or vs in him. I will not trouble you with the rehearfall of his inheritance, which I could have wished more then it was, yet was it more, by the fauour of that terrible Thundersmith of termes, then the inheritances 4 of both their Fathers together. Put case, I have inquired, what speciall cause the Pennilesse Gentleman hath, to bragge of his birth: which giueth the woefull poueretto good leaue, euen with his Stentors voice, & in his ratling terms, to reuiue the pittifull historie of 8 Don Lazarello de Thoemes: to contend with colde, to conuerse with fcarcitie: to be laid-open to pouertie: to accuse Fortune: to raile on his patrons, to bite his penne, to rend his papers, to rage in all points, like a mad man, to torment himselfe in that agony a long time; to 12 be miferable, to be vacuus viator: to have opus and vsus knocking at his doore twenty times a weeke, when he is not within: to feek his dinner in poules with Duke humfrey: to licke dishes, to be a 16 beggar.

To ban the Aire, wherein he breathes A wretch:

to be the Diuels diffressed Orator, to proclaime his owne desolate and abiect estat, in these & such other most-base, and shamefull complaints, scarcely beseeming the rascallest sifer in an University, or 20 the beggarliest mendicant frier in a country.

Forgiue him God, although he curfe his birth.

I, but who so excessively thankefull to his other friends? One kind freend, more worth then two vnfreendlie kinsemen. Affection will 24 relieue, where nature faileth: he must needes abound in deuoted and bountifull freendes, that sheweth himselfe so meritoriously freendlie, and so vnspeakeably gratefull.

O friendes, no friendes that then vngentlie frowne, When changing fortune casts vs headlong downe.

I had nigh-hand ouer-skipped the learned allegation in the margine, folemnely auouched with a very-patheticall Pol, Pol me, occidifis Amici. All which, and most of the Premisses, I had altogether 32 omitted, but that the two vnmeete Companions, a Lordes heart, and

a beggars purse must somewhat remember themselues, or be a little, as it were, pulled by the ragged sleeue. Young schollers can tel how Vlysses handeled Irus, and olde Truants have not altogether forgot-

- 4 ten, howe fawfie the Harpies were, till they were interteined accordingly. But what though the decayed Gentleman, fo commendeth his owne woorshipfull birth, and trusty freendes? Many noble Houses haue seene their own ruines: and sometime the brothers of
- 8 the Prodigall Sonne, will not flick to curfe, wher they fhould reuerently bleffe. The Table-fellow of Duke Humfrey, & Tantalus, might learne of him to curfe Iupiter, and to ban not onely the four Elementes, but also the feauen Planets, and even the twelve houses
- 12 of Heauen. And what though the other forry Magnifico, as very a Bifonian, as he for hys life, would fweare in a brauery, his Father was of foure & twenty religions: and himfelfe a Diuine from his mothers womb: an Image of both Churches, & both Synagogues
- 16 too: a naturall Perne artificially emproued: the thrife-and-thrife-learned fonne, of his foure & twenty times-learned father? So Greene would flourith. Euery man is to answere for hys owne defaultes: my trespasse is not my fathers, nor my fathers mine: A
- 20 Gibeline may haue a Guelph to his fonne, as Barthol faith: & hath neuer a Saint had a Reprobate to his father? are all worthy minds, the iffues of noble houses: or all base mindes, the ofsprings of rascall stockes? Were it not a selicity, to be the woorst of a thousande,
- 24 that being descended of meanest parentage, have prooued, as Histories testify, & the world daily confirmeth? Or might not Greene, and his Complices, have beene much better, then they were, or are, although their Parentes had beene much worse, then they were, or are?

28 What faith the afflicted Suppliant himselfe?

Ah woorthlesse wit, to traine me to this woe: Ill thriue the Folly, that bewitch'd me so.

Haue we not a nomber of excellente industrious men and valorous 32 knights, not greatly beholding vnto Fortune for their progeny?

Malo pater tibi fit Therfites, who knoweth not that onely Arte of Heraldry?

Quam te Thersitæ similem producat Achilles.

The Argument of Nobility, is a gallant, and plaufible argument: but what Common-place fo braue, and honourable, as the Commonplace of vertue? Can any thinge bee obscure, where defert is famous: or any thing famous, where defert is obscure? Gramercy sweete 4 margine, for that notable Poefy: Meritis expendite caufam: in earnest, a fingular Rule of infallible iudgemente: and I imagine, himselfe deserueth somethinge, that specially alleadgeth Deserte. It is longe, fince I declaimed vpon any Theame: but who would not 8 pleade Vertues cause, in whatsoever subjecte? or what honest Eloquence is not furnished with Catilinaries, & Phillippiques against Vice? Not the Father, & the Sonne, but Vertue, and Vice, the efficientes of Honour, and Dithonour. He onely base, he onely 12 fimple, he onely contemptible, that hath Vice to his father, & Ignoraunce to his mother: the onely Parentes of rafcality. And may I not truly affirme, that not only Oforius, or Patritius gallantly proue, but all wife Autors feriously approue, and euen Vertue, & Skill them- 16 felues, with their owne foueraine mouths honorably professe? No right fonne, & heire apparant of theirs either vnnoble in himfelfe, or obscure in the world: or despised in the highest, or vnregarded of the lowest: or dishonorable in his Life, or inglorious after his Death. I 20 fpeake not for any perfon, but for the matter: and cannot eyther condignely praife the valorous feede of the one: or fufficiently bliffe the fruitfull wombe of the other. And what so vngentle in Nature, or fo vnnoble in Fortune, as their Contraries: how barbaroufly 24 opposed against that divine race and heavenly generation: that cannot fturre, vnaccompanied with Enuy, and a worlde of moates? Yet neither the vnhappiest creature vtterly devoide of all graces: (I praise fomethinge in Elderton, and Greene:) nor the excellentest personage 28 thoroughly accomplished with all perfections (ah, that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and Sir Phillip Sidney, hadd bene as cautelous, as aduenturous:) nor they, that obiect, nor we, that answeare, nor any, but a few fingular men, the Miracles of the world; either for wit wondrous, 32 or for Art exquisite, or for action admirable, or for integrity notable. I-wis, we little neede, to be charged with our fathers offences: it is inough for one, yea for the best one, to carry the burden of his owne transgressions, and errours. Errours are infinite: and follies how 36 vniuerfally rife, euen of the wifeft forte? Oh that vertues were as like the starres of heauen, or the birds of the Aire, as vices are like the sandes of the Sea, and the Beastes of the Earth; hee that seeith 4 leaste, seeith much amisse: the fine Discouerer, and curious Intelligencer, goe inuisible, & stratagematically discry many hidden privities of publique and private misgouernment: there is an eie, that pierceth into the secretest sinnes, and most inscrutable thoughtes of prosoundest 8 Hypocrify: in whose pure sight nothing is instistable, but by pardon. Divinity slyeth highe: and wadeth deepe: But even in Humanity, & in the view of the world, who liveth inculpable? or who is not obnoxious to some criminall, or civill actions? or,

- Where shud I sind, that I seeke, A person cleere as a Christal?

 Where man God to man? where one not Diu'l to an other,

 Where that Zeal divine, whose heavenly Sunshin acheerith

 The dreryest drouping; and fellist rancour alayeth?
- Where thossame mealting bowels of tender agreement,
 That mildly conquer most-rough, and hideous outrage?
 Where Moses meeknes? wher Dauids sweetnes Olimpique?
 Where that same gentle kindnes, that bounty renowned,
- That gratious fauour, that whilom bewtifi'd Honour:
 That Looue advanced, that abandoned odious Hatred:
 That Sirenized Furies: that rocks Adamantine
 Mollifid: arreared Pillars of Glory triumphant?
- 24 And fo foorth: for the verse is not vnknowen: & runneth in one of those vnsatyricall Satyres, which M. Spencer long since embraced with an ouerloouing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Testimony of hys Iudgement. What should I labour a needlesse point? or what
- 28 should I weary you with tediousnesse, that may much-better bestow your vacant houres? Enough, to any is inough: to some, ouer-much. God knoweth, and who knoweth not, how sensually corrupt some good sellowes were, and are, that so sharpely, and bitterly noted, and
- 32 do note, fo many imaginative corruptions in other. Would God, they had bene as quietly disposed, as their parentes: or as aduisedly stayed, as some of their frendes, that wished them a milder course: & some of our pens might have bene employed to better vse, then this

idle bufinesse, or rather bufy idlenesse. Whereof I desire no other fruite, but fome little contentation of friendes, and fome reafonable mittigation of ill-willers: vnto whose good I am diligently to addresse, & euen affectionately to dedicate any my endeuour. If in 4 fome tearmes I have vfed a little plaine dealing, albeit not without respecte, (but every one seeith not into an others considerations: & diuers Circumstances alter the case) I craue pardon for the least ouerfight: and will be as ready to commend any little good, euen in an 8 aduerfary: as I was vnwillinge, but enforced to touch foome palpable badd: which I would wish amended, where it may be redressed: and quite forgotten, where it ought to be buried. My meaning was not, to displeasure, or discredite any: but onely to satisfie the pleasure, 12 and mainetaine the credite of those vnto whom I owe many dueties, aswell in speciall consideration as in naturall affection. Had I not bene more depely flinged in them, then in my felfe: who have made Comedies of fuch Tragedies, and with pleasure given such 16 hoat-fpurres leaue, to run themselues out of breath: what solio of folly might not for me haue passed vntouched? or who for me, might not have flourished, or lashed in Poules Church yarde, Cum gratia & Privilegio? It were good, that they, which have 20 a dexterity in writing trimly vppon euery matter, white, or blacke: should also have a felicity in speaking well vppon every person, that deferueth not ill: especially such as can say something and thinke more. The terriblest tearmes may be repayed-home with 24 aduauntage: I have knowen the raylingest Sophister in an Vniuerfity, fett non plus: and have feene the mad-braynest Roisterdoifter in a countrey, dashte out of countenaunce. There is Logicke inough, to aunsweare Carters Logicke: and playe inough, to tame 28 Horse-play. Wronged men are feldome tounge-tied: the patientest Creature wanteth not bloud in his hart, or incke in his penne; and although his bloud be not wild-fire, yet it is bloud; that will not be cooled with a Carde, or daunted with bugs-wordes: and although 32 his incke, be not pitch, or poifon, yet it is incke; that will neither blushe for shame, nor waxe pale for feare; but will holde his owne, when perhaps gayer coullours shal loose their coullor; and Aqua fortis valiantly eate his owne harte. Good fweete Masters, quiet 36 ALLUSION-BOOKS.

your felues: or thincke not much, to beare a little for company, that are fo forward to load other without mercy. No man loather then my selfe, to contend with desperate Malecontentes: or to ouerthwart 4 obstinate Humoristes: or to encounter Incke-horne Aduentures: nor to quarrell with any forte of wrangling Companions: (fkoldinge is the language of shrewes: and raylinge the stile of Rakehells:) or so much as to call bufy heads, by their vfuall and proper names: (the 8 thinges are paltry: and the very names fauour of rafcallity:) but there is a time, when fuch douty warriours must be appealed; & fuch wife men answeared according to their wisedome. Howbeit, in fauour of a private, and publike quietnesse, I will thanke the honest 12 fellowes the more, they lesse occasion they gene me, to interrupt better exercises: to trouble the world with triflinge discourses vppon pelting matters: to disease themselues: to pleasure none, but the printer, & idle creatures, the onely bufy readers of fuch Nouellets. 16 I would gladly be especially beholdinge vnto them for this courtesy: and dare vndertake it shall redounde more to their credite, to approue their defire of reconciliation, by filence: then to continue the opinion of their rooted despight, by sturring more coales. I hope this winde 20 hath not shaken any suche corne, but fellow-schollers, (as Doctor Caius would fay) and now forfooth fellow-writers, may bee made friendes, with a cup of white wine, and fome little familliar conference, in calme and civill termes. I offer them my hande: and 24 request their: which I will accept thanksfully, & kiffe louinglye: and euer commende the good Nature, that would, and the better Gouernemente, that coulde, master Affection with Reason, and fweeten gall with Humanity. For it is not my energeticall perfuafion, 28 but their owne patheticall motion, that must doe it: as the enchanting Muse of Orpheus redeemed the ghastly ghost of his owne Euridice out of Hell. Such an Experimente of profounde, and divine Arte, as I woulde compassionately recommend to euery amiable minde, 32 disguised with hellishe passion: the foulest deformity of any fayre wit. Otherwise, if it stande more with their credite, to be reputed willfull, then wife: or if a peruerfe, and froward refolution, be the better pollicy: they are free-men: and haue incke at will, and paper

36 at commaundement: and a number of greedy Eares, that egerly

longe, and as it were, daunce attendaunce, to heare those dreadfull inuincible termes, steeped in Aqua fortis, & Gunpowder. intoxicate sprite of the grisly Euridice (I speake to a Poet: and cannot more mildly terme that infernall Fury) may eftfoones 4 returne to her accurfed lodginge, and in steede of heauenly Orpheus, embrace the hellish Oratour of the Blacke Prince: whome I will not any way make worfe, but wold wish infinitely better, then he hath made himfelfe. For I thancke God, I am neither fo profanely 8 vncharitable, as to fend him to the Sancebell, to truffe-vp his life with a trice: nor fo abiectly timorous, as for extreme fearefulnes to wish, with a professed deuotion: So be it: Pray Penne, Incke, and Paper on their knees, that they may not bee troubled with him any more. Good 12 Lorde, what fantafficall panges are these? who euer endighted in such a stile, but one divine Aretine in Italy, & two heavenly Tarletons in England: the fole platformers of odd Elocution, and onely fingularities of the plaine worlde? Two of them, that fo wantonly played 16 with the highest and deepest subjectes of spiritual contemplation: Heauen, and Hell, Paradife, and Purgatory: know their locall repofe: and feriously admonish the third, to be aduised, how he lauish in such dalliance. No variety, or infinity fo infinite, as Inuention: which 20 hath a huge worlde, and a maine Ocean of fcope, to difport, and raunge it felfe, though it arreare not vayne Hyperboles of the reuerende mysteries of God. Good sweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet indeede: and vse heauenly Eloquence indeede: and employ thy 24 golden talent with amounting vsance indeede: and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue, & braue valour indeede: as noble Sir Philip Sidney, and gentle Maister Spencer haue done, with immortall Fame: and I will bestow more complements of rare amplifications 28 vpon thee, then euer any bestowed vppon them: or this Tounge euer affoorded: or any Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations can bring-foorth: Right artificiality, (whereat I once aimed to the vttermost power of my slender capacity,) is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, 32 or abfurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous: but deepe-conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gratious, but admirable: not according to the fantasticall mould of Aretine, or Rabelays, but according to the fine modell of Orpheus, Homer, Pindarus, & the ex- 36

cellentest wittes of Greece, and of the Lande, that flowed with milke, and hony. For what Festivall Hymnes, so divinely dainty, as the fweete Pfalmes of King Dauid, royally translated by Buchanan? or 4 what fage Gnomes, fo profoundly pithy, as the wife Prouerbes of King Salomon; notably also translated: but how few Buchanans? Such liuely fpringes of ftreaming Eloquence: & fuch right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere 8 Louers of the Muses: and namely to the professed Sonnes of thefame; Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watfon, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash, and the reft: whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeuours, commendably 12 employed in enriching, & polishing, their native Tongue, neuer fo furnished, or embellished, as of-late. For I dare not name the Honorabler Sonnes, & Nobler Daughters of the fweetest, & divinest Muses, that euer sang in English or other language: for seare of 16 fuspition of that, which I abhorre: and their owne most delectable, and delicious Exercifes, (the fine handy-worke of excellent Nature, and excellenter Arte combined) fpeake incomparably more, then I am able briefly to infinuate. Gentle mindes, and flourishing wittes, 20 were infinitely to blame, if they should not also for curious imitation, propose vnto themselues such faire Types of refined, and engraced Eloquence. The right Noouice of pregnante, and aspiring conceit, wil not ouer-skippe any precious gemme of Inuention, or any beauti-24 full floure of Elocution, that may richly adorne, or gallantly bedecke the trimme garland of his budding stile. I speake generally to euery fpringing wit: but more specially to a few: and at this instante fingularly to one: whom I falute with a hundred bleffings: and 28 entreate with as many prayers, to loue them, that loue all good wittes: and hate none, but the Diuell, and his incarnate Impes, notoriously professed. I protest, it was not thy person, that I any-way disliked: but thy rash, and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers: 32 which in fome had bene vnfufferable: in an youth, was more excufable: in a reformed youth is pardonable: and rather matter of concordance, then of aggrieuance. I perfuade my felfe, rather to hope the best, then to seare the worst: & euer wish vnto other, as I 36 would wish other, to wish vnto mee. It is my earnest desire, to

begin, and ende fuch friuolous altercations at once: and were it not more for other, then for my felfe, affuredly I would be the first, that fhould cancell this impertinent Pamflet: and throw the other twoo Letters, with the Sonnets annexed, into the fire. Let them haue 4 their fwinge, that affect to be terribly fingular: I defire not to be a blacke Swanne: or to leave behinde me any Period in the stile of the Diuels Oratour: or any verse in the vaine of his Dammes Poet: but rather couet to be nothing in printe, then any thinge in the stampe of 8 needelesse, or fruitlesse Contention. As I am ouer-ruled at this prefente, and as it ftandeth now: I am not to be mine owne Iudge, or Aduocate: but am contente to bee fentenced by euery courteous, or indifferente peruser, that regardeth honesty in persons, or trueth in 12 testimonies, or reason in causes. Or seeing some matters of Fame are called in question: I am not onely willing, but defirous to vnderlye the verdicte, euen of Fame her-felfe; and to fubmit our whole credites, to the voice of the people, as to the voice of Equity, and the 16 Oracle of God: to whose gratious fauours he recommendeth your Courtefy, that neither flattereth the best: nor slaundereth the woorst: nor willfully wrongeth any: but professeth duety to his superiours: humanity to his equals: fauour to his inferiours: reason to all: And 20 by the fame Rule, oweth you amends for the premiffes: not fpedily dispatched, but hastily bungled-vp as you see. London: this 8. and q. of September.

The frend of his frendes, & foe of none.

24



Five Sections of "Palladis Tamia".

WITS T R E A S V R Y

Being the Second part

of Wits Common

wealth.

By
Francis Meres Maister
of Artes of both Vniuersities.

Viuitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt.

AT LONDON

Printed by P. Short, for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be folde at his fhop at the Royall Exchange. 1598."

Poetrie.

[leaf 275] As in a Vine clufters of grapes are often hidde vnder the broade and fpacious leaues: fo in deepe conceited, and well couched 4 poems, figures and fables, many things, verie profitable to be knowne, doe paffe by a yong scholler. *Plut*.

As according to *Philoxenus*, that flesh is most sweete which is no flesh; and those the delectablest fishes, which are no fishes: so that 8 Poetrie dooth most delight which is mixt with Philosophie; and that Philosophie, which is mixt with Poetrie. *Plutarchus in Commentario*, quomodo adolescens Poetas audire delet.

As a Bee gathereth the fweetest and mildest honie from the bit-12 terest flowers, & sharpest thornes: so some profite may bee extracted out of obscene and wanton Poems, and sables. idem.

Albeit many be drunke with wine, yet the Vines are not to bee cut downe, as *Lycurgus* did, but Welles and Fountaines are to bee 16 digged neare vnto them: fo although manie abuse poetrie, yet it is not to bee banished, but discretion is to bee vsed, that it may bee made holesome. *Idem*.

As Mandrake growing neare Vines, doth make the wine more 20 mild: fo philosophie bordering vppon poetrie dooth make the knowledge of it more moderate. *idem*.

As poyfon mixt with meate is verie deadlie: fo lasciuiousnesse and petulancie in poetrie mixt with profitable and pleasing matters is 24 very pestilent. idem.

[leaf 276] As we are delighted in deformed creatures artificially painted: fo in poetrie, which is a liuely adumbration of things, euil matters ingeniously contriued do delight.

As Phifitians vie for medicine the feete and wings of the flies Cantharides, which flies are deadly poyfon: so we may gather out of the same poem, that may quell the hurtfull venome of it; for poets do alwaies mingle fomewhat in their Poems, wherby they intimate that they condemne, what they declare. idem.

As our breath doth make a fhiller found being fent through the narrow channell of a Trumpet, then if it be diffused abroad into the 4 open aire: fo the well knitte and succinct combination of a Poem, dooth make our meaning better knowen and discerned, then if it were deliuered at random in prose. Seneca.

As he that drinkes of the Well *Clitorius*, doth abhorre wine: fo 8 they that haue once tasted of poetry, cannot away with the studie of philosophie; after the same maner holdes the contrarie.

As the Anabaptifts abhorre the liberall artes and humane fciences: fo puritanes and precifians deteft poetrie and poems.

As Eloquence hath found many preachers and orators worthy fauourers of her in the English toung: so her sister poetry hath found the like welcome and entertainment given her by our English poets, which makes our language so gorgeous & delectable among vs. 16

As Rubarbe and Sugarcandie are pleasant & profitable: so in poetry ther is sweetnes and goodnes. M. Iohn Haring. in his Apologie for poetry before his translated Ariosto.

Many cockney and wanton women are often ficke, but in faith 20 they cannot tell where: fo the name of poetrie is odious to fome, but neither his cause, nor effects, neither the summe that contains him, nor the particularities descending from him, give any fast handle to their carping dispraise. Sir Philip Sidney in his Apologie 24 for poetry.

Poets.

As fome do vse an Amethist in compotations agaynst drunkennes: fo certain precepts are to be vsed in hearing and reading of poets, 28 least they infect the mind. *Plut.* & *Plin.* lib. 37. cap. 9.

As in those places where many holsome hearbes doe growe, there also growes many poysonfull weedes: so in Poets there are many excellent things, and many pestilent matters. Plut.

[leaf 277] As Simonides fayde, that the Thessalians were more

blockish, then that they could be deceived of him: so the riper and pregnanter the wit is, the sooner it is corrupted of Poets. idem.

As Cato when he was a scholler woulde not beleeue his maister, 4 except hee rendered a reason of that he taught him: so wee are not to beleeue Poets in all that they write or say, except they yeelde a reason. Idem.

As in the fame pasture the Bee seaseth on the flower, the Goate 8 grazeth on the shrub, the swine on the root, and the Oxen, Kine & Horses on the grasse: so in Poets one seeketh for historie, an other for ornament of speech, another for proofe, and an other for precepts of good life. idem.

As they that come verie fuddainlie out of a very darke place, are greatly troubled, except by little and little they be accustomed to the light: so in reading of Poets, the opinions of Phylosophers are to bee sowne in the mindes of young schollers, least many diversities of doctrines doe afterwardes distract their mindes. idem.

As in the portraiture of murder or incest, we praise the Art of him that drewe it, but we detest the thing it selfe: so in lasciulous Poets let vs imitate their elocution, but execrate their wantonnes. 20 idem.

Some thinges that are not excellent of themselues, are good for some, bicause they are meet for them: so some things are commended in Poets, which are sit and correspondent for the persons, they some solutions of although in themselves they have filthy and not to be

²⁴ they speake of, although in themselues they bee filthy and not to be spoken: As lame *Demonides* wished, that the shoes that were stolne from him, might fit his feet that had stoln them. *idem*.

As that ship is endaungered, where all leane to one side, but is in 28 safetie, one leaning one way, and another another way: so the dissension of Poets among themselves, doth make them, that they less infect their readers. And for this purpose our Satyrists, Hall, the Author of Pigmalions Image, and certaine Satyres, Rankins, and 32 such others, are very profitable.

As a Bee doth gather the iuice of honie from flowres, whereas others are onely delighted with the colour and finel: fo a Philosopher findeth that among Poets which is profitable for good life, when as 36 others are tickled only with pleasure. *Plut*.

As wee are delighted in the picture of a Viper or a fpider artificially enclosed within a precious iewell: fo Poets do delight vs in ye learned & curning depainting of vices.

[leaf 278] As some are delighted in counterfet wines confected of 4 fruites, not that they refresh the hart, but that they make drunke: so some are delighted in Poets only for their obscenity, neuer respecting their eloquence good grace, or learning.

As Emperors, kings and princes have in their handes authority to 8 dignifie or difgrace their nobles, attendants, fubiccts and vaffals: fo Poets have the whole power in their handes to make men either immortally famous for their valiant exploites and vertuous exercises, or perpetually infamous for their vicious lives.

As God giueth life vnto man: fo a Poet giueth ornament vnto it.

As the Greeke and Latine Poets haue wonne immortall credit to their natiue speech, beeing encouraged and graced by liberall patrones 16 and bountifull Benefactors: so our famous and learned Lawreat masters of England would entitle our English to far greater admired excellency, if either the Emperor Augustus, or Octauia his sister, or noble Mecænas were aliue to rewarde and countenaunce them; or if 20 our witty Comedians and stately Tragedians (the glorious and goodlie representers of all fine witte, gloristed phrase and queint action) bee still supported and vphelde, by which meanes for lacke of Patrones (ô ingratefull and damned age) our Poets are soly or chiefly main-24 tained, countenanced and patronized.

In the infancy of Greece, they that handled in the audience of the people, graue & necessary matters, were called wise men or eloquent men, which they ment by *Vates*: so the rest, which sang of 28 loue matters, or other lighter deuises alluring vnto pleasure and delight, were called *Poetæ* or makers.

As the holy Prophets and fanctified Apostles could neuer haue foretold nor spoken of such supernatural matters, vnlesse they had 32 bin inspired of God: so Cicero in his Tusculane questions is of yt minde, that a Poet cannot expresse verses aboundantly, sufficiently, and fully, neither his eloquence can flow pleasantly, or his wordes found well and plenteously, without celestiall instinction; which 36

156 FIVE SECTIONS OF MERES'S "WITS TREASURY," 1598.

Poets themselues do very often and gladly witnes of themselues, as namely *Ouid in 6. Fast*.

Est Deus in nobis agitante calescimus illo, &c.

And our famous English Poet *Spenser*, who in his *Sheepeheards Calender* lamenting the decay of Poetry at these days, faith most fweetly to the same.

Then make thee wings of thine aspiring wit

And whence thou camest sty backe to heaven apace, &c.

[leaf 279] As a long gowne maketh not an Aduocate, although a gowne be a fit ornament for him: fo riming nor verfing maketh, a Poet, albeit the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest 12 rayment; but it is y^t faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what else, with that delightfull teaching, which must bee the right describing note to knowe a Poet by. Sir Philip Sidney in his Apology for Poetry.

16

8

A comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets.

- As Greece had three Poets of great antiquity, Orpheus, Linus and Musæus: and Italy, other three auncient Poets, Liuius Andronicus, Ennius & Plautus: so hath England three auncient Poets, Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate.
- As Homer is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets; and Petrarch of Italian Poets: fo Chaucer is accounted the God of English Poets.

As Homer was the first that adorned the Greek tongue with true quantity: so Piers Plowman was the first that observed the true 28 quantitie of our verse without the curiositie of Rime.

Ouid writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the raign of Augustus the Emperour: fo hath Harding the Chronicler (after his maner of old harsh riming) from 32 Adam to his time, that is, to the raigne of King Edward the fourth.

As Sotades Maronites ye Iambicke Poet gaue himselfe wholy to write impure and lasciulous things: so Skelton (I know not for what great worthines, surnamed the Poet Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters, such among the Greeks were called 4 Pantomimi, with vs Buffons.

As Confaluo Periz that excellent learned man, and Secretary to King Philip of Spayne, in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greeke into Spanish, hath by good indgement anoided the faulte of 8 Ryming, although not fully hit perfect and true verifying: so hath Henrie Howarde that true and noble Earle of Surrey in translating the fourth book of Virgils Æneas, whom Michael Drayton in his Englands heroycall Episiles hath eternized for an Epistle to his faire 12 Geraldine.

As these Neoterickes Iouianus Pontanus, Politianus, Marullus Tarchaniota, the two Strozæ the father and the son, Palingenius, [lea 280] Mantuanus, Philelphus, Quintianus Stoa and Germanus Brixius 16 haue obtained renown and good place among the auncient Latine Poets: so also these English men being Latine Poets, Gualter Haddon, Nicholas Car, Gabriel Haruey, Christopher Ocland, Thomas Newton with his Leyland, Thomas Watson, Thomas Campion, Brun-20 swerd & Willey, haue attained good report and honorable aduancement in the Latin Empyre.

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hefiod, Euripedes, Aefchilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and 24 Ariftophanes; and the Latine tongue by Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Anfonius and Claudianus: fo the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeouslie inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, 28 Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman.

As Xenophon, who did imitate fo excellently, as to giue vs effigiem iusti imperij, the portraiture of a iust Empyre vnder ye name of Cyrus (as Cicero saieth of him) made therein an absolute heroicall 32 Poem; and as Heliodorus writ in prose his sugred inuention of that picture of Loue in Theagines and Cariclea, and yet both excellent admired Poets: so Sir Philip Sidney writ his immortal Poem, The Countesse of Pembrookes Arcadia, in Prose, and yet our rarest Poet.

As Sextus Propertius faide; Nefcio quid magis nascitur Iliade: fo I say of Spencers Fairy Queene, I knowe not what more excellent or exquisite Poem may be written.

- As Achilles had the advantage of Hector, because it was his fortune to bee extolled and renowned by the heavenly verse of Homer: so Spensers Elisa the Fairy Queen hath the advantage of all the Queenes in the worlde, to bee eternized by so divine a Poet.
- 8 As Theocritus is famoused for his Idyllia in Greeke, and Virgill for his Eclogs in Latine: so Spencer their imitatour in his Shepheardes Calender, is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine Poeticall invention, and most exquisit wit.
- As Parthenius Nicæus excellently fung the praises of his Arete: fo Daniel hath divinely sonetted the matchlesse beauty of his Delia.

As every one mourneth, when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of *Thracian Orpheus* for his dearest *Euridice*: so every one 16 passionateth, when he readeth the afflicted death of *Daniels* distressed *Rofamond*.

[leaf 281] As Lucan hath mournefully depainted the civil wars of Pompey & Cæfar: fo hath Daniel the civil wars of Yorke and 20 Lancaster; and Drayton the civil wars of Edward the second, and the Barons.

As Virgil doth imitate Catullus in ye like matter of Ariadne for his story of Queene Dido: so Michael Drayton doth imitate Ouid in 24 his Englands Heroical Epifles.

As Sophocles was called a Bee for the fweetnes of his tongue: fo in Charles Fitz-Iefferies Drake, Drayton is termed Golden-mouth'd, for the purity and pretiousnesse of his stile and phrase.

- As Accius, M. Attilius and Milithus were called Tragædiographi, because they writ Tragedies: so may wee truly terme Michael Drayton Tragædiographus, for his passionate penning the downfals of valiant Robert of Normandy, chast Matilda, and great Gaueston.
- As Ioan. Honterus in Latine verse writ 3 Bookes of cosmography wt Geographicall tables: so Michael Drayton is now in penning in English verse a Poem called Polu-olbion Geographical and Hydrographical of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, riuers, 36 lakes, flouds, bathes and springs that be in England.

As Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among al writers to be of an honest life and vpright conversation: so Michael Drayton (quem totics honoris & amoris causa nomino) among schollers, souldiours, Poets, and all forts of people, is helde for a man of vertuous disposition, 4 honest conversation, and wel governed cariage, which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogery in villanous man, & when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisedome.

As Decius Aufonius Gallus in libris Fastorum, penned the occurrences of ye world from the first creation of it to his time, that is, to the raigne of the Emperor Gratian: so Warner in his absolute Albions Englande hath most admirably penned the historie of his own country 12 from Noah to his time, that is, to the raigne of Queene Elizabeth; I have heard him terms of the best wits of both our Vniuersities, our English Homer.

As *Euripedes* is the most fententious among the Greek Poets: so 16 is *Warner* among our English Poets.

As the foule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: fo the fweete wittie foule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakefpeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his fugred 20 [leaf 282] Sonnets among his private friends, &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his 24 Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Loue labors lost, his Loue labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, & his Merchant of Venice: for Tragedy his Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Iuliet.

As Epius Stolo faid, that the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares sine siled phrase, if they would speake English.

As Museus, who wrote the loue of Hero and Leander, had two excellent schollers, Thamarus & Hercules: so hath he in England two

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An expression quoted from the First Part of "Henry the 4," which is named in the corresponding line of the next page.

excellent Poets, imitators of him in the fame argument and fubiect, Christopher Marlow, and George Chapman.

As Ouid faith of his worke;

4 Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis, Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And as Horace faith of his; Exegi monumentum are perennius; Regalique fitu puramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; Non Aquilo 8 impotens possit diruere; aut innumerabilis annorum feries & fuga temporum: fo fay I feuerally of fir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes;

Non Iouis ira: imbres: Mars: ferrum: flamma, fenectus, Hoc opus vnda: lues: turbo: venena ruent.

Et quanquam ad plucherrimum hoc opus euertendum tres illi Dij conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, & pater ipse gentis;

Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,

£ternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.

12

As Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Taffo, Celiano and Ariosto: fo England had Mathew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kid, Robert Greene & George Peele.

- As there are eight famous and chiefe languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latine, Syriack, Arabicke, Italian, Spanish and French: fo there are eight notable feuerall kindes of Poets, Heroick, Lyricke, Tragicke, Comicke, Satiricke, Iambicke, Elegiacke & Pastoral.
- 24 As Homer and Virgil among the Greeks and Latines are the chiefe Heroick Poets: fo Spencer and Warner be our chiefe heroicall Makers.

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greekes; 28 [leaf 283] and Horace and Catullus among the Latines are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are Spencer who excelleth in all kinds) Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, Aeschylus, Euripedes, 32 Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus, Aslydamas Atheneinsis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca: so these are our best for

Tragedie, the Lord Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the Authour of the Mirrour for Magistrates, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Beniamin Iohnson.

As M. Anneus Lucanus writ two excellent Tragedies, one called Medea, the other de Incendio Troiæ cum Priami calamitate: fo Doctor Leg hath penned two famous tragedies, ye one of Richard the 3. the other of the destruction of Ierusalem.

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, 12 Næuius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley once a rare Scholler of learned Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes one of her 16 Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie Iohn Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakesspeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

As Horace, Lucilius, Iuuenall, Perfius & Lucullus are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs in the same faculty these are chiese, Piers Plowman, Lodge, Hall of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge; the Authour of Pigmalions Image, and certaine Satyrs; 24 the Author of Skialetheia.

Among the Greekes I wil name but two for Iambicks, Archilochus Parius, and Hipponax Ephefius: fo amongst vs I name but two Iambical Poets, Gabriel Haruey, and Richard Stanyhurst, bicause 28 I haue seene no mo in this kind.

As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicæus, [leaf 284] Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis and Pigres Halicarnas-32

¹ It is usually believed that this is an error for George Ferrers. But Meres, here as elsewhere, follows Puttenham, who writes:

[&]quot;That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst, and Maister Edward Ferrys for such doings as I have sene of theirs do deserve the hyest price:" [?praise]. The Arte of English Poesie, 1589. (Arber's Reprint, p. 77.)

fæus; and these among the Latines, Mecænas, Ouid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus & Clodius Sabinus: so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities 4 of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetsone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page sometines sellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, 8 Churchyard, Bretton.

As Theocritus in Greeke, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sanazar in Italian, and the Authour of Amyntæ Gaudia and Walfinghams Melibæus are the best for pastorall: so among vs the best in this kind 12 are fir Philip Sidney, master Challener, Spencer, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce and Barnefield.

These and many other Epigrammatists ye Latin tongue hath, Q. Catulus, Porcius Licinius, Quintus Cornificius, Martial, Cn. Getulicus, 16 and wittie sir Thomas Moore: so in English we have these, Heywood, Drante, Kendal, Baslard, Davies.

As noble *Meccenas* that fprung from the *Hetruscan* Kinges not onely graced Poets by his bounty, but also by beeing a Poet himselfe; 20 and as *Iames the 6*. nowe king of Scotland is not only a fauorer of Poets, but a Poet, as my friend master *Richard Barnesselde* hath in this Disticke passing well recorded:

The King of Scots now living is a Poet, As his Lepanto, and his furies show it:

fo Elizabeth our dread foueraign and gracious Queene is not only a liberal patrone vnto Poets, but an excellent Poet herselfe, whose learned, delicate and noble Muse surmounteth, be it in Ode, Elegy, 28 Epigram, or in any other kind of Poem Heroicke, or Lyricke.

Octavia fifter vnto Augustus the Emperour was exceeding bountifull vnto Virgil, who gave him for making 26. verses, 1137 pounds, to wit, tenne Sestertiaes for everse, which amount to above 43

24

¹ So Puttenham, at the last reference:

[&]quot;But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse, easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for sence, sweetnesse and subtillitie, be it Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke," &c.

pounds for euery verse: so learned Mary, the honorable Countesse of Pembrook, the noble sister of immortall sir Philip Sidney, is very liberall vnto Poets; besides shee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho:

Dulcia Mnemofyne demirans carmina Sapphus, Quœfiuit decima Pieris vnde foret.

[leaf 285] Among others in times past, Poets had these fauourers, Augustus, Mecænas, Sophocles, Germanicus, an Emperour, a noble 8 man, a Senatour, and a Captaine: so of later times Poets have these patrones, Robert king of Sicil, the great king Frances of France, king Iames of Scotland, & Queene Elizabeth of England.

As in former times two great Cardinals, Bembus & Biena, did 12 countenance Poets: fo of late yeares two great preachers have given them their right hands in felowship, Beza and Melancthon.

As the learned philosophers Fracastorius and Scaliger have highly prized them: so have the eloquent Orators Pontanus and Muretus very 16 gloriously estimated them.

As Georgius Buckananus Iepthe, amongst all moderne Tragedies is able to abide the touch of Aristotles precepts, and Euripedes examples: so is Bishop Watsons Alsalon.

As Terence for his translations out of Apollodorus & Menander, and Aquilius for his translation out of Menander, and C. Germanicus Augustus for his out of Aratus, and Ansonius for his translated Epigrams out of Greeke, and Doctor Iohnson for his Frogge-sight out of Homer, 24 and Watson for his Antigone out of Sophocles, have got good commendations: so these verifiers for their learned translations are of good note among vs, Phaer for Virgils Aeneads, Golding for Ouids Metamorphosis, Harington for his Orlando Furioso, the translators of 28 Senecaes Tragedies, Barnabe Googe for Palingenius, Turberuile for Ouids Episiles and Mantuan, and Chapman for his inchoate Homer.

As the Latines have these Emblematists, Andreas Alciatus, Reusnerus, and Sambucus: so we have these, Gestrey Whitney, Andrew 32 Willet, and Thomas Combe.

As Nonnus Panapolyta writ the Gospell of faint Iohn in Greeke Hexameters: so Ieruis Markham hath written Salomons Canticles in English verse.

As C. Plinius writ the life of Pomponius Secundus: fo yong Charles Fitz-Ieffrey, that high touring Falcon, hath most gloriously penned the honourable life and death of worthy fir Francis Drake.

As Hefod writ learnedly of husbandry in Greeke: fo hath Tuffer very wittily and experimentally written of it in English.

As Antipater Sidonius was famous for extemporall verse in Greeke, and Ouid for his Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat: so was our 8 Tarleton, of whome Doctour Case that learned physitian thus speaketh [leaf 286] in the feuenth Booke, & feuenteenth chapter of his Politikes; Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudauit quendam peritum Tragædiarum actorem; Cicero fuum Roscium: nos Angli Tarletonum, in cuius voce 12 & vultu omnes iocosi affectus, in cuius cerebroso capite lepidæ facetiæ

. halitant. And so is now our wittie Wilson, who, for learning and extemporall witte in this facultie, is without compare or compeere, as to his great and eternall commendations he manifested in his 16 chalenge at the Swanne on the Banke fide.

As Achilles tortured the deade bodie of Hector, and as Antonius, and his wife Fuluia tormented the liuelesse corps of Cicero: so Gabriell Haruey hath shewed the same inhumanitie to Greene that 20 lies full low in his graue.

As Eupolis of Athens vsed great libertie in taxing the vices of men: fo dooth Thomas Nash, witnesse the broode of the Harueys.

As Action was wooried of his owne hounds: fo is Tom Nash of 24 his Isle of Dogs. Dogges were the death of Euripedes, but bee not disconsolate gallant young Iuuenall, Linus, the sonne of Apollo died the same death. Yet God forbid that so braue a witte should so basely perish, thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment

28 like Ouids, eternally to converse with the barbarous Getes. Therefore comfort thy felfe fweete Tom. with Ciceros glorious return to Rome, & with the counfel Aeneas gives to his feabeaten foldiors, lib. I Aeneid.

32 Pluck up thine heart, & drive from thence both feare and care away: To thinke on this may pleasure be perhaps another day. Durato, & temet rebus feruato fecundis.

As Anacreon died by the pot: fo George Peele by the pox.

As Archefilaus Prytanæus perished by wine at a drunken feast, as 36

Hermippus testifieth in Diogenes: so Robert Greene died of a surfet taken at Pickeld Herrings, & Rhenish wine, as witnesseth Thomas Nash, who was at the satall banquet.

As Iodelle, a French Tragical poet beeing an Epicure, and an 4 Atheist, made a pitifull end: so our tragicall poet Marlow for his Epicurisine and Atheissne had a tragicall death; you may read of this Marlow more at large in the Theatre of Gods indgments, in the 25. chapter entreating of Epicures and Atheiss.

As the poet *Lycophron* was flot to death by a certain riual of [leaf 287] his: fo *Christopher Marlow* was flabd to death by a bawdy Seruingman, a riuall of his in his lewde loue.

Painters.

Apelles painted a Mare and a Dogge so liuelie, that Horses and

12

Dogges passing by woulde neigh, and barke at them; hee grewe so famous for his excellent Art, that great Alexander came often to his shoppe to visite him, and commaunded that none other should paint 16 him; at his death hee left Venus unfinished, neither was anie euer founde, that durst perfect, what hee had begunne. Zeuxis was so excellent in painting, that it was easier for anie man to view his pictures, then to imitate them, who to make an excellent Table, had 20 flue Agrigentine Virgins naked by him; hee painted Grapes so liuelie, that Birdes did slie to eate them. Parrhassus painted a Sheete so artificiallie, that Zeuxis tooke it for a Sheete in deede, and commaunded it to bee taken away to see the picture, that hee thought it 24

As Greece moreouer had these Painters; Timantes, Phidias, 28 Polignotus, Paneus, Bularchus, Eumarus Cimon Cleonæus, Pythis, Apollodorus Atheniensis, Arislides Thebanus Nicophanes, Perseus, Antiphilus, and Nicearchus: so in Englande wee haue also these; William and Francis Segar brethren, Thomas and Iohn Bettes, Lockey, 32 Lyne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde, Marcus, Iaques de Bray, Cornelius, Peter Golchis, Hieronimo and Peter Vande Velde.

had vayled; as learned and fkilfull Greece had thete excellently renowned for their limning: fo Englande hath thefe; Hiliard, Ifaac

Oliver, and Iohn de Creetes, very famous for their painting.

As Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Pyrgoteles, were excellent engrauers: fo wee haue these engrauers, Rogers, Christopher Switser, and Cure.

Musicke

- The Loadstone draweth iron vnto it, but the stone of Aethiopia called *Theamedes* driueth it away: so there is a kinde of Musicke that dooth asswage and appease the affections, and a kinde that doth kindle and prouoke the passions.
- As there is no law that hath foueraintie ouer loue: fo there is no heart that hath rule ouer Muficke, but Muficke fubdues it.

As one day takes from vs the credite of another: fo one strain of [leaf 288] Musicke extincts the pleasure of another.

As the heart ruleth ouer all the members: fo Muficke ouer-commeth the heart.

As beautie is no beautie without vertue: fo Muficke is no Muficke without Art.

As all thinges loue their likes: fo the moste curious eare the delicatest Musicke.

As too much fpeaking hurts; too much galling fmarts: fo too much Mufick gluts and diftempereth.

- As Plato and Aristotle are counted princes in philosophie and Logicke; Hippocrates and Galen in phisick; Ptolomie in Astrologie, Euclide in Geometrie, and Cicero in eloquence: so Boëtius is esteemed a Prince and captaine in Musicke.
- 24 As Priests were famous among the Egyptians; Magi among the Caldeans; and Gymnosophistes among the Indians: so Musitians flourished among the Grecians, and therefore Epaminondas was accounted more vulearned then Themistocles, because he had no skill in 28 Musicke.

As Mercurie by his eloquence reclaymed men from their barbaroufnesse and crueltie: so Orpheus by his Musick subdued sierce beasts, and wild birds.

32 As Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Cicero excelled in Oratorie: fo Orbheus, Amphion, and Linus, surpassed in Musicke.

FIVE SECTIONS OF MERES'S "WITS TREASURY," 1598. 167

As Greece had these excellent Musitions; Arion, Dorceus, Timotheus, Milesius, Chrysogonus, Terpander, Leslius, Simon Magnesius, Philamon, Linus, Stratonicus, Aristonus, Chiron, Achilles, Clinias, Eumonius, Demodochus, and Russinus: so Englande hath these; 4 Maisler Cooper, Maisler Fairfax, Maisler Tallis, Master Tauerner, Maisler Blithman, Maisler Bird, Doctor Tie, Doctor Dallis, Doctor Bull, M. Thomas Mud, sometimes fellow of Pembrook hal in Cambridge, M. Edward Iohnson, Maisler Blankes, Maisler Randall, 8 Maisler Philips, Maisler Dowland, and M. Morley.

From "Colin Clouts come home againe.

By Edm. Spencer.

At London Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes. 1595. [4to, pp. 80]

Printed by T. Creed for Wm. Ponsonbie."

And there, though last not least is Aetion, A gentler shepheard may no where be found: Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention Doth like himselfe Heroically sound.

¹ The dedication of this poem to Sir Walter Raleigh is dated "the 27 of December, 1591." But portions of the poem were subsequently added, three verses being certainly written after April 16, 1594.

WILLOBIE

HIS

AVISA.

OR

The true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a chast and constant wife.

In Hexamiter verse. The like argument wherof, was neuer heretofore published.

Read the preface to the Reader before you enter further

A vertuous woman is the crowne of her husband, but she that maketh him ashamed, is as corruption in his bones. Prouerb. 12. 4.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet.

1594.

¹ In praise of Willobie his Auisa, Hexameton to the Author.

N Lauine Lande though Liuie bost,
There hath beene seene a Constant dame:
Though Rome lament that she have lost
The Gareland of her rarest fame,
Yet now we see, that here is found,
As great a Faith in English ground

[6]

Though Collatine have deerely bought;

To high renowne, a lasting life,

And found, that most in vaine have sought,

To have a Faire, and Constant wife,

Yet Tarquyne plucht his glistering grape,

And Shake-speare, paints poore Lucrece rape.

[12]

Though Susan shine in faithfull praise,

As twinckling Starres in Christall skie,
Penelop's fame though Greekes do raise,

Of faithfull wives to make vp three,

To thinke the Truth, and say no lesse,

Our Auisa shall make a messe.

[18]

Time doubtes, that she shall adde no more,
Vnconstant Nature, hath begot,
Of Fleting Feemes, such fickle store,
Two thousand yeares, have scarcely seene,
Such as the worst of these have beene.

[24]

Then Aui-Susan ioyne in one,
Let Lucres-Auis be thy name,
This English Eagle sores alone,
And farre surmounts all others fame,
Where high or low, where great or small,
This Brytan Bird out-flies them all.

This number knits so sure a knot,

[30]

Were these three happie, that have found Brave Poets to depaint their praise?

Of Rurall Pipe, with sweetest sound,

That have beene heard these many daies,

Sweete wylloby his AVIS blest

That makes her mount alove the rest.

[36]

Contraria Contrarijs: Vigilantius: Dormitanus.

Cant. XLIIII.

Henrico Willobego. Italo-Hispalensis.

H. W. being sodenly infected with the contagion of a fantasticall fit, at the first sight of A, pyneth a while in secret griefe, at length not able any longer to indure the burning heate of so feruent a humour, bewrayeth the secresy of his disease vnto his familiar friend W. S. who not long before had tryed the curtesy of the like passion, and was now newly recourred of the like infection; yet finding his frend let bloud in the same vaine, he took pleasure for a tyme to see him bleed, & in steed of stopping the issue, he inlargeth the wound, with the sharpe rasor of a willing conceit, perswading him that he thought it a matter very easy to be compassed, & no doubt with payne, diligence & some cost in time to be obtayned. Thus this miserable comforter comforting his frend with an impossibilitie, eyther for that he now would secretly laugh at his frends folly, that had given occasion not long before vnto others to laugh at his owne, or because he would see whether an other could play his part better then himselfe, & in vewing a far off the course of this louing Comedy he determined to see whether it would sort to a happier end for this new actor, then it did for the old player. But at length this Comedy was like to haue growen to a Tragedy, by the weake & feeble estate that .H. W. was brought vnto, by a desperate vewe of an impossibility of obtaining his purpose, til Time & Necessity, being his best Phisitions brought him a plaster, if not to heale, yet in part to ease his maladye. In all which discourse is lively represented the vnrewly

rage of vnbrydeled fancy, having the raines to roue at liberty, with the dyners & sundry changes of affections & temptations, which Will, set loose from Reason, can deuise. &c.

H W

What sodaine chance or change is this,
That doth bereaue my quyet rest?
What surly cloud eclipst my blisse,
What sprite doth rage within my brest?
Such fainty qualmes I neuer found,
Till first I saw this westerne ground.

[6]

Can change of ayre complexions change,
And strike the sences out of frame?
Though this be true, yet this is strange,
Sith I so lately hither came:
And yet in body cannot find

And yet in body cannot find So great a change as in my mynd.

[12]

My lustlesse limmes do pyne away,
Because my hart is dead within
All liuely heat I feele decay,
And deadly cold his roome doth win,
My humors all are out of frame,
I frize amid'st the burning flame.

[18]

I haue the feauer Ethicke right,
I burne within, consume without,
And hauing melted all my might
Then followes death, without all doubt;
O fearefull foole, that know my greefe,
Yet sew and seeke for no releefe.

[24]

EXTRACTS FROM 'WILLOBIE HIS AVISA,' 1594.	173
I know the tyme, I know the place,	
Both when and where my eye did vew	
That nouell shape, that frendly face,	
That so doth make my hart to rew,	
O happy tyme if she inclyne,	
If not, O wourth theese lucklesse eyne.	[30]
I loue the seat where she did sit,	
I kisse the grasse, where she did tread,	
Me-thinkes I see that face as yet,	
And eye, that all these turmoyles breed,	
I enuie that this seat, this ground,	
Such frendly grace and fauour found.	[36]
I dream't of late, God grant that dreame	
Protend my good, that she did meete	
Me in this greene by yonder streame,	
And smyling did me frendly greete:	
Where wandring dreames be just or wrong,	
I mind to try ere it be long.	[42]
But yonder comes my faythfull frend,	
That like assaultes hath often tryde,	
On his aduise I will depend,	
Where I shall winne, or be denyde,	
And looke what counsell he shall giue,	

Cant. XLV.

[48]

That will I do, where dye or liue.

W. S.

W Ell met, frend Harry, what's the cause You looke so pale with Lented cheeks? Your wanny face & sharpened nose Shew plaine, your mind some thing mislikes, If you will tell me what it is, Ile helpe to mend what is amisse.

[6]

What is she, man, that workes thy woe, And thus thy tickling fancy moue? Thy drousie eyes, & sighes do shoe, This new disease proceedes of loue,

Tell what she is that witch't thee so,
I sweare it shall no farder go.

[12]

A heavy burden wearieth one,
Which being parted then in twaine,
Seemes very light, or rather none,
And boren well with little paine:
The smothered flame, too closely pent,
Burnes more extreame for want of vent.

[187]

So sorrowes shrynde in secret brest,
Attainte the hart with hotter rage,
Then griefes that are to frendes exprest,
Whose comfort may some part asswage:
If I a frend, whose faith is tryde,
Let this request not be denyde.

[24]

Excessive griefes good counsells want,
And cloud the sence from sharpe conceits,
No reason rules, where sorrowes plant,
And folly feedes, where fury fretes,
Tell what she is, and you shall see,
What hope and help shall come from mee.

[30]

Cant. XLVI.

H. W.

Seeft yonder howfe, where hanges the badge Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry

EXTRACTS	FROM	'WILLOBIE	HIS	AVISA,	1594.	
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Victorious land, to conquering rage, Loe, there my hopeleffe helpe doth ly: And there that frendly foe doth dwell, That makes my hart thus rage and fwell.

[6]

175

Cant. XLVII.

W. S.

Well, fay no more: I know thy griefe,
And face from whence these flames aryse,
It is not hard to fynd reliefe,
If thou wilt follow good aduyse:
She is no Saynt, She is no Nonne,
I thinke in tyme she may be wonne.

[6]

Ars veteratoria.

At first repulse you must not faint,
Nor slye the field though she deny
You twise or thrise, yet manly bent,
Againe you must, and still reply:
When tyme permits you not to talke,
Then let your pen and singers walke.

[12]

Munera (crede mihi) placant hominesque Deosque. Apply her ftill with dyuers thinges,
(For giftes the wyfeft will deceaue)
Sometymes with gold, fometymes with ringes,
No tyme nor fit occasion leaue,
Though coy at first she seeme and wielde,
These toyes in tyme will make her yielde.

[81]

Looke what she likes; that you must loue,
And what she hates, you must detest,
Where good or bad, you must approue,
The wordes and workes that please her best:
If she be godly, you must sweare,
That to offend you stand in feare.

[24]

to deceaue witles women.

Wicked wiles You must commend her louing face, For women ioy in beauties praise, You must admire her sober grace, Her wisdome and her vertuous wayes, Say, 'twas her wit & modest shoe, That made you like and loue her fo.

[30]

You must be secret, constant, free, Your filent fighes and trickling teares, Let her in fecret often fee. Then wring her hand, as one that feares To fpeake, then wish she were your wife, And last desire her saue your life.

[36]

When she doth laugh, you must be glad, And watch occasions, tyme and place, When she doth frowne, you must be fad, Let fighes & fobbes request her grace: Sweare that your loue is truly ment, So she in tyme must needes relent.

[42]

EPICEDIUM.

A funerall Song, upon the vertuous life and godly death of the right worshipfull the Lady Helen Branch.

Virtus sola manet, cætera cunctu ruunt.

London, printed by Thomas Creede, 1594.

(From Sir Egerton Brydges' Restituta (1815), vol. iii. pp. 297—299. "The 'Epicedium' . . . is signed W. Har. which may possibly be an adumbration for Sir William Harbert, a poet of fair repute." ib. p. 298.)

(First verse.)

You that to shew your wits, haue taken toyle
In regist'ring the deeds of noble men;
And sought for matter in a forraine soyle,
As worthie subjects of your silver pen,
Whom you have rais'd from darke oblivion's den.
You that have writ of chaste Lucretia,
Whose death was witnesse of her spotlesse life:
Or pen'd the praise of sad Cornelia,
Whose blamelesse name hath made her fame so rife,
As noble Pompey's most renoumed wife:
Hither unto your home direct your eies,
Whereas, unthought on, much more matter lies.

[10]

¹ Mr Malone, in his list of the most authentic editions of Shakspeare's poems, registers the publication of his *Tarquin and Lucrece*, in 1594. An allusion complimentary may therefore have been made to it in this passage. (Brydges.)

From

'The Legend of Matilda the chaft, daughter to the Lord Robert Fitzwater, poyfoned by King John."

By Michaell Drayton. 1594.

Lucrece, of whom proude Rome hath boasted long Lately reuiu'd to liue another age,
And here ariv'd to tell of *Tarquins* wrong,
Her chast deniall, and the Tyrants rage,
Acting her passions on our stately stage.
She is remembred, all forgetting me,
Yet I, as fayre and chast as ere was She.

¹ Printed in a small volume of Drayton's "Legends," of which the first is "The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy."

POLIMANTEIA,

OR,

The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to

IVDGE OF THE FALL OF A

COMMONWEALTH, AGAINST

the friuolous and foolish coniectures of this age.

Whereunto is added,

A Letter from England to her three daughters,

Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all the
rest of her inhabitants: perswading them to a

constant vnitie of what religion soever they

are, for the defence of our dread soveraigne,
and native cuntry: most requisite for
this time wherein wee

Invide, quod nequeas imitari carpere noli:
Nil nisi cum sumptu mentem oculosque iuvat.

Printed by John Legate, Printer to the Vniversitie of Cambridge. 1595.

And are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard in London.

"England to her three Daughters" says,-

Sign. R 2 to R. 3.]

Schollers must learne patience,

M. Alablaster. Spenser and others.

Lylia clouded, whose teares are making.

All praise worthy. Lucrecia Sweet Shakspeare. Eloquent Gaueston. Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre. So well graced Anthonie deserueth immortall praise of that diuine Lady who like Corinna contending with Pindarus was oft victorious.

"Let your children (daughters) content themselues; leaue to repine at baser fortunes: let them be perswaded of this, that Fame shall be their seruant, Honour shall bee their subject, Glory shalbe their crown, Eternitie their inheritance: (then indeard wit decking admired daughters) write and let the worlde know that heavens harmonie is no musicke, in respect of your sweete, & well arte-tuned strings: that Italian Ariosto did but shadowe the meanest part of thy muse, that Tassos Godfrey is not worthie to make compare with your truelie eternizing Eliza's stile: let France-admired Bellaw, and courtlike amarous Rousard confesse that there be of your children, that in these latter times have farre surpassed them. Let diuine Bartasse eternally praise worthie for his weeks worke, say the best thinges were made first: Let other countries (sweet Cambridge) enuie, (yet admire) my Virgil, thy petrarch, divine Spenser. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued Delia, and fortunatelie fortunate Cleopatra; Oxford thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happy Daniell, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gain pardon of the sinne to Rosemond, pittie to distressed Cleopatra, and euerliuing praise to her louing Delia: Register your childrens petegree in Fames forehead, so may you fill volumes with Chausers praise, with Lydgate, the Scottish knight, & such like, whose vnrefined tongues farre shorte of the excellencie of this age, wrote simplie & purelie as the from the hand times weare."

John Weever's Epigram to Shakspere (A.D. 1595) from the second edition of

"EPIGRAMMES

in the oldest cut, and newest fashion.

 \mathcal{A}

twife feuen houres (in fo many weekes) fludie

No longer (like the fashion) not vnlike to continue.

The first seuen.

Iohn Weeuer.

Sit voluisse, Sat valuisse.



At London

Printed by V. S. for Thomas Bushell, and are to be fold at his shop at the great north doore of Paules 1599"

[Press-mark:-Malone 904.]



THE FOURTH WEEKE.

Epig. 22. Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare.

Honie-tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue, I fwore Apollo got them and none other, Their rofie-tainted features cloth'd in tiffue, Some heauen born goddesse said to be their mother: [4] Rofe-checkt Adonis with his amber treffes, Faire fire-hot Venus charming him to loue her, Chaste Lucretia virgine-like her dresses, Prowd lust-stung Tarquine seeking still to proue her: [8] Romea Richard; more, whose names I know not, Their fugred tongues, and power attractive beuty Say they are Saints, althogh that Sts they flew not, For thousands vowes to them subjective dutie: [12] They burn in loue thy childre Shakespear het the, Go, wo thy Muse more Nymphish brood beget them.



[Sign. E 6.]

F. Douce's MS. Note.

Weever says he was scarcely 20 years old when he wrote these epigrams: but, according to the date of the print of him by Cecill, he was 23 when they were printed in 1599. [&c. &c.]

[The first edition appeared in 1595? which would make him about 20.] (2 lines on leaf 'Sign. A 5,'

As daigne to view my tender-blushing youth That twenty twelue months yet did neuer know.) From "The Excellencie of the English tongue by R. C. [i.e. Richard Carew] of Anthony Esquire to W. C." written about 1595-6, and inserted by W. Camden after his chapter on "Languages," in "Remaines concerning Britaine," p. 43. London, by Iohn Legatt, 1614. [40. C. 57. Art. Seld: Press-mark.] (Not in the first edition, 1605.)

"The long words that we borrow being intermingled with the short of our owne store, make vp a perfect harmonie, by culling from out which mixture (with iudgement) you may frame your speech according to the matter you must worke on, maiesticall, pleasant, delicate, or manly more or lesse, in what sort you please. Adde hereunto, that whatsoeuer grace any other language carrieth in verse or Prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes and Agnominations, they may all bee liuely and exactly represented in ours: will you haue Platoes veine? reade Sir Thomas Smith, the Ionicke? Sir Thomas Moore. Ciceroes? Ascham, Varro? Chaucer, Demosthenes? Sir Iohn Cheeke (who in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick. Will you reade Virgill? take the Earle of Surrey. Catullus? Shakespheare and Barlowes fragment, Ouid? Daniell, Lucan? Spencer, Martial? Sir Iohn Dauies and others: will you have all in all for Prose and verse? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney."

From

Alba. / The Months / Minde of a Me-/lancholy Lover,,/ divided into three / parts: / By R. T. Gentleman. / Herevnto is added a / most excellent pathetical and passionate Let-/ter, sent by Duke D'Epernoun, vnto the late / French King, Henry the 3. of that name./ when he was commanded from the / Court, and from his Royall / Companie. Translated / into English by the / foresaid Au-/thor./ Spes, Amor, & Fortuna valete./ At London./ Printed by Felix Kyngston, for Matthew / Lownes. 1598./ 8°, A-I in eights, and a leaf of K.

> Loves Labor Lost, I once did see a Play, Ycleped so, so called to my paine, Which I to heare to my small Ioy did stay, Giuing attendance on my froward Dame, My misgiuing minde presaging to me ill, Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my Will.

[6]

This Play no Play, but Plague was vnto me, For there I lost the Loue I liked most: And what to others seemde a Iest to be. I, that (in earnest) found vnto my cost. To euery one (saue me) 'twas Comicall, Whilst Tragick like to me it did befall.

[12]

Each Actor plaid in cunning wise his part, But chiefly Those entrapt in Cupids snare: Yet All was fained, twas not from the hart, They seemde to grieue, but yet they felt no care: T'was I that Griefe (indeed) did beare in brest, The others did but make a show in Iest.

[18]

Yet neither faining theirs, nor my meere Truth,
Could make her once so much as for to smile:
Whilst she (despite of pitie milde and ruth)
Did sit as skorning of my Woes the while.
Thus did she sit to see Love lose his Love,
Like hardned Rock that force nor power can moue. [24]
Sign. G (5).

[The Society has to thank Mr W. Carew Hazlitt for this copy, and the collation of it; and Mr Henry Huth for allowing his most rare volume to be used for the purpose.]

A REMEMBRANCE OF SOME ENGLISH POETS.

From "Poems in Diuers humors." London, 1598. Sign. E. 2 back. [Being the fourth tract in a volume of which the first bears Richard Barnfeild's name: signatures running on throughout.]

Liue Spenser euer, in thy Fairy Queene:

Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene.

Crownd mayst thou bee, vnto thy more renowne,

(As King of Poets) with a Lawrell Crowne.

[4]

And Daniell, praised for thy sweet-chast Verse:
Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamonds blacke Herse.
Still mayst thou liue: and still be honored,
For that rare Worke, The White Rose and the Red.
[8]

And Drayton, whose wel-written Tragedies,
And sweete Epistles, soare thy fame to skies.
Thy learned Name, is æquall with the rest;
Whose stately Numbers are so well addrest.

And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine, (Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.

Whose Venus, and whose Lucrece (sweete, and chaste)

Thy Name in fames immortall Booke haue plac't.

Liue euer you, at least in Fame liue euer:

Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies neuer.

JOHN MARSTON'S SCOVRGE OF VILLANIE:

[Press-mark:—Malone 414.]

16mo, Lond., by I[ames] R[oberts], 1598. (Anon.)

SATYRE. X.

[Sign. H 3, back.]

Humours.

A hall, a hall,

Roome for the Spheres, the Orbes celestiall Will daunce Kemps ligge. They'le reuel with neate iumps A worthy Poet hath put on their Pumps? O wits quick trauers, but sance ceo's slow, Good faith tis hard for nimble Curio. Yee gracious Orbs, keepe the old measuring, [7] All's spoyld if once yee fall to capering. Luscus what's playd to day? faith now I know [9] I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flow Naught but pure Iuliat and Romio. [11] Say, who acts best? Drusus, or Roscio? Now I have him, that nere of ought did speake But when of playes or Plaiers he did treate. H'ath made a common-place booke out of plaies, [15] And speakes in print, at least what ere he sayes Is warranted by Curtaine plaudeties, [17] If ere you heard him courting Lesbias eyes; Say (Curteous Sir) speakes he not mouingly From out some new pathetique Tragedie? He writes, he railes, he iests, he courts, what not. And all from out his huge long scraped stock Of well penn'd playes. [see p. 188.]

VARIATIONS IN THE 1599 EDITION OF MARSTON.

[Bodleian Press-mark: -8° L 550. B.S.]

- 1. 7. Yee gracious Orbs, &c., and the next line, 8, are in Italic type.
 - 7. Orbes for Orbs.
 - 9. fayth for faith.
 - 11. Iuliet for Iuliat.
- 11. Romeo for Romio.
- 15. playes for plaies.
 17. plaudities for plaudeties.

John Marston's "Scovrge of Villanie; London, by I. R. 1598."

SATYRE. VII.

A Cynicke Satyre.

[Press-mark:-Malone 414.]

A Man, a man, a kingdome for a man.

Why how now currish mad Athenian?

Thou Cynick dogge, see'st not streets do swarme

With troupes of men? No, no, for Circes charme

Hath turn'd them all to 1 swine;

Is this a Man? Nay, an incarnate deuill, That struts in vice, and glorieth in euill.

A man, a man: peace Cynick, you is one, A compleat soule, of all perfection.

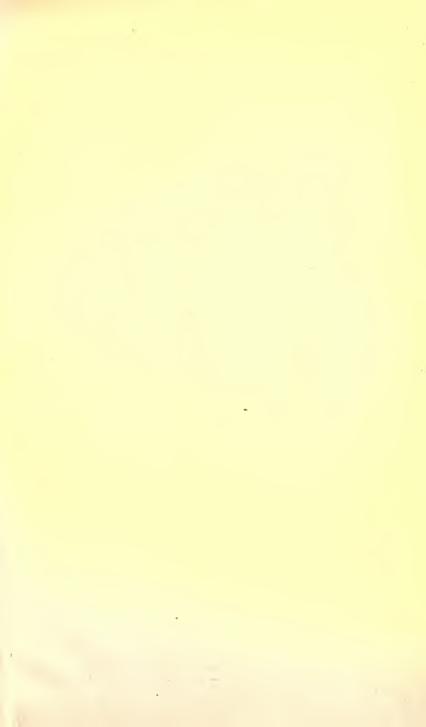
A man, a man, Loe yonder I espie The shade of Nestor in sad grauitie;

A man, a man: peace Cynick, yon's a man. Behold yon sprightly dread Mauortian. With him I stop thy currish barking chops.

Big S in the 2nd ed., 1599. The two editions agree in nearly every other respect.













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